Cobbett's Political
Register vol. — 11

1807

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS, which is the *Eleventh* Volume of the Political Register, contains, like those immediately preceding it, *Thirty-three Sheets*.—The Sheets, when sold separately, are retailed at Ten-pence each; and, when collected in a volume, the thirty-three sell for £1. 7*s*. 6*d*. making the *annual* cost of the work £2. 15*s*. 0*d*.——There are, during each half year, seven *double numbers* published: because, without obtaining this room, somehow or other, it would be impossible to include all the official political documents which appear within the six months, and without which the work, as a Register, would be greatly incomplete. In presenting this volume to the public, I cannot refrain from suggesting to my readers the necessity of using great care in the preservation of their single numbers; because, when once a chasm is made, it is very difficult to be filled up, without breaking into a complete volume, which no one can reasonably expect me to do.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 25th July, 1807.

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LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS AS IT STOOD IN JANUARY, 1807.

Cabinet Ministers.

Viscount Sidmouth	President of the Council.
Lord Erskine	Lord High Chancellor.
Lord Holland	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Grenville	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister).
Right Hon. Thomas Grenville	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl of Moira	Master-general of the Ordnance.
Earl Spencer	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Howick	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Right Hon William Windham	Sec. of State for the Department of War and Colonies
Lord Ellenborough	Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench.
Lord Henry Petty	Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Earl Fitzwilliam	(A Seat without an Office).

Not of the Cabinet.

The Right Hon. George Tierney	Pres. Board of Controul for the Affairs of India.
Earl of Derby	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord Auckland	President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick	Secretary at War.
Right Hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan	Treasurer of the Navy.
Earl Temple, Lord John Townshend	Joint Paymaster-general.
Earl of Buckinghamshire, Earl of Carysfort	Joint Postmaster-general.
Right Hon. Nicholas Vansittart, William Henry Fremantle, Esq.	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir William Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Arthur Pigott	Attorney-General.
Sir Samuel Romilly	Solicitor-General.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford	Lord Lieutenant.
Right Hon. George Ponsonby	Lord High Chancellor.
Right Hon. William Elliot	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. Sir John Newport	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS AS IT STOOD IN APRIL, 1807.

Cabinet Ministers.

Earl Camden	President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Duke of Portland	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister).
Lord Mulgrave	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl of Chatham	Master-general of the Ordnance.
Earl Bathurst	President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Hawkesbury	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Right Hon. George Canning	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Castlereagh	Sec. of State for the Department of War and Colonies.
Right Hon. Spencer Perceval	Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Not of the Cabinet.

Right Hon. Robert Saunders Dundas	President Board of Controul for the Affairs of India.
Right Hon. George Rose	Vice President Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Sir James Pulteney, Bart.	Secretary at War.
Lord Charles Somerset, Right Hon. Charles Long	Joint Paymaster-general.
Earl of Chichester, Earl of Sandwich	Postmaster-general.
William Huskisson, Esq., Hon. Henry Wellesley	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir William Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Vicary Gibbs	Attorney General.
Sir Thomas Plomer	Solicitor General.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Sir Arthur Wellesley	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. John Foster	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 1.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 3, 1807. [PRICE 1Od.

"Upon the state of the continent of Europe, except as far as regards Hanover, we shall not, in the approaching negociations, be allowed, in my opinion, to say a single word; and if we are allowed to have a footing there, it will be, because the French are convinced, that by leaving Hanover in the hands of our Sovereign, they shall always have a bridle in our mouths."——POLITICAL REGISTER, Vol. X. p. 966. June, 28th, 1806.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN STATES. (Continued from Vol. X. p. 983.)——What had been reported to have been said in parliament, upon our dispute with the American States, was noticed in the preceding Number, Vol. X page 1007. Since that, some remarks, upon the subject, have appeared in the newspapers, particularly in the paper called the COURIER. ——But, before I speak particularly upon the subject of these remarks, it seems necessary to notice an occurrence of considerable importance, which has recently taken place in the country, to which these remarks relate: which occurrence is no less than an accusation of treason, preferred, by one of the Attornies General of the United States, against Mr. Aaron Burr, who, as the public will recollect, was lately Vice President of that country. From the accounts which have reached this country, it would appear that Mr Burr, who is a man of great ambition and of talents and courage equal thereto, had formed a scheme, which scheme he was actually preparing to put in practice, for separating the Western from the Eastern part of that immense country called the United States, and to erect a kingly government in the Western part, of which he himself intended to be king.——In this project, viewing it with a mere philosophical eye, I see nothing more objectionable, than the bare circumstance of there being a king of the name of *Aaron*; for, it is impossible for any man to make me believe, that the Western States will remain, or can remain, for ten years, at the utmost, members of the Confederation. Separated from the slave-holding part of the Eastern States (or, speaking more properly, perhaps, the Atlantic States) by an almost impassable wilderness of more than four hundred miles across; having their only [illegible] channel no where [illegible] the Atlantic States; having no sort of traffic as the Atlantic States, nor driving a trade to the same markets, under these circumstances, the Western States must necessarily be rivals of the Atlantic States, and the two sets of States must feel, with respect to each other, as rivals for gain generally feel. And, to check the effects of this feeling, there is wanting in America that *attachment to country*, which sometimes operates so powerfully in other parts of the world, and which has its foundation in circumstances of which a native American has no practical idea.—— Mr. Burr *may* fail; but, I am not the man to say that he will fail; and, if he does, some other man will not: at any rate, the separation must take place, and when it does take place, it will astonish me if that which is now called the Federal Government should long remain in existence.——The remarks, above alluded to, in the Courier, are as follows: that news having been received from Charlestown, that some English goods had been seized, in virtue of the non-importation act, a deputation of American merchants waited, the other day, upon Lord Grenville to know how they should act, who told them, that the retaliands, whatever they might be, *would not be of long duration*; whence the Courier concludes, that our ministers have *given up the point*. Whereupon, just as if the fact was notorious, the sagacious editor thus gravely proceeds. "We (for they always speak in the style royal) do not desire war with America, "but we gladly desire to see that system "of concession to America continued, "which has been *adopted since the new ministers came into power*. What right has "America to expect concessions from us? "Have we received any peculiar favour at "her hands? Concessions must be as injurious to our honour, as to our national character. But, we confess, we are not "without our apprehensions; the ministers "having shown themselves as incompetent "to conduct a negociation, as to carry on "a war with vigour and decision."——The modesty of this last remark, coming from a partizan of the Pitts, must strike every one! What opportunities have the ministers had to carry on war with vigour and decision? The Pitts carried it on with vigour and decision, indeed, the fear before! Who could

the ministers get at to make war upon, except the *Threshers* in Ireland, upon whom, indeed, the Pitts would have made vigorous war long enough ago? The novelty of this writer's remarks, with regard to concessions, must amuse every one who read the Register of the 20th of December; but, to the truth, which he did me the honour to borrow from me, he has added matter of his own of a directly contrary description. The *present ministers* have made no concessions to the American States, and none, I hope, they will make. The concessions were all made by the Pitts and the Addingtons, while these latter were under the absolute controul of the former. It was they who gave up, in the meanest manner, the point so solemnly settled by the treaty of 1794. That concession not only drew from us about three millions in taxes, as will appear from the accounts laid before parliament, but it encouraged the Americans to demand further and still more dangerous concessions now. Had it not been for those concessions, the concessions now dreaded by the enlightened and public-spirited editor of the Courier never would have been dreamed of on either side of the Atlantic. This wise man talks about injury to our *commerce* from the concessions, which, in the tone of the ignorant speech attributed to Mr. Perceval, he affects to dread; but, supposing the concessions to take place, they would not at all injure our commerce, which consists of buying and selling goods. It is our fleets that they would injure; our naval power; our means of injuring our enemy; and, of course, our means of defending ourselves; all which might be reduced to nothing, and our commerce be still as flourishing as ever. ——As to the practicability, however, of injuring even this commerce by the means of a non-importation act in America, the intelligence which I have received, and which comes down so late as the 2d of December, fully warrants all that I before said upon the subject, and the sum total of which was, that, to carry such an act into execution and to adhere to it for any length of time, was *impossible*. It is said, that some English goods have, in virtue of the act, been seized at Charlestown. But, at Philadelphia and New York, if my intelligence be correct, there was no interruption at all to importation; and, so little did any one expect that the act would be *enforced*, that very few importers had thought it prudent to order any additional supply in consequence of it. That the act may be partially executed; that a blustering appearance of resolution may be exhibited for some weeks, or for some months, is possible; but, that it should be continued in force, or that it should be at all, in any part, obeyed, as a *law* ought to be obeyed, is, I again assert, *impossible*. It was a hasty effusion of vanity and ignorance. A sort of trick to try us. And, in the minds of some few persons, among whom we may number the President, perhaps, it proceeded from philosophical notions, very good in themselves, but for the acting upon which the Americans are much too far gone in a contempt for every thing not tending to the accumulation of riches. —— It was upon the ground of opinions like these, I hope, that Lord Grenville gave the answer ascribed to him; that he told the American merchants, that the restraints could not be of long duration; and not upon the ground of concessions that he had made, or was about to make; for, if *he* make such concessions as are affected to be apprehended by the speech ascribed to Mr. Perceval, then, indeed, will he be worthy of every epithet descriptive of baseness and apostacy in their most odious character and degree —— I do not, however, believe, that he will so act. To concede a trifling point as to a particular vessel or two, seized under peculiar circumstances, and where the seizures may even *appear* to militate against the *conceding* regulations of the *Pitts and Addingtons*, I, for my part, should have no objection; but, to give up our right, or, in the least, to relax in the assertion and exercise of our right, to search neutral vessels, and therein to sieze the property of our enemies, however covered, and wherever coming from, would sink my Lord Grenville ten million of fathoms below even Pitt himself. —— In the possession of this right; not in the mere formal claim and recognition of it, but in the substantial possession of it; in the unrelaxed exercise of it towards all nations without exception; it is in this that consists our maritime superiority. Without this right that superiority could not exist for two hours; and this is a fact well known to our implacable and well-counselled enemy. Concession to the American States must, and would, be followed by similar concessions to other powers; and, I must confess, that if such concessions were made, I should regard the complete overthrow of the present government of this country as certain. —— This being my opinion, I feel as anxious, I trust, and a little more so, upon the subject, than the author of the speech ascribed to Mr. Perceval, who, were we to examine his heart, would, I am afraid, find little else than a love of place and of pelf at the bottom of it; but, I cannot say, that I partake much in his apprehensions,

especially when I find them founded upon what the ministers *have done* in the way of conceding to America, alluding to what was no concession at all, but a measure of great advantage to both countries, without creating the possibility of producing in time an injury to either, though the contrary was asserted in a speech of the Master of the Rolls which, under the guise of legal gravity, exhibited more ignorance in statement and more sophistry in reasoning than any speech that I remember ever to have read.

MESSRS. PAULL AND ELLIOT.——It appears, from the public papers, that the challenge, which has taken place between these gentlemen, has had a curious enough termination. Some friend, having received the hint, no doubt, gave information to the police magistrates, who bound the parties over to keep the peace, in a bond of 1,500 pounds from each party and his sureties. Whereupon, it seems, Mr. Paull proposed a trip to the nearest port upon the Continent, with a view of avoiding the effects of a forfeiture of the recognizance. "No," says the Colonel and Brewer, "that does not suit me; but, I am ready to set the bonds at defiance." To which Mr. Paull is said to have replied, that he had no objection to do the same, provided the Brewer would pay the forfeiture on both sides, which, apparently, the latter refused to do; and thus have they both *established their reputations*, as men of valour, and gentlemen, and men of honour! But, to us, who are spectators of all this, it may be allowed to make a remark or two especially as this case seems to elucidate a little the nature of the principles of duelling.——Why should the parties feel any restraint in consequence of the bonds to keep the peace? To have fought a duel *before* would have been to commit a breach of the peace; and to have killed his antagonist would, in either of the parties, have been a capital offence. Whence, then, proceeds their respect, their great veneration for the law, after the entering into recognizances? Has it been excited in their bosoms by the presence and the admonitions of Messrs. Graham, Gifford, and Bond? I think not; for though it is, doubtless, next to impossible to listen to the reproof of these grave and venerable personages without being thereby deeply affected, yet, so hardened do we find Messrs. Paull and Elliot, or, more properly speaking, so powerfully urged on by their valourous spirits and their delicate sense of honour, that one of them still proposes to flee to distant lands to decide the point, and the other proposes to forfeit his recognizances.——At this point, however, *valour*, which had pricked them on so far, seems to have slackened its hand; to have halted a little, and to have listened to his better half, *discretion*; for the Brewer's affairs will not permit him to take a trip to the Continent, and Mr. Paull does not choose to forfeit his recognizances.—— Fielding says, that when people are, on both sides, heartily disposed either to fight or to marry, they will find some way or other of getting at it in spite of all the world; and, it may be added, with equal truth, that, when they, at the bottom of their hearts, wish to avoid either fighting or marrying, in spite of all the world, avoid it they will.——It is something truly curious, that each of these gentlemen should have fallen upon an expedient, and, upon an expedient, too, which he was pretty certain that the other would reject! But, to talk of *affairs* not permitting them to fulfil their purposes; to talk about *interest*, after you have gone so far as to set your life at hazard for the sake of your honour; to talk about obstacles in bonds to keep the peace; to talk this way will, be you assured, gentlemen, deceive nobody. Supposing, for instance, that one, or both of you, are without the means of paying the forfeited recognizances. Such a supposition serves to show, in another light, the absurdity of the principles of duelling; but, suppose it to be the case; and then, I ask, why that should prevent you from fighting? Do you answer, that the debt would throw you into jail? What! Your honour and valour can *calculate*, then! Your *honour* has its price; its pecuniary considerations; it can make compromises with your interest! In short, it is, used in this way, a word that means any thing, or nothing. You never wished to fight, unless you could have done it without bodily risk. This is evident enough; but, you were desirous of acquiring the reputation of being eager to fight, and for this I blame you —— To suppose, that this challenging and accepting of a challenge; this talk about the continent on one side, and about a readiness to forfeit the recognizances, on the other side; to suppose that all this will produce any effect in favour of the parties, in the estimation of the public, is to discover folly most egregious. If I accuse a man of being a liar or a thief, is the accusation disproved by his challenging to fight me? If the Sheridans, in the fulness of their insolence fed from the public purse, represent Mr. Paull as a tailor, and exhibit him wielding his shears, his yard, and his goose, will his fighting a duel remove any part of the impression they may, by such devices, have produced? Will it not rather tend to confirm it? For, look at the duellists, and you will

find, that nine out of ten fall upon that way of giving themselves consequence in the eyes of the world. It is one way of rising into genteel life. There is many a low scoundrel who has become a heavy feeder upon the public in virtue of his having been an agent in some paper-bullet duelling affair. The most notorious cowards we have seen fighting duels; seen them the *patrons* of duelling. This is the way (taking care to provide against serious consequences) that they *recover their reputation!* Amongst all the effects of duelling this is the worst, that it gives the reputation of bravery to the most flagrant of cowards. Find me a man, if he be a soldier by profession, who seems to have been a coward from his mother's womb; who, in cases where fighting was out of the question, has given constant proof of his cowardice in practising the sister vice of cruelty; who, in all the transactions of his life has been the supple slave of those who had power to cope with him, and the merciless oppressor of those who had the misfortune to fall under his clutches, and yet who were not mean enough to lick his feet; who, a coward so rank in the field as to communicate his timidity and baseness to others; who never *faced* any man in his life; who has fled from the enemy with an uniformity, an alacrity, a velocity and a degree of address, that bespeak instinctive cowardice: find me such a man, though, for the honour of human nature, (and for the sake of the liberty of the press) let us hope there is not such a man upon the face of the earth; but, if you can find me such a man, I will engage, that he shall not only have fought duels himself, but that he shall be a big talker about the necessity of duelling amongst others; and that, in short, he shall not be more distinguished for the rankness of his cowardice than for having recourse to these means of endeavouring to disguise it from the world.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.—The *Amendment*, as it is called, which is stated in the public prints, to have been read, in the House of Commons by Mr. Canning; which has since been published under his name; and which, in a subsequent page of this sheet the reader will find copied from the Courier newspaper of the 22d ultimo, has certainly the merit of *novelty* as to form and style; but, that that is its sole merit will, I think, be readily allowed by every man, who is at all a judge of the matter. There is in it, nothing dignified, nothing solid, nothing impressive, nothing either eloquent or elegant. It breathes neither earnestness nor sincerity, neither loyalty nor patriotism. Its panegyrics may well be mistaken for irony; and its censure consists of a wearisome series of slack-twisted and pointless sarcasm, discovering at once both impotence and malice.—From this general description of the publication (for it is as a publication in the newspapers that I comment upon it), and which description, I am satisfied, the reader will, upon a reference to the paper itself, find to be just, I will proceed to offer a few remarks upon a particular clause or two of it, the clauses having been numbered by me for the purpose of saving room in quotation.——In the 19th clause, the author expresses the readiness of himself and his friends to share, not in making sacrifices themselves, but in imposing fresh burthens upon the people! This is a mark of generosity and public-spirit well worthy of the author of such a paper; but, he is greatly mistaken, when he states, that all ranks of the community are convinced of the *necessity* of such sacrifices. On the contrary, all ranks of the community, that of placemen, pensioners, and taxers excepted, are thoroughly convinced, that any new burdens upon the people would be rendered unnecessary, if such persons, for instance, as Mr. Rose, Mr. Huskisson, the Sheridans, Mr. Perceval (who has a place of *profit* yet), Mr. Long, Mrs. Long, the relations of Mr. Canning, and, I believe, Mr. Canning himself, were to receive nothing from the public purse. Of no proposition for economy of this sort do we hear in the *amendment* before us; and, the author of it may be assured, that all his general expressions of compassion for the people; all his affected regret and pain at being compelled to add to their distress, will pass for just what they are worth, and no more.——In the 22d clause this verbose amender complains of the time and the manner, in which the late parliament was put an end to, and talks of the *surprise* and *deception* attending the exercise of the king's prerogative in that instance. Who were the parties surprised and deceived one may guess; but, as to the people; as to the *electors*, how could they be surprised or deceived? The sham-patriots, the sham-loyalists, the bribers, the corruptors might be taken by surprise, indeed; but, the electors are *always ready*. Their functions are very simple; and the advantage of a dissolution to them is not at all lessened by the circumstance of its coming place from the desire of one party to crush another party; because, even supposing both parties to be bad, there are degrees in badness, and the people have an opportunity of choosing the best, or more properly speaking, the least bad. It is the manner of such men as this author to represent the *nation* as being on his side. Not

one honest man is there, I will venture to say, on his side upon this occasion; and, talk as long as he will about the "*deep sentiment*" of the people; string together, if he will, millions of such unmeaning phrases, not one man of sense will he persuade to regret the death, timely or untimely, of the Pitt-debt and Pitt-monument parliament.—In the 23d and 24th clauses he inveighs against ministerial interference in elections, and expresses his fears, that they are calculated to favour the *erroneous* belief, that the House of Commons, as at present returned, *is an inadequate representative of the people.*——Now, is it possible, for any one to look upon this as having been uttered otherwise than in jest? And, as the Morning Chronicle has well observed, it does require no common powers of face for Mr. Rose and his friends to stand up in St. Stephen's Chapel, and there, in a voice loud enough to be heard, complain of ministerial influence in elections! It is true, that, in Hampshire, there was an interference, which, as relating to a *county*, was of a new sort. A member was proscribed for having voted against the ministers; but, in supporting this member upon the ground of his having been so proscribed, and *also upon the ground of his having served in parliament sixteen years without ever having touched the public money, or asked a favour of any minister either for himself or his relations*; in thus acting, does Mr. Canning think, that the independent part of the freeholders regarded themselves as supporting Mr Rose, and expressing their approbation of the undue influence, which he and the Pitt ministry had exerted for so many, many years? Does he really think that we were such dupes? We stood forward for independence; for an unbiassed exercise of the elective franchise and of the duties of members of parliament; for *unbiassed* and *unpensioned representatives*. These were our principles, not only understood, but clearly and fully expressed. It was to persons voting upon these principles that Sir Henry Mildmay and Mr Chute owed more than one half of their support; and, though Mr. Rose was found upon the same side, will Mr. Canning pretend to believe, that that support was given to Mr. Rose, and was expressive of an approbation of his conduct during the days of Pitt, when he exercised in Hantoshire a sway as complete, as to offices and rewards, as ever petty despot in Germany exercised over his dominions?——There is a petition to be presented to parliament, from the county of Hants, complaining of the interference of government in the recent election. This is a very proper step. It will produce inquiry and discussion. We shall, when this petition comes, see who has interfered most, Lord Temple or Mr. Rose; and, be the preponderance which way it will, we shall, I trust, profit from the information, which ought to be, and which, I hope, will be, clearly and amply communicated to every freeholder in the county. What I am most afraid of is, that the petition will never reach St. Stephen's; that, having taken time to cool, the parties will exclaim "brother, brother! we are both in the wrong:" and that, thus, the county will be deprived of the advantages of so interesting a development. Yet, there are some men amongst the petitioners, and particularly Sir Henry Mildmay, whose conduct upon this occasion, has been highly praise-worthy, who will not, one would think, be induced to eat their words, merely because it would be convenient for a few party intriguers, who have long made use of them, and who are, I fear, even now making use of them to further their own ambitious and greedy purposes. Nothing so offends my senses; nothing is so shocking, as to see a man like Sir Henry Mildmay; a man of large fortune, of ancient family, of great county connections, an instrument in the hands of such persons as a Canning or a Sheridan or a Rose or a Huskisson. To see an upstart, a mere minion of an overbearing and insolent minister; a mere thing of his creation; as it were the spittle from his lips; to see such a thing sent to take the command of a county, to dictate to magistrates, sheriffs, and Lords Lieutenant; and to see property and birth and rank all bowing down before him; what can be so degrading and so loathsome! But, if they are prone to bend thus, let them bend; let them go downwards, let them receive the reward of their baseness; and let there, for God's sake, be, at last, no hand to save them.——Let the petition of Hampshire end as it may, however, the election has done good; a great deal of good; and Mr. Canning will do good too every time he shall agitate the subject; for, though *his* constituents, the *free and independent* electors of the borough of *Newtown in the Isle of Wight*, may, and, I dare say, do, consider the House of Commons, as at present returned, a perfectly adequate representation of the people, the freeholders of Hampshire may turn the development of ministerial influence to good account. Let us have the facts. It is the facts: a good exposure of facts, which, at this moment, is of much more importance to the country, than is the choice of a member or two to serve in parliament, where the greatest

possible use any member can be of is to carry on this same work of exposure.—— Mr. Canning's amendment proposes, in conclusion to assure the King, that whatever may have been the misconduct of his ministers, he and his associates are ready to second them in whatever measures they may adopt for drawing money from the people, and, of course, for maintaining this same sort of power, of the exercise of which he complains! There is *no* doubt of that. Nobody was foolish enough to imagine that he, or his associates, meant to do any thing hostile to *the system*; and, unless that be done, there is no man of sense that expects the least good from their hostility.—— We will now leave Mr. Canning and his amendment, and proceed to other matters. ——On the 22d of December, Mr. Vansittart, a Secretary of the Treasury, rose, in the House of Commons, and moved, in about six words, that *a supply be granted to His Majesty*, and that the whole House should, the next day, be formed into a committee to take the motion into consideration. Not a word, by way of preface, appears to have been thought necessary for this. If any member wants to have a document relative to the expenditure of the public money, he must give a notice, several days before hand, that he *intends* to make a motion; but, here, where millions are going to be granted, no notice at all is thought necessary; and, upon such occasions the *game* debaters do not attend, it being certain that no one will presume to make any objection! And yet we are told about guardians of the people's treasure; and those romance writers, De L'homme, and others, amuse us with tales about their holding the purse strings!—— On the next day the House went into a committee (Lord Henry Petty in the Chair) to consider of the motion for granting a supply to his Majesty. As soon as the formality of taking the chair was over, Mr. Vansittart moved, that a *supply be granted to his Majesty*, which was instantly agreed to without a word by way of speech upon the subject; and the *report of the committee* was ordered to be received the next day. On the next day it was accordingly brought up. And this is the way in which millions upon millions are granted. Not an account; not a single estimate; not a voucher of any kind, whether as to receipt or expenditure, was yet before the House How were the members to know what money ought to be granted? How were they to possess any information upon the subject? They were new men; or, a new House at least; but, the moment they are met, they fall to granting money with as much alacrity and cheerfulness as if to grant money had been the habit and the delight of their lives.—— On the 24th of December, Lord Folkestone, who had, on a former day, presented a petition from certain Electors of Westminster against the return of Mr. Sheridan, stated, that, on account of the great mass of evidence that was to be brought before the committee appointed to try the merits of this petition, it would be necessary to name a more distant day than the 13th of January, (the day before named) for the meeting of the committee. He accordingly made a motion to put it off until the 24th of February —— Mr. Sheridan, in assenting to this motion, took occasion to notice what Mr. Perceval had, in the debate upon the address, said about the horses of government being yoked to his, Mr. Sheridan's car. This sarcastic observation of Mr. Perceval was noticed in my last Number. Some reply was to be expected. Things would have been in a bad way indeed, if the royal blood of the house of Sheridan (see his speech at the Play Actors' dinner) had not shewn a little warmth upon such an occasion. The cause of royalty, "regular government, social order, morality, and religion," as his friend John Bowles has it, would have been indeed a falling cause, if this champion of them all could have hammered out of his head nothing to say, by way of answer to Mr. Perceval. What has been, in the news-papers, reported as his answer, the reader shall now see; and, the friends of "royalty, regular government, "social order, morality, and our holy re-"ligion," which words, according to their use of them, mean such a state of things, no matter what it be, as will enable them to live in idleness upon the fruit of the people's labour; truly, I am of opinion that this loyal and godly description of persons will experience no small pain at perceiving that two persons, whose sentiments, as to all the main points, that is to say, the points relating to places and pensions are precisely the same; yes, I cannot but think, that the friends of "our holy religion," as John Bowles says, will be grieved to the very soul at witnessing the marks of a misunderstanding between Messrs. Sheridan and Perceval. But, whatever grief it may occasion, I must here give an account of the debate, as it is called, beginning with the printed speech ascribed to the royal-blooded Treasurer of the Navy.—— "He would take this occasion "to advert to something that had fallen from "a learned gentleman opposite (Mr. Perce-"val) on a former day, in his absence — "*('Hear! hear! from Mr. Perceval.')* He "was happy to hear this challenge from the "learned gent., particularly as it was a

" proof that he continued in the same mind " on this subject, which was not his general " practice. *(A laugh.)*—The learned gent. " had talked a great deal of his want of " popularity, and had observed, with a wit " correspondent with his candour, that it " was not till the government horses had " been yoked to his car that he had been " brought in. Now though His Majesty " had thought him worthy to hold an office " of trust and emolument, he was bold to " think, whatever the learned gent. and " some few other clamorous persons may " think, that his claim to public support " was not thereby lessened. There was a " sort of report that he was to take another " office, the Chiltern Hundreds, for the " purpose of vacating his seat. *(A laugh.)* " He had no objection to take that office, " if the learned gent also would take it, and " bring his popularity to the test by facing " him on the hustings in Covent-Garden.— " *(A laugh.)*"——A laugh! What at? Do you see any thing to laugh at here, reader? Here are three laughs put down; and, if one could believe that they really took place, no better criterion would be wanted whereby to judge of the audience. Does the reader see any wit? Any point? Any thing calculated to throw ridicule upon the opponent? A shake of the head, accompanied with a smile of contempt, this publication may occasion in a company of sensible men; but, as to laughter at such blunt and bungling attempts at sarcastic wit, it never can find place, except amongst such oafs as are seen shaking their sides at the grimaces of the Drury-Lane pantomimes.——But, before we proceed any further in our comments, let us see the speech attributed to Mr Perceval, as it was published in the news-papers ——" He said, that instead of forcing this " matter forward on a former night, he had " expressly abstained from agitating it, on " the ground of the absence of the right hon. " gent. The noble lord (*H. Petty*) had, " however, ingeniously put into his mouth " the expressions now brought forward by " the learned gent., but he had disclaimed " them. He had, however, no hesitation " now, nor at any time, to answer for what " he did say. The expression, the wit of " which the right hon. gent. described to " be equal to its candour, arose from the " accident of his having seen the right hon. " gent. parading the streets in a triumphal " car, decorated with laurels. *(A loud* " *laugh.)* The right hon. gent. had said " that it was contrary to his practice to ad- " here to his opinions. That was an accu- " sation that came rather oddly from the " right hon. gent., and those who sat with " him on that side of the house. With " respect to himself, he was not aware of " any such deficiency in adhering to his " opinions, as the right hon gent. imputed " to him. Certainly his opinions on the " subject now before the house had under- " gone no change, and he saw no reason to " change them. With respect to the right " hon. gent's. challenge to meet him on the " Hustings at Covent-Garden, he had to " excuse himself, on the ground that he had " constituents who had shewn him uniform " favour, since they had returned him to " the first Parliament he had sat in. These " constituents he was attached to, and was " unwilling to desert them for the ambition " of representing any greater place. The " right hon. gent. had at times spoken of a " similar attachment, though he had after " wards found it so easy to get rid of it. At " least such was the amount of what was " represented in the news-papers, in the " right hon. gent's. name. But, perhaps, " what was thus stated on the subject, was " not authentic. It was easy to credit an " excuse of that kind from the extravagan- " cies contained in the speeches imputed to " the right hon. gentleman."——The only *laugh* given to this speech was natural enough. Not that there is any thing very original or witty in Mr. Perceval's account of the triumphal car; but, it was impossible to be put in mind of that car; it was impossible for any one to mention it with apparent seriousness, without bursting out into laughter. The thing was so ridiculous; it was such a studied attempt to disguise a defeat; there was such a similarity between this procession and that of Blue-Beard; there were so many of the persons and of the materials of the Theatre Royal actually employed about it; the piece was so well known to have been got up by Johnson, the Property-Man of that play-house; and the trick so completely failed, the laurels were so thickly covered with mud, by the very persons whom the device was intended to blind and mislead: in short, the thing had been a subject of such universal ridicule, that, to excite a burst of laughter in the House, Mr Perceval had only to allude to it.——The tenant of the car, the hero of the panto mime, seemed to feel this, as appeared from his reply. He " denied that he had deserted the Electors " of Stafford. He had offered himself for " Westminster by *their express permission.* " The triumphal car, which had excited " the learned gentleman's spleen, was *not* " *so very brilliant*, that it might not have " escaped his sarcasm. *(hear, hear!)*

"learned gent.'s remarks that he complained "ed of, but the prejudice they were calculated to cast on a contested Election, on "which the learned gent. himself may be "called upon to be a judge."——No; the car was not so very brilliant, indeed, unless a mixture of laurel-leaves and mud make a brilliant appearance. It has been denied by some of the suborned daily prints, that mud was thrown at the heroes, seated in this car; but, in their zeal for those heroes, these same prints, not aware of the consequences, told their readers, of the contemptuous and insolent (as they had the assurance to call it) behaviour of the populace, one of whom was actually taken up, and carried before the magistrates, at the police-office, for throwing mud at the tenants of the triumphal car. Oh, what would the princely family of Sheridan now give, if the great head of it had never mounted that car! I have heard that the gentleman is fond of *fame*; and that he has now taken the right road to it no one can doubt.——The speech ascribed to Mr. Sheridan taunts Mr. Perceval with a changeable disposition. I have never perceived such a disposition in that gentleman. It has not, as far as I have observed, been visible in his actions. He has uniformly and steadily stuck to Pitt and his system; and, my objection to him is, that he clings to the system even now. But, as he is reported to have observed upon this occasion, such a charge sounds rather oddly from Mr. Sheridan, who has, both in generals and particulars, abandoned, since he and his son came into the receipt of the public money, every great principle that he ever before professed, and every pledge he ever gave. I will mention two instances by way of specimen. He has been always a loud declaimer for the liberty of the press and for publicity upon all subjects. During the last session of parliament he attended in the House to take a part in discussion only five times; and, one of those times was for the express purpose of preventing the first and most important charge against Lord Wellesley *from being printed*; in which undertaking he succeeded. The other instance that I shall now mention is, that, when Mr. Nicholl had undertaken the affair of the Carnatic, seeing that Mr. Sheridan was backward about it, the latter resumed the undertaking, pledged himself most solemnly to bring it forward, called for papers, the printing of which cost the nation many hundreds of pounds, and then he, in the last sessions of parliament, abandoned it, from the same motive, and with full as little compunction, as his worthy associate, the Spartan General, abandoned the cause of Colonel Johnstone. And, is it this man, whom we now hear reproaching others with a disposition to change! Talk of the *face* of George Rose, indeed! I have noted down *five and twenty* public pledges that Mr. Sheridan has abandoned. They shall all be detailed one of these days.——The part of the reported speech of Mr. Sheridan which relates to the *place* bestowed upon him by his Majesty, and the doctrine, that he was not, on that account the less entitled to public support, are passed over in silence in the speech attributed to Mr. Perceval. They were here "brothers," and they might be "both in the wrong." But, does Mr. Sheridan think, that we are so ignorant as not to understand enough of such concerns to be able to perceive *how* it was that "his "Majesty had thought him *worthy* to hold "an office of trust and emolument"? Does he think, that we do not understand all this; This is not the first time by thousands that we have heard men urge, as a proof of their worthiness, the possession of that of which we contend they are unworthy. This was the standing argument of Pitt and all his minions. It was the argument of Cavendish Bradshaw at Honiton; where he, too, told the people, that "his *Majesty* had thought him *worthy* of a place of trust and emolument. In short it is the argument of every one who lives upon the taxes, from the very highest to the very lowest of the innumerable host.——As to the electors of Stafford giving Mr. Sheridan their *express permission* to stand for Westminster. I have no doubt of the fact, which, I think, is pretty fully proved, in their giving his son permission also to stand for Westminster, or any other place that he, or his father, might choose. Nor do I at all doubt of the *unshaken attachment* of Mr. Perceval's constituents to him. They have always returned him, he says, and, I dare say they always will remain as firmly attached to him as the free and independent electors of Gatton are to Colonel Wood. Mr. Perceval is a prudent man, and he does very right to decline a meeting with Mr. Sheridan upon the hustings in Covent Garden; not that I think he would be defeated; for, really, the electors would be fairly posed, as the old women say; but, Mr. Perceval saw, he says, *the triumphal car*, whence he would not fail to take the hint! It was bravery truly worthy of the royal family of Sheridan to throw down the gauntlet to Mr. Perceval. As if he had said, I'll face *you* at any rate! I am not so unpopular as you. Will he meet *Mr. Paull*? Will he ever dare meet him, or any man of the

" It was not, however, the severity of the same spirit and the same principles? He has affected contempt for Mr. Paull; but, at the bottom of his heart, he dreads him more, than he does all the other men in the world. His life will now be a life of continual anxiety and alarm. The petition may, possibly, fail of success. He may here be saved by some difficulty in bringing home the acts to himself or his agents. But, he is never, for one moment, secure against another dissolution of parliament; which may happen any morning or afternoon that he lives. He may awake any day, and find himself no longer a law-giver. And then comes on his shaking fit. Give us, oh, good ministers! give us but another dissolution! Give us but one more opportunity to demolish him! Toss him down only once more before us! And if we suffer him to return to you a member for Westminster, then despise us as much as he hates and fears us now.——Enough, for the present, of the contest for popularity between Messrs Perceval and Sheridan." A subject of a more serious nature calls for your attention; I mean the motion made on the 24th of December, in the House of Commons, by Mr. BIDDULPH, for discontinuing the salary or allowance to the *Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means*. The reasons, upon which this motion was founded, cannot be better stated than in the reputed speech of Mr. Biddulph himself.—— " He " adverted to the economy which the " Speech delivered in his Majesty's name, " on opening the Session, recommended, " in the great exertions that would be ne- " cessary, in addition to those already borne " by his Majesty's people. It was essent al " to the public, that his Majesty's paternal " recommendation was not a mere dead let- " ter in the mouths of his Majesty's minis- " ters. In the great difficulties and great " demands of the present exigency, it was " essential to shew the public, that the " smallest practical savings would be at- " tended to. He thought it right to bring " forward this motion thus early, before " any individual should undertake the duties " of the office on the faith of a salary. He " was sure the hon. gent. who was said to " be named to the office (Mr. Hobhouse) " would not suppose he meant any thing " personal to him, knowing, as he must, " that from his earliest years he had the " highest esteem for his character and abi- " lities. He thought that this was an in- " stance in which the economy recommend- " ded in his Majesty's Speech may be well " put in practice. No man should, in his " opinion, be paid for his duty in the House " of Commons, with the exception only of " the person who filled the chair, whose " salary was meant to support the dignity " of the House, as well as to reward his " labour. There were two modes in which " the duties of the office might be dis- " charged. The members might divide " the trouble among themselves, and take " it by turns; or those who were already " paid by Government for very trifling ser- " vices might well discharge this duty in " addition. He would ask, were the ju- " nior Lords of the Treasury, who had " only a few papers to sign, so exhausted " in mind and body as to be unable to come " down to the House to perform the duties " of their office? He thought this re- " trenchment would be a proof to the " public that his Majesty's Ministers meant " to fulfil the pledge of economy, in " which he believed them sincere. It " was thought, by many persons of deep " reflection, that some great change was " necessary to save the country. A ri- " gorous economy had not yet been " tried, and he recommended it as the " first and easiest expedient. He moved, " a resolution: *That the practice of giv- " ing a salary to the Chairman of the Com- " mittee of Ways and Means is unnecessary, " and in the present circumstances of the " country inexpedient.*"——Let us hear the answer of Lord Howick before we proceed to make our remarks; though one would naturally have wondered what other answer than that of immediate assent should be given to a proposition so reasonable as that expressed in this resolution: what then must have been the sorrow of every man, who wishes well to the country, at being informed by the reports of the debates, *that it was some time before any members could be found to second the motion!*—— " His Lordship " thanked the Honourable Gentleman for " the favourable sentiments he entertained " of his Majesty's Ministers, who he assu- " red him were determined to practise the " economy recommended in his Majesty's " Speech. He did not, however, think that " the retrenchment recommended by the " Hon. Gent. could come within the desire " of his Majesty or the expectation of the " public. The Hon. Gent. was mistaken " in thinking that any one had been appoint- " ed to the office. The office was still va- " cant till it should be the pleasure of the " House to call somebody to the Chair, " when the House should resolve itself into " the Committee. The Hon. Gent. was " also mistaken in thinking there was a sa-

" lary annexed to the situation. There had " been a salary from the Civil List from the " Revolution, till within these few years, " when it seemed to the House inconsistent " that any Officers of its body should have " a salary from the Crown. An annual vote " of remuneration was then substituted, to " which the labour of the office was well " entitled. The chairman of the committee of ways and means had to perform in " the chair of that committee the same duties as the speaker in the chair of the " House. He had to attend to all public " bills that came before the House, to watch " their various stages, and to be present " every day in the House, from its meeting " to its rising, for the purpose of doing his " duty with respect to them. Was this a " task undeserving of remuneration? As to " the idea of its being distributed between " the members, it would in that case be " every body's business, and that would be " nobody's business. With respect to the " duty being performed by any other servant of government, if the hon. gent. " thought there were any servants of government who had no business attached " to their offices, let him move for the abolition of those offices. The business of " this office was certainly enough to demand the whole attention of an able and " attentive person, and ought not to be exempt from remuneration, such as in the " opinion of the House it should appear to " merit at the close of the session, when " the vote was brought forward. That " would be the proper time for the hon. " gentleman's motion, on which he should " move the order of the day."——Which he did; and thus this first proposition, made to the new parliament, for saving the public money, was got rid of! A truly auspicious commencement!—It is no matter, whether the 1,200*l.* a year, given in this way to a member of the House of Commons by the members of the House of Commons; taken out of the public purse by " the guardians of the public purse," and given to one of themselves; taken out of the purse by one of " the holders of the purse-strings" and given by themselves to one of themselves; a part of the supplies of which he himself is to attend to the granting of: it is no matter, whether this sum be paid under the name of salary, or allowance, or remuneration: it is a sum, which the House of Commons takes from the people annually and gives to one of themselves, and it is attended with this peculiar circumstance, that it is given to him for services which he performs as a member of parliament, which are performed within the walls of that House, and which it is the duty of every member of that house to understand and to perform, if required. No matter, therefore, my Lord Howick, whether it be called a salary or a remuneration.——Nor, is there, my lord, any force in your argument built on precedent. Many bad things were done about the time of the blessed Revolution; and, if the House of Commons thought it inconsistent that the Chairman should stand upon the Revolution footing, it proves that the establishment was not so deeply covered with the hoar of antiquity but that it might be touched. It is only, therefore, touching it a little harder, and down it goes. In the act of settlement, though Mr. Whitbread seems to have forgotten it; in the act of the people of England which settled the crown upon his Majesty's family, it was most carefully provided, that no placeman or pensioner should sit in the House of Commons Look round you, my Lord, and you will see some hundreds of proofs that this provision has been annulled. Why, then, refer to the period of the Revolution for precedents which are to silence every objecter? From precedents from which there lies no appeal either to the reason of the case or to the necessities of the times? Unless, indeed, your Lordship be prepared to maintain, that acts and customs favouring the liberty and the property of the subject are, and ought to be, mutable; while every act and every custom, making against that liberty and property, are, and ought to be, unchangeable in their nature and eternal in their duration. This was not the sort of doctrine, which your lordship used to delight in, when, under your former, and, with me, better name of Mr. Grey, you described, and inveighed against, the waste of the public money, and the numerous corruptions, which you expressed so anxious, and, as I thought, so sincere, a desire to see reformed ——Begging your pardon for having thus digressed, and especially to remind you of your language and opinions when out of office, I now proceed to observe, that the printer has made your lordship say, that the duties of the Chairman were *like those of the Speaker*; where an inference was left to be drawn, that, as one had a salary, so ought the other. But, my lord, Mr. Biddulph had made the distinction between the Speaker and the Chairman; and, the fact is, that the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, as such, has no more to do than *every* chairman of *every* committee of the whole House has; that is to say, to read the motions, to put the questions, to call to order, and to make the report. You tell us, that, if it is the

duty of the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means "*to attend to all public "bills that come before the House, to watch "their various stages, and to be present "every day in the House, from its meeting "to its rising, for the purpose of doing his "duty with respect to them.*" Your lordship knows very well, that he *does not so attend*; but, supposing he does; what have you described here more than it is incumbent upon *every* member to do? Is it not the duty, the bounden duty, of *every* member "to *attend to all public bills?*" Aye, and to all *private* bills too. And what sort of a servant of the people must he be, if he be not in the House every day that his health will permit him? My Lord, my Lord! the sorrowful truth is, according to this the speech published under your name, that, out of 658 members of the House of Commons, not one is to be found willing constantly to attend to his duty there, without a large annual remuneration! And this truth, my lord, is proclaimed to the people, at the moment when this same House of Commons are daily calling upon them for new sacrifices, and expressing their *regret* that such sacrifices are *indispensible* to the safety of the country!——The proposition for calling the members alternately to the Chair, in the Committees of Ways and Means, your lordship is represented to have answered by the common observation, that, "*what* is every "body's business is nobody's business." And, is this really the case, my Lord, in the House of Commons? Is a saying which has grown out of a general observation of the conduct of menial servants and others the lowest and least trust-worthy of mankind; is this saying, my lord, applicable to the representatives of the people; each of whom, be it recollected, makes his constituents a solemn promise to serve them with *fidelity*, and whom, collectively, the king calls his *faithful* Commons? What, my lord, is it nobody's business to *attend to the passing of bills*, unless they are paid for it? Is this really so; or have the printers misrepresented the speech of your lordship?——But, if the arguments of your lordship, which I have already noticed, are calculated to excite my surprise and regret; what shall I say of your answer to the proposition for letting the duty of Chairman be performed by the junior lords of the Treasury, or other paid persons, who have little or nothing to do? What is your argument in answer to this? "If the "hon. gent. thinks there are any servants "of government, who have no business at"tached to their offices, *let him move for* "*the abolition of those offices.*" "And," it might have been added, "*let him look at* "*our majority.*" Ah, my Lord! This is the old Pitt way of reasoning. It was with arguments like this that the Rose and the Long so often gave a lumping and triumphant answer to the speeches of your deceased friend; and truly sorry am I to see you following, in this instance at least, so directly their steps. It was fine encouragement, too, for Mr. Biddulph to make a motion of this sort, when you had quashed his present motion (exactly of the same tendency) by *an order of the day!*——My lord, I hope to see the day, when *order of the day* will not be so powerful a gentleman as he is now; and, having no room to comment further upon the subject at present, I will conclude with saying, that, until that day comes, I, for my part, care very little, as to public matters, what days may come; being fully convinced, that no good to this country can *possibly* arise, while propositions like those of Mr. Biddulph are stifled by an *order of the day*. I will just add an expression of my earnest hope, that that gentleman will proceed as he has begun. He will have both INS and OUTS against him; but, he will have the *people* with him.

HANOVER.——When I took my motto, it was my intention to have shown, by the aid of a valuable correspondent, how injurious the interests of this Electorate had been to England, and to have pointed out the influence of it during *the late negociation*. Want of room compels me to defer the intended remarks upon this subject. In the meanwhile, I beg leave to refer the reader to the article whence my motto is taken, and also to an admirable article upon the same subject, which he will find in the COURIER newspaper of Tuesday last, the 30th ultimo. The *last* sentence of that article is the very best I ever read in a newspaper. I honour the writer of it, and I beg the publisher of it to accept of my thanks.

THE SHERIDANS and PLAY-ACTORS must wait till Mr. Homan has closed. My letter to him, which will be found immediately below, will explain how things stand with him. If he should want 5 or 6 columns more, however, he may have it. But, when he had taken up one letter with tracing back his high blood; and, if this was the mere spreading of his canvass, according to his own scene-painting expression, the reader will allow that I had but too much ground for alarm. He may take 6 columns more; that is to say, about *forty pamphlet pages* in the whole; but, he must close next week, or his letters must wait for convenience of insertion.

*** *Errata.* In the last week's Register, p. 996 line 17 for *throw* read *than*; page 995 line 39 for *contuvert* read *counteract*.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

The First Number of the Eighth Volume of, COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, will be ready for delivery on Thursday next. Complete Sets of the Work, from the Commencement in 1803, may be had of the Publisher, R. Bagshaw, Bridges Street, Covent Garden; of J. Budd, Pall Mall; and of all Booksellers and Newsmen.

TO MR. HOMAN.

SIR,——When I promised to insert *every word* that you might send for insertion, in defence of the Sheridans (or, rather, if my information be correct, every word that *they might write* in their defence), I must certainly have been understood, as not speaking without some limit, both as to *room* and *time*; and, therefore, upon perceiving that you have begun a *series* of letters to the Electors of Westminster, I think it right to apprize you, that I will set apart *ten columns* for you, leaving you the *next two numbers* to choose as to time; or, if you please, you may send five columns for each number. That this is quite time and room enough for any defence that can be made for the persons in question, you must, I think, readily allow; and it will be easily perceived, that, at a moment like the present, when important discussions are going on, in parliament as well as out of parliament, that I shall run some risk of incurring the dissatisfaction of my readers by suffering so large a space to be occupied by remarks upon such a subject. Go on, Sir. You shall not be interrupted. Complete your defence. It shall have a week to do execution. And then you shall hear me in answer. As I perceive you are disposed to be extremely free with the characters of the opponents of the Sheridans, I must beg of you not to libel too grossly any body but myself. Of me you may say just what you please; but, I cannot suffer my Register to be a vehicle of abuse of my friends, especially if they are also distinguished friends of their country; and, moreover, this would be quite superfluous to Mr. Sheridan, who has the whole of the venal daily prints at his back.——I am Sir, &c.——*Botley, Dec.* 28, 1806.——WM. COBBETT.

DEFENCE OF MR. SHERIDAN.

Sir; I sincerely acknowledge that you act with fairness and magnanimity in having admitted my last letter to a place in your Register although sent so late, and in your promise to continue a similar indulgence. In consequence, however, of the private communication I have since received from you, I am led to understand that you do not mean to allot me a place in your next paper. I do not repine at this, as I certainly conceive it will be an advantage to me to have a sight of your long and *loudly threatened* letter on the *Play-Actors'* Dinner, before I resume my subject—for the ensuing Saturday I will, without fail, submit to you my pretensions to occupy the five columns which you are pleased very handsomely (I speak it sincerely) to allot to my attack on yourself. At present I shall only repeat that you were wrong in your suspicion as to the persons who have either a knowledge of or have participated in what I write. You must be apprized by Mr. Wright who the only person is with whom I communicate. The only other point in your communication, certainly not meant to be private or confidential, upon which I shall say a word, is the following passage in your letter to me of the 28th Dec. "I must beg of you not to libel "too grossly anybody but myself;" to this I answer publicly, that I am not conscious of having libelled either you or your friends, and can only repeat what I communicated to you in my private letter, "I hold myself personally accountable as a gentleman for "every thing which falls from my pen;" and without affecting to suppress feelings of indignation, I shall always feel myself responsible for any thing to which my name is attached.—I have the honor to be, Sir, your's, most respectfully,

1st *Jan.* 1807. FREDERICK HOMAN.

To Wm. Cobbett, Esq.

WEST-INDIAN SUGAR ESTATES.

SIR,——I am glad that parliament has at last taken into its consideration, the ruinous condition of the persons concerned in West-Indian estates which produce sugar; much of which commodity has of late not returned to the producers of it a price adequate to the mere expense of manufacturing it from the cane, and importing it hither, without including the previous expense of purchasing the land on which the cane grew, planting and cultivating that land, erecting works for the manufacturing processes, and paying the salaries and wages of the persons necessarily employed in superintending and transacting the incessant, various, and complicated business of a sugar estate. Much sugar has, I believe, within the last two months been sold for 50s. or less per cwt. the charges payable in this country on the same are, duty 27s. interest on ditto 6d., freight 9s. 6d., landing, warehousing,

cooperage, insurance from fire 1s. 9d., insurance on the voyage, duty and commission on the same 2s. 3d., commission and brokage on the sale 1s. 6d. Total 42s. 6d., leaving the proprietor 7s. 6d. per cwt., or about three farthings per lb. I know that many notable housewives suppose, that because they pay more than they used to do for their sugar, the gains of those who produce that sugar must also be greater than they were If, indeed, the money gains of sugar growers had of late years very considerably increased, they would only have partaken, as in reason and justice they ought to have partaken, of the general effect of the astonishing quantity of taxes imposed, and of the other various incidents by which the exchangeable value of money has during the last thirty years been so exorbitantly depreciated. But the fact is, as you Mr. Cobbett and all persons in the least conversant with the subject very well know, and has been proved times without number, even the nominal gains of the sugar grower, not only have not in the least advanced, not even have they kept stationary; but for many years they have been most grievously diminished, and of late they have either been converted into a loss, or at best reduced to nothing; insomuch, that if the conduct of a sugar estate required nothing but mere agricultural labour, or if the buildings and machinery upon it were capable of being converted to other purposes, there cannot be a doubt, that a vast deal of the land heretofore destined to the growth of sugar, would either have been employed otherwise, or not cultivated at all. But every sugar estate containing 300 acres of sugar cane land, has on it buildings and machinery, which have cost from fifteen to twenty thousand pounds, and which are inapplicable to other purposes, than that of sugar manufacture. Rather, therefore, than at once immediately abandon the whole of their capital, and condemn themselves to ruin without the possibility of recovery or mitigation, sugar planters have continued to cultivate their estates without profit, and even at a loss, in the hope of some relief either from the course of general events, or from the interposition of the legislature of their country. To the other causes of British West-Indian calamities, have lately been added Buonaparté's vigorous efforts to exclude from the Continent every particle of their produce. It is very easy to talk of the inefficacy of such prohibitions, and of the irresistible power of commerce to evade them. It is much more easy to advance such propositions, than to prove them. From a document put into my hands by a person upon whose information I believe, I may most safely rely, I can prove to the most incredulous, that Buonaparté had succeeded to a most alarming degree in the attainment of this his favourite object, even before he had enforced his prohibitions with the severity and to the extent to which they have just now been carried. On the 5th of July last, there remained in the public warehouses of the port of London 81,626 cwts. of sugar. Between that day and the 10th of October following, there were landed 859,332 cwt. Within the same period there were exported only 11,606 cwt. and on the 10th of October there remained in the same public warehouses 393,199 cwt. In the Morning Chronicle of this day (Dec. 31) it is represented that Lord Temple yesterday stated in the House of Commons, that there were in the port of London not less than 80 or 90 thousand hogsheads of sugar. A hogshead of sugar on an average weighs about 14 cwt. If we take the medium of Lord Temple's quantities (85 thousand hogsheads) it will appear that there are not less than 1,120,000 cwt. of sugar in the port of London (and I imagine that not above two-thirds of last year's crops have been yet received). It is evident, therefore, both from the smallness of the export, and from the magnitude of the quantity on hand, that Buonaparté has not undertaken an impracticable measure. It is evident also, that in consequence of his having thus dammed up this great outlet, by which the excess of our importation of sugar used to be carried off, a vast quantity of that commodity must remain useless, and be totally lost to the country, unless some mode of consumption can be adopted, to compensate that which has been lost. The breweries and distilleries offer such a mode of consumption with circumstances of considerable advantage to the nation at large, and without any circumstances of detriment. And by availing ourselves of this resource, we shall not only avoid great part of the evil which Buonaparté hoped to bring upon us by his exclusive system, but we shall cause the evils of that system to be most acutely felt throughout the countries under his dominion; and thus make his curse recoil upon his own head.—I observe that a member for a corn county (Mr. Baker) seems to be apprehensive, that the introduction of sugar into breweries and distilleries will be injurious to the landed interest, by diminishing the price of corn. Unless the proposed measure be executed in a most careless or bungling manner, no danger of that kind need be apprehended. It is very notorious, that for a long time past the corn

produced in this kingdom has been much less than the quantity required for its consumption. I have not at this moment by me any public documents on this subject; but the deficiency is undoubtedly very considerable: and there is most satisfactory evidence, as Mr. Malthus has well stated and explained, that it every year grows greater. From the accounts of imports and exports parliament may easily ascertain what has of late been the average annual deficiency; and from the excise office accounts of the quantity and strength of the wash for making corn spirits, parliament may obtain a pretty near approximation to the quantity of corn used in the distilleries. Few people, I believe, will doubt that the former—the quantity of corn imported—is greater than the latter, the quantity of corn used in the distilleries; or, in other words, that if not a single bushel of corn were used in distillation, we should still be under a permanent necessity of importing corn. Now, this being the case, it is most manifest, that parliament possesses the power of keeping the price of corn at that height, which shall be judged necessary to afford the owners and occupiers of land a sufficient rent for their estates, profit on their capitals, and salaries for their time and labour. Parliament has only to prohibit importation when the price of corn is beneath this height; and the thing is done. On the expediency of diminishing our dependence on foreign, and they may be hostile nations, for the staff of life, I shall for the present say nothing; but, I hope, Mr. Baker will by this time be satisfied, that, unless parliament be much more negligent of the landed interest than we can suppose it will be, as long as such able, vigilant and intelligent champions of that body as his most respectable colleague and himself have seats in the House of Commons, he need not entertain any apprehension, that the price of the quartern loaf will ever be lowered one single farthing below its reasonable price by the rivalry of sugar. But there is another rivalry, to which I will take this opportunity of calling the attention of Mr. Baker, and of every friend to their country. I mean the rivalry of foreign brandies, particularly French. How much of the national wealth was expended to enrich our enemies by the purchase of this article, was long ago repeatedly suggested in your valuable work; and more particular information on the subject was last year laid before the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Brooke: and lamentable was it to see, that a most enormous portion of this expenditure proceeded not from the unthinking or unfeeling luxury of selfish individuals, but from the sage and patriotic administration of public money by the officers employed for victualling the navy. In consequence of the gross facts, which Mr. Brooke's motions disclosed, I understood a check was promised to be applied to such proceedings of the victualling officers; and that they were ordered not to buy French brandies, unless they should be threepence a quart cheaper than British West Indian rums. How far this has been carried into effect I know not. (I perceive the victualling offices still advertise for both articles); but this I know, that the promise itself exhibited a most contemptible contrast to the vigorous hostility of our arch foe. It is not in this way that Buonaparté attacks us. It is not by the despicable peddlery of *threepenny preferances*, that he thwarts our commerce, and assails our resources. He excludes our productions out of every port from the Adriatic to the Baltic. And our revenge is a *threepenny preference* of our own spirits over his! Wines and brandies are now almost the only remaining staples of France; and for both, particularly the latter, this country is a principal market. By excluding it, we should add in an eminent degree to the distresses of the enemy. And it is indisputable, that we ourselves should not suffer the slightest inconvenience from the measure; for if our own distillers were encouraged by the promise of a permanent market to direct their science and practical skill to that object, they could produce from sugar a spirit not to be distinguished from the choicest cogniac. All chymists know, that the basis of all distilled and fermented liquors is sugar: and substances are fit or unfit for the production of such liquors, as they abound or are deficient in saccharine matter. M. Beaume a celebrated French chymist in his work entitled *Mémoires sur la meilleure Manière de construire les Alembigues. Paris*, 8vo. 1778, says "there is but one kind of wine in nature; and the only substance which produces wine is sugar. By a proper use of sugar, a perfect imitation may be made of the best wines in France, and other countries: and spirits, equal to the best distilled from wine, may be obtained from sugar; and it will be impossible by chymical analysis to distinguish one kind from the other." On the same subject see also *Biographia Britannica*, vol. 4. *Art. Goddard and Dr. Shaw's Chymical Lectures.* Yours, &c.

X. X.—*Dec.* 31, 1806.

THE ARMY.

SIR,——At the bottom of page 906, in

your last Saturday's Register, you state upon calculation that an army of 200,000 men, with the proportionate number of officers you have assigned it, and with the increased rate of pay you have there given to each class of officers, would cost a sum far short of 4 millions per annum. I must greatly misunderstand you, Sir, if this is not an error, which I think the following statement, calculated upon your own data, must demonstrate.

	£
200,000 men at 20 l. per annum each man, amounts alone to	4,000,000
200 battalions with 10 ensigns in each, at 7s. per diem, amounts to	255,500
200 battalions with 10 lieutenants in each, at 12s. per diem each, amounts to	438,000
200 battalions with 10 captains in each, at 20s. per diem each, amounts to	730,000
200 majors at 500l. per annum each	100,000
200 colonels at 1000 l. per annum each	200,000
Additional pay to non-commissioned officers for 200 battalions, at 400 l. per annum each	80,000
	£5,803,500

But, Sir, whatever error there may be on your side, or on mine in this calculation, every man, and particularly every officer in the army, bearing about him the common habits, and the common feelings of a gentleman, must thank you for entering in the ingenious manner you have done, into an elucidation of the causes of that enormous portion of our expenditure, so grossly and so shamefully abused, which give to idle drones, and nerveless loungers, the means of supporting immense establishments, whilst the men of adventure and of courage, who offer their lives to the ravages of climates, and to the swords of their enemies, are drooping in penury and wretchedness, scarcely able to preserve themselves from the horrors of a goal. Indeed, Sir, I have heard from good authority, that there are now in the King's Bench prison alone officers of all ranks, sufficient to furnish above three regiments of the line.——I am, Sir, your obedient servant——A. C.——*December* 15, 1806.

SINECURES AND PENSIONS.

SIR,——I have just read with much satisfaction your observations in the Register of Saturday last, relative to the abolition of sinecure places. Such a measure at such a time as this would give real strength to the country, not merely by the saving it would occasion in the public expenditure, but by the strong attachment and gratitude it would excite in the people towards a government who would consent to it. But, Sir, it is too much to expect that government or any party in the state will bring forward such a measure, unless the people themselves will be at the trouble to give some proof that they desire it. I hope, therefore, you will recommend petitions to the House of Commons, and public meetings to be held for the purpose, or, if public meetings (unless for party views) require more exertion in the people than can be expected from the apathy of the times, let a few respectable individuals frame a petition and advertise it for signature.—After considering your excellent observations and illustrations, both of the utility and practicability of such a measure of reform, I have only to suggest one remark upon this topic. I would not wish the abolition of sinecures to be indiscriminate and universal, but would continue either the whole or part of the sinecure to the holder in every instance where he could prove to the satisfaction of a committee of the House, that he has no other provision, or but an inadequate provision for a comfortable support suitable to his rank in society. In that case I would continue the sinecure during the life of the holder. Let petitions to parliament be framed upon this principle, and for this object, and presented without delay. They will be no doubt a great treat to our new members, and an amusing novelty to the old. ——I am, Sir, your obedient servant, D. W. *Dec.* 15, 1806.

MR. CANNING'S AMENDMENT,

As published in the Courier News-paper of the 22d December, 1806.

I. To assure his Majesty that it is with increased affection, attachment and loyalty, that his Majesty's faithful Commons meet his Majesty in this ninth Parliament of his Majesty's assembling. And that, amidst all those evils and pressures of war, and those tremendous and unparalleled successes of a formidable and unrelenting enemy, which render the present crisis peculiarly awful and alarming, the first and most fervent prayer of his Majesty's faithful Commons is, that it may please Divine Providence to grant to this favoured country the prolongation of a life and of a reign, the value and the blessings of which each succeeding year teaches us more highly to appreciate.—II. And to express to his Majesty our unshaken determination to

stand by his Majesty throughout all the difficulties and dangers of the times; in defence of the laws and liberties of this realm; in defence of his Majesty's sacred person and Government; and of a throne endeared to all classes of his Majesty's subjects by the virtues of the Sovereign who adorns it.—III. To offer to his Majesty our humble and affectionate condolence on that share of the public calamities of Europe which has come home to the personal and domestic feelings of his Majesty and his Royal Family, by the death of that gallant and illustrious Prince the late Duke of Brunswick, a Prince connected by such near alliances with his Majesty's Royal House, and with the Throne of these Kingdoms.—IV. That whilst we most sensibly participate in the deep and poignant grief with which his Majesty contemplates the issue of the late campaign on the Continent, we studiously abstain from suggesting to his Majesty, as a topic of consolation, what we well know his Majesty's intelligence and magnanimity would disdain to receive as such—the interruption of his Majesty's intercourse with the Court of Berlin during the last eight months, which precluded his Majesty from any knowledge of those counsels by which the war between Prussia and France was so unfortunately precipitated.—V. Satisfied, as we are, of the justice of the original grounds of his Majesty's complaints against Prussia, we are yet unable to refrain from deeply deploring their consequences.—VI. We are not furnished with any means of judging how far those complaints were capable of being adjusted, without recourse being had to actual hostilities; or how far any discussions which may have taken place subsequently to his Majesty's gracious message of the 21st April, were directed to that object.—VII. But we cannot but lament that the obvious artifice of the common enemy, in making a fraudulent and nominal transfer of his Majesty's Electoral dominions to the King of Prussia, should have been so far crowned with success as to have involved his Majesty in war with the only State of Europe whose resources were yet unimpaired, and whose arms might, at some happier hour, have been employed with effect in a new confederacy against France; and that the too successful policy of the enemy in amusing this country with an insincere and protracted negociation, should have obtained for France the opportunity of goading Prussia (by unmeasured and accumulated injuries) to that premature, unconcerted, and unassisted effort, which has terminated in the overthrow of that powerful monarchy, and in the complete subjugation of its dominions.—VIII. We cannot but express our regret that the policy which appears to have been ultimately adopted towards Prussia, should not have been recognized and acted upon until the occasion was gone by; and that his Majesty's Plenipotentiary should have arrived only in time to be an helpless witness of that prodigious ruin and destruction which it more timely interposition of his Majesty's advice and assistance might possibly have averted or alleviated.—IX. To acknowledge his Majesty's goodness in having directed to be laid before us the details of the negociation so long carried on at Paris.—X. We entertain the fullest conviction that the just and moderate sentiments by which his Majesty has proved himself to have been animated in the several preceding negociations for peace with France, have alike actuated his Majesty on the late occasion; and while we look with anxious interest for the development of those circumstances which can have deferred for so long a period that termination of the negociation which it is evident, as well from notorious facts as from the language of his Majesty's declaration, the artifices and pretensions of the enemy rendered from the beginning almost certain and unavoidable; we doubt not but we shall see in the whole course and tenor of the proceedings on the part of his Majesty, fresh instances of that desire for peace, and of that sincerity and good faith in the pursuit of it, which have so often been frustrated by the ambition of the French Goverment; as well as fresh proofs of the expediency of adhering to the policy of treating for general peace, and only in conjunction with our allies.—XI. That we receive with the utmost satisfaction the assurance of his Majesty's uninterrupted concert and good understanding with the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Sweden, trusting that neither in war nor in negociation, his Majesty's councils will be separated from those of our Allies distinguished by perseverance and good faith.—XII. The continued prosecution of the war being necessarily imposed upon his Majesty, we trust that it is intended to prosecute it with vigour: earnestly imploring his Majesty that no apprehension of embarrassing the conduct of a negociation by acquisitions made during its progress may ever again be suffered to relax for a moment the military and naval operations of this country.

To be continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 2.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 10, 1807. [PRICE 1Or.

"That, in case the crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person, not "being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the "defence of any dominions or territories, which do not belong to the crown of England, without the "consent of parliament."——ACT. WILLIAM III; 12th and 13th, Chap. 2.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT. (Continued from p. 22.—In order to facilitate the work of reference to the quotations and remarks, which I may think it necessary to publish upon subjects that come before parliament, I propose to insert, in future, at the head of each article of this sort, a list of the subjects touched upon, in the same manner as the following list, which will be found to be a table of contents to the article we are now entering upon.——I. *West India Sugar.* II. *The Uti Possidetis.* III. *Hanover.* IV. *Flourishing State of the Finances.*——I. On the 30th ultimo, Lord Temple moved for a committee of the House of Commons, to inquire, whether, on account of the very low price of West India Sugar, it would not be proper to pass a law to permit the use of such sugar in the distilleries; whereupon Mr. Baker, one of the members for Hertfordshire, expressed a hope that nothing of this sort would be done precipitately, lest the corn-growers should be injured by the probable reduction which such a measure would produce in the price of corn. In my last number, at page 34, the reader has seen a very able letter upon this question. The prices of sugar are there stated; and a very fair representation is made of the distressed situation of the sugar-planters. The statement, in the same letter, respecting the purchase of French brandy for the navy does not appear to me to carry in it conviction so clear as the writer evidently anticipates; for I cannot easily perceive *how* we should distress the enemy by excluding from our use any of the necessaries of life (and such, in this case, we must consider brandy) which are now supplied to our navy from his soil and labour. I do not say, that the argument here referred to, is not a good one; I only say, that it has failed to produce conviction in my mind. But, in combating the apprehensions of Mr. Baker, the writer is, as far as he goes, completely successful. After all that we have heard about the high price of corn; after all that we have seen as to the effects of a scanty supply; knowing as we do, that, upon an average of years, we exchange annually more than a million's worth of our other productions for corn; after all this, one would hardly have expected to hear a member of the House of Commons, who acts for the whole nation as well as for his immediate constituents, expressing his alarm, lest the price of corn should be reduced. What, however, appears still more extraordinary, is, that any man, much less a legislator, should suppose, or should argue as if he supposed, that corn being at a high price was a circumstance *advantageous to the growers of corn.* Generally speaking, there is no trade which derives advantage from the circumstance of high price in the articles of which it treats. Partial instances of advantage in this way frequently occur; but, take time to reflect upon the natural consequences of *substitution* and *competition*; and you will find, that it is impossible that the circumstance of high price should be generally and permanently advantageous to the persons employed in the producing or the manufacturing or the vending of any articles of common necessity, use, or convenience. If this be true with respect to all articles of common traffic, how peculiarly evident is the *truth*, when applied to the article of corn? The price of corn is the regulator of the prices of all other articles applicable to the common concerns of life: for, though it may be said, that men eat only *wheat*, and that, therefore, the high price of barley and oats cannot make it necessary to raise the price of the labour; yet, if barley be dear, bacon must be dear, or, if bacon be not raised, mutton and beef will be dearer on that account. If oats be dear, the labour of the horse is raised in price; and, if you could keep the horse upon hay and straw, there would be so much less hay and straw for cattle and sheep. Corn is, therefore, the regulator of prices; and, if the grower of corn sell it at five shillings a sack, he is just as well off as if he sold it for ten shillings a sack; because, viewing, observe, prices in their *general* and *permanent* effect, his land, his seed, and his labour, cost him

but half as much money in the former as they cost in the latter case; and, as to what he may clear and *lay by*, a guinea laid by in a country where corn sells at five shillings a sack is equal to two guineas laid by in a country where corn sells at ten shillings a sack. How, groundless, then, are the fears of Mr. Baker! He is too honest and independent a man to have feigned an alarm for the purpose of humouring the prejudices of his constituents; or, I really should have thought it impossible for him to be in earnest. He may say, perhaps, that labour does not rise as the corn rises. If it does not, the greater ought to be our sorrow; for, we well know, that, then, the hardships of the labourer must be increased. The fact, however, is so; but, then, another fact, is, that, though the corn-grower does not pay an immediate increase of wages in proportion to the increase of the price of his corn, yet, what he does not pay in an immediate increase of wages, he is sure to pay in an increase of amount in his poor-rates. One way or the other, the increase he must pay; for, the labourer never receives more than is sufficient for his subsistence, and that sufficiency the corn-grower must supply, or else the labourer ceases to exist, and, of course, the labour ceases with him. But, here I shall be told, perhaps, that a similar course of reasoning will apply to the concerns of the *sugar-growers*; and so it would, if they were left to dispose of their property as they might choose; if there were no tax or restraint, whether as to its destination or its use. With them *substitution* is impossible. They must raise sugar, or nothing; and they are compelled to bring it to one market, where, too, whatever may be the price of it, they are compelled to pay the same duty. Hence the necessity of laws and regulations without end; hence the ruin of hundreds of opulent planters; hence the uncertainty of their affairs; and hence that state of distress, to which many of them are now reduced. Nothing can be more mischievous to the community, generally speaking, than the turning of corn into spirituous liquors; and this evil would, at any rate, be lessened by the use of sugar instead of corn in the making of those liquors. Thus would our colonies be made to add to the quantity of food in the mother country; and to see such a measure opposed upon the ground of its *injuring the growers of corn* would be scandalous indeed; would be a shocking disgrace to the heads as well as to the hearts of the country gentlemen.—11. The *Uti Possidetis*. These are two words, which have been repeated upwards of three hundred and eighty times, during the debates, in both Houses, upon the papers relative to the late negociation. In America, where they pay their members so much a day when present and upon duty, they would have most bitterly complained of the expense of such debates; but we, happy, thrice happy we! have no ground for any such complaint: for, except in the mere trifling article of candles, perhaps, our members cost us just as much at one time as at another. The "Uti Possi-"detis" mean, the *learned* tell us, *actual possession*; or *the state of actual possession*; and, when they talk about treating upon the basis of the "Uti Possidetis," they mean, that the parties agree, by way of preliminary, or first bargain, that each shall retain all that he possesses at the moment when the negociators meet. But, if this be the meaning of the "Uti Possidetis," why not give us that meaning in our own language at once? Do those who make use of such phrases, which the stupidest wretch upon earth might learn to use as well as they, in a few hours; nay, which a parrot would learn, or which a high-dutch bird-catcher would teach to a bull-finch or a tom-tit, in the space of a month; and do they think, in good earnest, that this last relick of the mummery of monkery, this playing off upon us of a few gallipot words, will make us believe that they are *learned*? Learning, truly so called, consists in the possession of knowledge and in the capacity of communicating that knowledge to others; and, as far as my observation will enable me to speak, what are called the *learned* languages, operate as a bar to the acquirement of real learning. I already hear some pedagogue, or pedant, exclaim: "this "is precisely the reasoning of the Fox with-"out a tail." But, to bring this matter to the test, I hereby invite the *learned* gentlemen of the two universities to a discussion upon the subject. *I assert that what they call the* LEARNED LANGUAGES *are improperly so called; and that, as a part of general education, they are worse than useless.* Two months will afford time enough for any of the gentlemen just spoken of to disprove these positions. I will, therefore, give them until Lady Day next. I will publish their defence of their calling; and, if I do not *fairly* beat them in the controversy, and, that, too, in the space of twenty columns of my Register, I will then beg their pardon, and will allow, that to be able to speak, or write, in a language which the people do not understand is a proof of learning. But, until then, I shall dissent from the opinion, that none but clear streams are shallow, and that the muddier the water the deeper the

well.——To return now to the political topic before us, it seems, from the whole of the published debates upon it, that, had there been no such pretty words to be brought into play, there could have been nothing to talk about which the public would have been able to bestow one moment's attention upon; for, of what importance was it, in such a negociation, whether such was the basis or not? Every one must know, that, long before a treaty could have been concluded, there must have been cessions or surrenders, on our part, or, that we could have obtained nothing from France in behalf of any other state; and, if such was the case, of what consequence was it, of what use was it, to have settled the mere form of a basis? The ministers, for what reason I know not, and I cannot imagine, insist that they did begin to negociate upon this basis, and, their opponents contend, as a matter of course, that they did not. Very little interest has, however, been excited by the dispute, every man of sense clearly perceiving that the point at issue was not of the smallest importance, and, at the same time, reflecting with sorrow and with shame, that while we were spending our time in such quibbles, like Milton's fallen angels, sitting upon the burning marle, wrangling about predestination and free-will, our enemy was carrying his triumphant arms over newly-conquered states and kingdoms. The "Uti "Possidetis" could not charm down, it was not a spell strong enough to stifle this reflection; and, on hearing the gallipot phrase echoed from side to side, it was impossible that it should not occur to the mind of every man, that, between the two, we had been brought to our present situation; the only question, with us, being, not which had done us most good, but which had done us least injury; which had had the smallest share in producing the ruin and the disgrace of our country; a question which most men will, I think, decide in favour of the present ministers, who must work day and night for whole years, before they will be able to accomplish a hundredth part of the mischief accomplished by Pitt and his minions.—— In the debate attributed to the House of Commons there was considerable interest excited by Mr. Whitbread's differing from the ministers, and even proposing an amendment to the address. "The *Opposition*," as the Morning Chronicle calls them, dealt in more cavilling; but, in the objections of Mr. Whitbread there was something of reason and solidity. "The Opposition" said the ministers had been "duped;" one of them said, they had been "*bamboozled*;" they all said, that no negociation should have been entered into; that no belief should have been given to "such *men* as "Buonaparte and Talleyrand;" that it was fortunate, the negociation had failed; and that we ought to resolve to be exterminated to the last man rather than treat with Buonaparte, until he relinquished his determination *not to suffer us to have any connection with the continent.* But, Mr. Whitbread was of opinion, that there were not sufficient grounds apparent for breaking off the negociation; that, from the moment Mr. Fox became politically dead, an anti-pacific spirit began to appear on our part; and that, as matters now stood, the possibility of peace with France seemed to be cut off. He therefore proposed to insert words to the following effect in the latter part of the address to the king: "To assure his Majesty "of the firm determination of that House "to co-operate with His Majesty in calling "forth the resources of the United King-"doms, for the vigorous prosecution of the "war in which this country is unhappily "still engaged; and to express to His Ma-"jesty an earnest request, that His Majesty "will, in his paternal solicitude for his "people, as far as may be consistent with "the honour of his crown and the interests "of his Kingdoms, *afford every facility to "the restoration of the blessings of peace.*" ——This amendment ought, in my opinion, to have been adopted; and, my Lord Howick must excuse me, if I think his closing argument, to wit, that one man's blaming ministers for too much readiness to make peace and another's blaming them for too much readiness to break off the negociation, was a *proof* that ministers had acted wisely, had no force at all in it, and was nothing more than one of those old Pitt-quirks, by which, with the aid of a place and pension majority, his Lordship's solid arguments had been so many times answered. What were the opinions of Mr. Perceval to Mr. Whitbread? Suppose I knock my neighbour down without sufficient provocation, and a man still more violent than myself blame me for not splitting his skull, while another man blame me for having struck him at all: am I to plead the contradictory opinions of these men as a proof that I have acted wisely and justly?——As to the matter itself: what I should like to know, can possibly be gained by reviving the big talk of Pitt? He hectored about carrying on war for ever, rather than suffer Buonaparte to exclude us from all connection with the continent; but, he could quietly slip out of place, under false pretences,

while peace was made by others, giving up all the objects, for which he had pledged himself to contend ——For my part, I am thoroughly convinced, that the Emperor will, as long as our system of taxing continues, agree to no terms of peace which shall not be, in his conviction, calculated to work for our destruction as rapidly, and even more rapidly, than war. Never, in my opinion, as long as that system lasts, will England know an hour of real peace. But, of what use are high-sounding words, without deeds therewith corresponding? And, as it may become advantageous to obtain even a short cessation of arms, why should not the way to negociation be kept open? There is nothing, whether as to its effect at home or abroad, worse than being compelled to recede, either in one's conduct or one's words; and, I am greatly deceived, if Lord Howick expects to be able to keep the ground, upon which he now stands, or affects to stand, with respect to France. I am for no disgraceful terms of peace; but, to talk of *recovering the continent* is now madness; and I would be willing to make peace immediately, leaving Napoleon to take what he pleases in Germany, in Poland, and in Italy, Sicily included. I know of no treaty of alliance, that we have with Sicily. I know of no reason, whether of justice or of policy, for our carrying on war a day for Sicily any more than for Hanover. I would give up nothing that should tend, in anywise, to weaken ourselves; but, I would make not the smallest sacrifice for Russian or any other connection. There was a state of things, in which such connections were amongst our best means of defence as well as of offence against our most formidable enemy: that state of things, thanks to the Pitts, is completely overturned. There is no longer a trace of it remaining; and yet, these Pitts now call upon us to carry on war, until the last man in England shall be exterminated, rather than give up connections with the continent! If we will give up our maritime rights, or only a part of them, Napoleon will give us a connection with the continent; he will give us Hanover even now, and suffer us to have certain other connections; and, though this would be to sacrifice us to those connections, and to the private feelings and interests belonging to them, I suspect, that *there are persons in this country*, who, upon such terms, would willingly see a treaty concluded to-morrow. This is what, in our negociations with France, we have to guard against; and, we may be assured, that all the big talk about *our honour* has in it, at bottom, nothing more than the wish, if not the settled intention, of sacrificing England to selfish connections; and that, as to the honour of *this* country, it never enters into either the heads or the hearts of those (I mean the news-writers, of course,) who are everlastingly repeating the word.——It was said, in one of these speeches, that the *people* were unanimous in their opinion, that the war ought to be continued. Yes, for the defence and the future safety of England, Scotland, and Ireland: but, to tell them that we are at war for connections with the continent is not the way to make them approve of its continuance; for, while they are perfectly unanimous as to a war for the safety and honour of their own country, they are not much less unanimous in scouting the idea of continuing the war for the sake of the continent, every part of which they plainly see at the foot of the conqueror.——

III. There came out, however, in the course of the debates, some observations, which, as published in the news-papers, are well worthy of our attention. The first that I shall notice relate to *Hanover*, and I shall give them here, as I find them in the speech published under the name of Lord Grenville; as follows: "Now as to "Hanover, this was *a nice and difficult* "*point*, and no misrepresentation should "be allowed to go abroad respecting it. Ne- "ver was the issue of the negociation con- "nected with its fate. *Never did any in- "terested feeling arise respecting it.* But "should it be alienated for *our sake*? What "if he thought we owed such a debt as that "we acknowledge to Russia, to Sweden, "to Naples, *how much higher* the debt we "owe to our own sovereign? And surely "we would avoid the disgrace of such a "sacrifice, which would confound us with "those who made such shameful sacrifices "to their own fears, or their own interests. "Hanover was attacked not as a German "territory, not as connected with the Ger- "manic corps, but *solely because France "was at war with England*; and while we "were invulnerable here, the enemy was "determined to *wound us through Hanover.* "But to adopt the saying and maxims of a "*great statesman*, it seems to be, that, "under such circumstances, *Hanover should "be as dear to us as Hampshire*; and when "ever it was attacked, *for British interests*, "it should be defended by British magnani- "mity. But the *same feelings respecting "Hanover prevailed at Paris as here*; and "from the *first moment* of the negociation, "it was resolved it should be restored to its

"lawful sovereign. Indeed it was needless "to do otherwise; for they well knew that "British honour *would never have consented* "*to surrender it.*"——Now, I do not say, that Lord Grenville uttered these words, and I comment upon them because I find them published in a news-paper; and because I am convinced that they express doctrines, which, if adhered to, *must* accomplish the extinguishment of the remains of English liberty. *Who* the "great statesman," alluded to, is, I know not; but, be he who he may, widely do I differ from him in feeling and in opinion; and, whatever may be the feelings of the author of this publication, I can assure him, that Hampshire will think itself as little indebted to him as to Lord Temple. Hanover as dear to us as Hampshire! To *him*, to this author it may be; but, for my part, I trust I should be ready to shed my blood to the last drop rather than see the latter a department of a vassal kingdom of France, while I have no scruple to say, I care just as much about the former, as I do about the Duchy of Brunswick or the Principality of Hesse. Hanover as dear to us as Hampshire! I know not what the people in the North may think of this; but it really and literally comes home to my fire-side; and a great consolation it must be to one to hear, that one is considered, by this author, as having no greater claims upon the government than a Hanoverian hero! ——When the people of England, with the king which they had introduced at their head, made the settlement of the crown of this realm upon the family that now wear it, they made the provision recited in my motto. The makers of that law foresaw the consequences that would unavoidably result from leaving it in the power of the crown to make war for foreign possessions, belonging solely to the king; and, the fair construction of the law is, that war should not be waged by this country, without *previous* consent of Parliament, for the sake of any foreign possessions, the private property of any prince sitting upon this throne, whether he were *then* born abroad, or whether he should thereafter be born in England. The words, "not being a *native* of this kingdom," applied immediately to the then expected successor of Queen Anne; but, they also applied to his descendants. They applied to him as the head of the house; but the provision made part of the company with his successors as well as with himself. The doubtful expression of "in *case* the crown "should hereafter come, &c. &c." was used, because it was not, at the time the act was passed, certain that Queen Anne would die without children; and, the whole tenor of the act clearly shows, that the object of the provision was, to prevent this nation from being involved in wars for the sake of dominions, the property of the prince, and totally separate in interest from the kingdom of England. Yet, we now have been at war for Hanover, and that the previous consent of parliament was not obtained we all well know. Nay, if the French had stood out, we are plainly told by this author, that we should have been at war for Hanover now, and *solely* for Hanover; for, that, under such circumstances, *Hanover is as dear to us as Hampshire!* And, what are these circumstances? Is there any thing peculiar in them? Were we in alliance with Hanover? Had that gallant and generous nation lent us any aid, either in men or in money, previous to its being conquered? No: this is not pretended. There is no pretext of obligation, either express or tacit, set up. The circumstance (for there is but one) is, "Hanover was conquered *because* "*France was at war with England.*" Well, and will not Hanover *always* be conquered under similar circumstances? And must we make war (or *continue war*, which, in effect, is the same thing) against France every time she conquers Hanover? And must we never make peace without obtaining the restitution of Hanover, cost what it may? During the *last* war Hanover as well as England was engaged against France; but Hanover thought proper to make peace without consulting us, or our interests. Then it was loudly and vehemently contended by Lord Grenville and the whole of the ministry, that Hanover, though his Majesty, our gracious king, was the sovereign of it, was, and ought to be regarded as a state totally separate from, and having no connection whatever with, the kingdom of Great Britain; and, I remember well, that when some persons, amongst whom was Mr. Sheridan, regretted that the pacific example of the Elector of Hanover was not followed by the King of Great Britain, they were called Jacobins and Levellers! But now, behold, when Hanover is conquered; when France has gotten complete possession of it; or when she has given it to another power; now we are to fight and pay for it; now we are "not to give it up;" now we are to look upon it, in short, as being as near and dear to us as one of the counties of England! We are never to have peace without obtaining a restitution of it, because—because what?—"because France "took it on account of her war with Eng-"land." And an undoubted right she had

so to do; for she was at war with our sovereign and with *all* his subjects and states, wherever they might be. But, Hanover being a sovereignty distinct from England, England was not bound, and is not bound, to obtain restitution, or to do any thing for the safety or deliverance of Hanover. The *sovereign* may, out of his foreign means, do what he pleases in this way; but with his other dominions we have nothing to do. This is the very case provided for in the act of settlement. It was foreseen, and, indeed, it was easy to foresee, that France would, when at war with our sovereign and his dominions, make war upon his other dominions as well as these; and, therefore, such a law was passed, as was thought sufficient to guard this country against the expence and blood attending the defence of those other dominions. It may be said, that it is hard that the King and his family should lose those dominions for ever, merely because England is at war with France. There is this kingdom in return for that loss. But, at any rate, the probability of such loss, from such causes, was foreseen; and, it was in the power of the King's ancestors to refuse to accept of the crown of England upon the conditions contained in the Act of Settlement.——So much for the *right* of calling upon us to make, or to continue, war, for the defence or restitution of Hanover. Now, for the *policy* of it, leaving the feelings of the people of England out of the question. And here I shall insert, from the COURIER newspaper, of the 30th ult. some observations, which were mentioned in my last sheet, and which, in a manner better than I could, perhaps, fully express my sentiments upon the subject. They are worthy of the greatest attention; and, I hope the reader will, as I do, bestow upon them not the less applause, because they are taken from a publication which has been too much the slave of those, who have been chiefly instrumental in producing the present state of things. "The recovery of Hanover was insisted on with such a pre-eminent desire in the late negociation, that much enquiry is naturally on foot respecting its value to the British Empire, or to the system of Europe. That it is of any value to Britain cannot be shewn; on the contrary, its connexion with this country has been most injurious to our interests on the continent. Treaties have been made at different times with powers, which could have had less the welfare of England in view than the protection of Hanover, and which have led, or threatened to lead, England into war. But to go no further back than the present war, at its commencement France could touch our interests in no quarter but Hanover. She over-ran it, thereby insulting Austria and Prussia, bound by treaty to afford it protection. Those powers tamely submitted to the insult, and France, emboldened by their pusillanimity, proceeded to make other acquisitions, such as Genoa, &c. The war on the continent followed. If Hanover had but a small share in occasioning that war, she was a chief cause of its disastrous consequences. Prussia saw the dangerous ambition of France and would have succoured Austria, had she not been bribed to neutrality by the promise of Hanover. The hopes of gaining Hanover bound Prussia up from the common cause, left Austria at the mercy of France, and Europe fell. France gave Prussia the price of her neutrality, by ceding Hanover, and Prussia joined France in the war against Britain. G. Britain negociated for peace with France, and insisted as a *sine qua non* that Hanover should be restored. France took Hanover from Prussia that she might give it to G. Britain; and thereby provoked Prussia to a war which has annihilated her as a great power. Thus within a year we have seen Hanover neutralize Prussia, enabling our greatest enemy to subjugate our greatest ally. We have since seen it change a powerful friend into an enemy; and, lastly, we have seen it lead to the destruction not only of that powerful friend, but of the whole of our connexions military and commercial in the north of Germany. And what more mischief shall Hanover do to Britain? Is the king of Britain to become a vassal of France, like the kings of Wirtemberg, Bavaria, &c.? Is he, like them, to hold territories during the pleasure of the Corsican usurper?—In what other way but as a vassal of France can the king of England hold Hanover, under the present circumstances of Europe? Will he in future be able to make war upon France with the same independence and spirit he formerly did, knowing that Hanover will instantly be seized and pillaged? Mr. Burke said, "the sphere of my duties is my country.—A patriotic king can have no other country but that which he governs.—Shall we have a vassal of France for a king?—Yes; if you please, says Talleyrand, who never once refused Hanover in the negociation, well knowing the influence which through it the French would be likely to obtain over this empire.—Our own king is too patriotic to endanger the interests of Eng-

"land for the recovery of Hanover, and no doubt would have relinquished all "claim to it, had he had wise and spirited "advisers to point out the consequences.—"Mark the importance into which Hanover "is magnified in the course of the negociation! It is a *sine quâ non* forsooth, and "apparently the only one. It is spoken of "as if it were Portsmouth and the Isle of "Wight; as if it were something the possession of which by the enemy annihilated "the independence of England.—And, for "God's sake, let us know of what use Hanover is to this country besides furnishing "some foreign recruits who can be had elsewhere? With all his courtly and "servile spirit, on this occasion, to the "royal family, could Mr. Fox have made "it more? Can his Whig and Tory friends "in the Cabinet make it more?—In the approaching discussions on the negociation, "is there a member in parliament who will "speak out sturdy truths on this subject? "They can abuse one another. One party "may lose their places and another get "them; but the royal family cannot be "changed. By opposition ministers may "be supplanted; but who dare provoke the ill will of permanent power?"—— Never was there a truer prophet! But he has omitted one recent instance of the influence of Hanover. During the late war, when a fleet was sent into the Baltic to break the Northern Confederacy, why were the ships and coast of the Prussian Monarchy unmolested? Had not Prussia joined in that Confederacy? Was she not equally an object of attack with the nations of Denmark, Russia, and Sweden? Was Prussia spared on account of the near connection subsisting between the two courts? If so, supposing the cause of Great Britain to have been just, and her assertion of them politic, justice and her interests were sacrificed to that connection. But, will not every man, who dares think for himself, and who dares say what he thinks, conclude, that our ministry expected Prussia to indemnify herself for any losses she might experience in the war, by the seizure of Hanover; or, in other words, by taking possession of the private property of the king, whose servants they were?——This instance of the influence of Hanover has been pointed out to me by a correspondent, whose letter I should have inserted, had I not thought, that, upon the whole, the article just quoted from the Courier was better calculated for the purpose in view.——There is no necessity for any thing to rouse men's feelings upon the subject. The facts themselves, fairly stated, are quite sufficient. The man that does not feel from the bare statement, is made of stuff much too base to be moved by any appeals either to his patriotism or to his pride.——As connected with this subject, I cannot, however, help remarking how completely the army seems to be *Hanoverianized*. The best, or *most profitable*, regiments, have the honour to have for their *colonels*, some one or other of the Royal Family, upon whom alone English dukedoms have, for many years past, been bestowed, and who also, together with their foreign relations, have no small share of the Order of the Garter. As to these two latter objects I have nothing to say. I'm sure no loyal subject, especially if he be a man of sense, will grudge them either dukedoms or stars or garters; but, as to *regiments* and *staff-commands*, I (for here I will speak only for myself) do humbly presume to think, that they ought to take their fair turn with other officers of the army, and ought not to be so promoted, until they have had long experience, or have the recommendation of some distinguished atchievement. But, I have wandered from my subject, to wit, the *Hanoverianizing* of the army. The men of some of our regiments of dragoons, especially those of which the princes are colonels, have nothing of the look of Englishmen about them. They are so caped and cloaked and walletted and furred and whiskered, that, upon entering any place where they are, one can hardly help conceiving one's self in a high-dutch garrison. Now, as the daily new-papers tell us, we are going to have two *Yager* regiments, and of this the supple slaves, who convey the intelligence to us affect to be mightily glad! What in the name of all that's servile, does the word *Yager* mean? Is there, you venal scribes, no English word that will do as well? "In this "*highly* useful and necessary description of "troops the British army, at present, is extremely deficient." *Highly* useful and necessary indeed! And what do *you* know about the *high* usefulness and necessity of *Yagers*? We hired Yagers in the American war, as our national debt and taxes now justly remind us. The Americans, who wear no whiskers, held them in utter contempt, and, upon several occasions, they were beaten and driven from their plunder even by the women. The motto which the Americans gave to the German troops was a reversal of the old saying about the value of heads compared to heels; for they insisted, that, with respect to these bearded men, "that one pair of

"heels were worth two pair of heads." When any one goes creeping and unwillingly along, instead of saying, as we do, that he goes as if his legs were tied, or as if he were going to the gallows, the Americans say, that he goes *like a Hessian to battle.* ——If, indeed, there be any real improvement, either in discipline or dress, to be taken from the Hanoverian troops, or from the troops of any other country, no man of sense will object to it; but, what improvement is there in disfiguring Englishmen with furs and wallets and whiskers? Just as if to make a man hideous was to make him brave.

"Terror of boys, the breeding woman's curse,"

such heroes may be; but, be assured, that the troops of Napoleon are not to be intimidated by fierce and ugly faces.——In my next letter to Mr. Windham I shall offer some remarks upon the introduction of Hanoverian troops, as also upon the *expence* which they have already occasioned to this country, and shall remind him of that part of the Act of Settlement which provides against foreigners having any military command in this country.——IV. *The Flourishing state of our Finance.* This topic came up incidentally, during the "uti possidetis" debates; and, in a publication, purporting to be the report of a speech made by Lord Hawkesbury, I find the following passage. "Another encouragement for continuing "the contest was the flourishing state of "the finances. The present system of "finance, if justice were done to it, was "such as *no country had ever before arrived "at*; and if any one had some years ago "predicted the existence of that system, it "*would have been thought an impossibility.* "This was to be ascribed to two causes. "The first, for which the country was in- "debted to his illustrious friend, was the "Sinking Fund, the greatest financial mea- "sure ever proposed, acted upon, or perse- "vered in. The next, founded on this, "was the raising the supplies within the "year, a practice restored and *improved* by "a noble viscount opposite to him (Lord "Sidmouth.) Here he entered into a va- "riety of calculations and comparative nu- "merical statements, to prove the rapid "increase of the Sinking Fund, and the "produce of the war taxes, the former of "which now amounted to eight millions "and a half annually, the latter to 18 mil "lion, and contended if the system was "steadily persevered in, and *attended with "due economy*; the country in a *few years* "would find, that the Sinking Fund would "be *equal to the loan required*, and this "*during war time; so that in war the na- "tional debt would be stationary; in peace "it would be rapidly liquidating.*"——I will take some early opportunity of exposing, as far as it is in the power of words to express, the shallowness and folly of this publication. Yes, truly, it would, some years ago, have been thought impossible that such a tax as the Income Tax could have been levied in England! In another part of this sheet the reader will find a letter upon this subject. Can any one deny the truth of its statements? And, if he cannot, is the existence of this tax a fit subject of congratulation? A subject of pride? Is the existence of this tax an encouragement to carry on the war? Is it a people, who have to submit to such a system of taxation, who are to be told of the flourishing state of the public finances? A people who were last year told, that they must move from the first to the second floor; who were told, that such was the state of our fiscal affairs, that there was nothing left but a choice of evils and oppressions? This new tone is by much the most politic; for, to lament the necessity of imposing new taxes to-day, and to grant new pensions to-morrow, involve men in inconsistencies, and expose them to attack. The best way is to shut your ears fast up against the cries of misery; close your eyes to the increasing number of paupers, surround yourself with some three-hundred place-men, pensioners, and expectants, and, with a loud voice, a firm tone, and a glaring Pitt-like stare, swear that the prosperity and happiness of the country never were so great, and are daily increasing; and, if you should be at a loss for a proof, appeal to the number of coaches seen at the Opera house, or in Bond-Street; but be sure to omit the circumstance, that three fourths of these equipages are supported with the public money.——"In a few years" we are to see such wonders wrought in the way of relief! How long, good God! have the people been told this! The Sinking Fund goes on increasing, and *so do the taxes;* and, go on increasing they must, in peace as well as in war; for, we may rest assured, that, if the people of England are to be duped by a talk about the Sinking Fund, the conqueror of Europe is not. He well knows the *real* effects of our financial system; he is well counselled as to the time, when those effects will best aid his purposes; and never will he so act as to suffer *us to obtain relief*, until that system is completely annihilated. ——The speech, which I have just quoted, does, indeed, include the condition of *economy*; but, then, this is again qualified; "due

"economy; which, I suppose, does not include the taking off of Lord Liverpool's six-thousand-a-year sinecure, not Lord Hawkesbury's four-thousand-a-year *sinecure*? No: that is not "*due* economy" by any means. Never, I fear, shall we hear this sort of economy proposed! And, yet, it seems madness not to propose it, after the awful examples that we have witnessed. But, this is the way of all governments. They never profit from any examples.——In taking leave of these debates, I cannot refrain from observing, that Mr. Perceval, as it is stated in the newspapers, wished to *adjourn* the debate in the House of Commons: wished to have a second bout at it! One was quite enough, especially as the two Houses discussed the matter upon separate days, thereby giving the public two days' newspapers full. And here, it must be a subject of great satisfaction to perceive, that, though the master talkers are no more, we have no deficiency in point of talking; and that, as speeches, like the ribbons from a Merry Andrew's mouth, are generally estimated by their length, the loss we have experienced in this way will be very little felt.

If I had room, I should here offer some remarks upon the state of things with regard to the *American States*.——I should also remonstrate with *Mr. Spankie*, upon that new doctrine of his, which has, as my readers will see, in my next, attracted the attention of an able correspondent.——The correspondence between *Messrs. Hewlings* and *Whitbread* must not pass unnoticed.——And I regret exceedingly that I have not room for an observation or two upon the attack, made upon Lord Howick by the smoke-dried sot, who is hired by a set of *mercantile speculators* to conduct the *Morning Post*, of which they are the real proprietors; a circumstance, which, while it serves to give us an idea of the state of the daily press, accounts, in no very unsatisfactory manner, for the virulence with which that print has assailed his lordship, merely because he complained that a body of men, sitting at Lloyd's, have, out of money raised upon the people, and partly collected in the churches in defiance of the law, given a reward to a military commander, for an act of disobedience of orders! I care not whether he has *succeeded*. If he and his men have now been made prisoners, that does not at all alter the case. He was guilty of flagrant disobedience of orders, and he has been rewarded by persons acting upon the same audacious notions. Call *us* levellers, indeed! These are the true levellers. My readers will bear me witness what pains I took to awaken the ministry of Pitt and Addington to the dangers that might, and that would, result from this confederation at Lloyd's. I told them in so many words, that, if there should be in place a ministry, whom the Lloyd's men might dislike, they would, in some way or other, convert their fund into opposition purposes. I was much abused by many wicked, and by some weak men; but, I was not silenced; I persevered, until I had made the subject familiar to every one; and I should be a hypocrite if I disguised my satisfaction at seeing my predictions fulfilled.—Mr. Homan's Second Letter in Defence of Mr. Sheridan will be found below.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

The First Number of the Eighth Volume of COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, is ready for delivery. Complete Sets of the Work, from the Commencement in 1803, may be had of the Publisher, R. Bagshaw, Brydges Street, Covent Garden; of J. Budd, Pall Mall; and of all Booksellers and Newsmen. Of whom, also, may be had, the First Volume of COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND, including the period from the Conquest in 1066, to the Death of James the First.

PROPERTY TAX VEXATIONS.

SIR;—So revolting was the Tax upon Income to the feelings of every individual capable of understanding or appreciating the free principles of our Constitution, that, upon its first introduction, the daring mind of Pitt was appalled at the rising indignation of the country. To palliate this mischievous measure, and allay the ferment of the nation, every art was employed—much was said concerning the secresy to be observed—the disinterestedness of commissioners, who were to receive no salaries—and, when the measure was carried, it has been generally understood, that the commissioners were instructed to exercise their powers with great caution and moderation, that this unconstitutional and arbitrary measure, might, by proper management, pass down. When this odious tax was revived, various alterations were made, chiefly calculated to obviate the objections to exposure of property: with this view, persons of landed and funded property were to have the tax deducted from their dividends and rents, without being compelled to make any return of the same, and thereby exposing the amount of their incomes. But, Sir, the most numerous class of people to whom exposure must be of infinitely more consequence; those who de-

rive incomes from professions, trade, and commercial concerns, are not only liable to all the evils of the former tax, but, to have their most private affairs, exposed and scrutinised with much greater severity, than under the former tax. The papers which they are required annually to fill up, surpass all human ingenuity to understand: indeed, it is hardly possible so to fill them, as to avoid incurring a penalty. It is well known, that under the former tax, although the commissioners, their clerks, surveyors, and inspectors, &c. were sworn to secrecy, it nevertheless, somehow happened, that persons in public companies were able to relate their neighbours' return. So palpable, indeed, appears now the absurdity of recommending us to pay our money into the Bank to preserve secrecy, that few avail themselves of it, but openly make their returns to the collectors.—It is hardly possible to conceive, Sir, the vexation and oppression which the inhabitants of the City of London endure; the idea of secrecy is now exploded—some of the commissioners receive pay, or have lucrative appointments—all delicacy is at an end—the hired informers of government, whether surveyors, inspectors, or by whatever other fashionable appellation they may be called, surcharge without mercy:—these surcharges are made upon mere speculations it not being possible for them to know the nature of a person's concerns or profits, merely by walking by, and looking at his premises. Very few, indeed, of the inhabitants of London have escaped being surcharged one third, one half, and in most cases, double the amount of their return; they must either submit to the injustice of such surcharge (which many do through fear), or give notice of their intention to appeal: in the latter case a printed paper is sent which they are required to fill up, and which must specify such particulars, as very few, from the very nature of trade in general, can possibly comply with, were they so disposed. When they have complied with this part of the ceremony, and returned the paper, they are summoned to attend the commissioners. After waiting, perhaps, for some hours in a room among several trembling fellow sufferers, they are called up to undergo an examination as severe and humiliating as insolvent debtors before commissioners of Bankruptcy; and, perhaps, they must attend several times, and produce other accounts, before they can satisfy the commissioners.—What loss of time, what vexation, anxiety, and degradation, must an innocent man suffer, even should he succeed at last in satisfying these gentlemen he has made a fair return; to whom he must relate all the acts of folly, imprudence, extravagance, improvident bargains, improper speculations, &c. he may have run into.—To give you, Sir, some idea of the humiliating condition so large a portion of individuals are reduced to, I herewith subjoin a copy of the paper every appellant is required to fill up.

"*Property-Act Office, London,* 1806.——

"Notice having been received at the Office, of your intention to appeal against the assessment made on you by the additional commissioners, under the Act of the 45th of his present Majesty, cap. 49, for the past year, you receive herewith a schedule of particulars, which the commissioners under the authority of the Act require may be answered in writing, and sent under cover to their clerk, endorsed '*appeal*;' after which you will have notice whether the commissioners are satisfied therewith.—And you are desired especially to observe that no appeal can be heard, except on a schedule delivered in writing, according to the instructions hereto annexed.—By direction of the commissioners, (Signed)——Clerk.—P. S. If the Schedule is not returned within 24 days from the date of this notice, the assessment will be confirmed.

"1st. The amount of the balance of profit and loss, at the settlement in the 3 years preceding the 5th of April, 1805, stating each year separately, viz. 1802, 1803, 1804. If the accounts were adjusted at the end of each year.—2d. If you have not been in trade 3 years, the amount of the balance of such profit and loss accounts as have been taken, whether 1 or 2 years.—3d. Whether any deduction from your profit and loss has been made, for interest on capital employed, or on account of interest paid for money or capital borrowed?—4th. Whether any deduction is made from your profits, on account of rent and taxes, and to what amount?—5th. Whether any deduction is made for servants' wages or board, and to what amount?—6th. Whether there are any profits of an uncertain annual value, which are not included in your general account of profit and loss in trade?—7th. Whether any deduction is made for bad debts, or for doubtful debts unliquidated and to what amount, specifying each year, viz. 1802, 1803, 1804.——residing at——do hereby make oath, that the several answers herein above set forth, and signed by——are true, in every particular, to the best of——knowledge and belief.—Sworn before us,——"

You perceive, Sir, that, when this paper is

filled up and signed, the party, if required, must verify the same upon oath; upon which you would imagine they would be relieved: but what must your astonishment be when you are told, that, the person appealing is not sworn, but, after being heard, is desired to withdraw—in a few minutes called in again, and informed that the surcharge is confirmed. This was done to a friend of mine; and, although he offered to verify this statement upon oath, his affidavit was not taken. This I am well informed is a common practice; whether the Act justifies this conduct I will not say; but, under such inquisition no one is safe: they may not only take 5 or 10 per cent., but all a man possesses from him. A surveyor surcharges—the commissioners confirm the surcharge—the appellant offers to swear, but is refused. Thus is "the subject left without "all manner of remedy". Sir, I have stated some of the severe hardships to which the inhabitants of the city of London are subjected; I might enumerate many distressing particulars; it is not uncommon for individuals to submit to the grossest injustice rather than undergo the vexation of appealing; a friend of mine when he appealed had it noticed to him, that he had a very good coat on his back, and thence inferred he could afford to pay the surcharge. Many instances have come within my knowledge, where persons in insolvent circumstances have returned incomes, and submitted to surcharges to the injury of their creditors, rather than make their situation known: one person I know (to whom I was a large creditor), who was surcharged, and had his goods seized for the payment of the tax; immediately afterwards he became a bankrupt, and his estate has not, and I believe never will, pay 6d in the pound.—Whether the inhabitants of Westminster and other trading places, have been treated with the same severity, I am not sufficiently informed to determine; but, if I may judge from a circumstance that lately occurred to myself, in a village where I occasionally reside during the summer, I should be led to conclude, that the powers vested in the commissioners, surveyors, collectors, &c. are in all places exercised to the fullest extent, if not exceeded. The circumstance I allude to, happened in the parish of Edmonton; it is well known to the collector that I am there only a small part of the year. On the 4th of November last, after being from home several weeks, I found at my house several papers to be filled up respecting the Property Tax, dated Oct. 8th. I immediately wrote to the collector, that I always entered my property in town, except the premises I occupied, (which he well knew). When my note was delivered him, he immediately filled up a summons (which he had by him, with several others ready signed by two commissioners) for me to attend at Enfield, to shew cause why the penalty of 20*l.* should not be inflicted upon me for not making my return within 21 days. It not being convenient for me to go 10 miles to appeal, and viewing this as a most wanton and vexatious exercise of authority, and that it was irregular to leave summonses ready signed for collectors to fill up at their pleasure, or rather displeasure, I wrote to him to that effect. Whether the matter is to rest here, I have not been informed; but, Sir, are we patiently and without repining, to submit to these most vexatious and grinding measures? Are we quietly to bear these oppressive and inquisitorial impositions? Are we still to be told, that we must make the most painful sacrifices; that we must be driven from the first floor to the second, the second to the third, and the third to the garret; while not a single measure has been adopted for retrenching the public expenditure; no inquiry into past abuses; no redress of national grievances?—*Dec.* 29, 1806.—R. W.

DEFENCE OF MR. SHERIDAN.

TO THE WORTHY AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER II.

Gentlemen;——On the 13th day of September that great statesman, your late ever to be revered representative, Mr. Fox, departed this life. The delicacy of his public and private friends, though they had long expected his dissolution, prevented them from considering who was the person most adapted to the representation of Westminster. At that interval, grief for his irreparable loss monopolized all their feelings, nor was there to be found, a man presumptuous enough to point to his fit successor. The public feeling was soon, however, directed to an advertisement from Lord Percy, stating his intentions to stand for Westminster; but public opinion pointed to Mr. Sheridan. He, however, scrupulously avoided any thing like a canvass, but, called on by the unanimous voice of his friends, he determined to attend a meeting convened by public advertisement, signed by twelve of the electors, and then to declare the feelings and principles by which his conduct was actuated. This meeting was held on the 18th of September at the Crown and Anchor; it is needless to refer to Mr. Sheridan's speech or the effects it produced, but the following resolutions were

unanimously agreed to by this meeting, the most respectable of the kind ever held; all parties of every description being present,—"1st. That the right hon. R. B. Sheridan "is the most fit and proper person to re-"present this city in parliament on the pre-"sent vacancy." Mr. Sheridan (being present) declined that honour, suggested his reasons for so doing, and declared his intentions to support Lord Percy. It was, thereupon, resolved unanimously, "That this "meeting with the highest admiration of "his genius and virtues, observe with the "deepest regret the resolution which Mr. "Sheridan has formed to decline accepting "the decided and almost unanimous wishes "in his favour."——On the 16th of September there appeared from Mr. Cobbett, not in his Register, but in the Morning Post, an Address to the Electors, from which I take the following extract. "I warn you "against the calamity, the shame, the deep "disgrace that await you and your country, "if, yielding to venal solicitations of the "stewards and butlers of noblemen, you "condescend to become the menials of me-"nials, the laquies of laquies, and suffer the "populous, the industrious, the public spi-"rited City of Westminster, hitherto con-"sidered as the ever-burning lamp of the "liberties of England, to be handed to and "fro' like a family borough—confidently "trusting that you will with indignation re-"sist any project for thus extinguishing the "fame of your city, and degrading the cha-"racter of her electors, confidently trusting "that when you consider, that it is to you "all other free cities and boroughs look for "an example, you will tear in rags the gau-"dy livery now tendered for your backs, "confidently trusting that when the ques-"tion is freedom or bondage, you will sus-"pend all animosities and differences, and "act with a degree of energy and unanimi-"ty which shall at once and for ever blast "the hopes of all those who would make "you the instruments of your country's "ruin." You must perceive, gentlemen, that this address was written by Mr. Cobbett with an evident wish of supporting Mr. Sheridan, whom, he as well as others, supposed, to be a competitor with Lord Percy for the honour of representing your city. Mr. Cobbett's wishes and feelings are *particularly conveyed* in this address, not one word does he mention against the pretensions of Mr. Sheridan; on the contrary, every *pointed* invective which Mr. Cobbett hurled at Lord Percy must be considered as so many weapons cast by him in support of Mr. Sheridan. You perceive that in this address there are none of those incontrovertible objections to the pretensions, and dreadful denunciations against the principles of Mr. Sheridan, which he so consistently fabricated and published in his Register since the meeting at the Crown and Anchor, that is from the moment he failed in his attempts to force Mr. Sheridan into a contest with Lord Percy, and the administration containing so many of Mr. Sheridan's oldest and dearest friends, together with the whole of the Whig party, who were almost to a man engaged to Lord Percy, he had recourse to his Register, that infallible palladium of consistency and truth, and then circulated *his futile efforts* to *deceive*, and *his impotent attempts to defame*——On the 20th of September there appeared an Address to the Electors of Westminster from Mr. Paull, in all the public papers, which was afterwards repeated in another to the Committee of Electors at the Rainbow Coffee House, from which I take the following extract.—"Gentlemen,——I trust "that this address from one of yourselves, "and one most sincerely attached to the li-"berty and independence of Westminster "(on whose election the eyes of Europe are "now rivetted) will not be deemed obtru-"sive or undeserving of your most serious "consideration. I trust, at all events, you "will forgive it. Considering, with some "of the best disposed characters in the "kingdom, that *the fate of the country* in a "great measure will be decided by that of "*the approaching election*, I presume to put "a plain simple question to all those who "feel as I do on this most important occa-"sion. Will you elect any person, be his "birth or personal accomplishments what "they may, to succeed the ever to be la-"mented, the immortal Mr. Fox, un-"known, untried, as a political character, "and to say the least of him, a person al-"ready returned to parliament by the "Grenville family; IN PREFERENCE TO MR. "SHERIDAN? If the present glorious op-"portunity is neglected for asserting the "freedom and independence of the first "city of the world, England will long, will "for ever, lament the unhappy events, "and 'Peace, and the dignified charities of "human nature,' with liberty itself, may "be said truly to have been thrown orphans "on the world. At the General Election, "after having, by his services, still further "endeared himself to the hearts of his "countrymen, Sir Francis Burdett will not "then be debared from returning to those "constituents whose partiality he has so "justly merited, and to whom his gratitude "is due, and you will then have an oppor-

"tunity, *worthy* and *independent Freemen*, "*to revert back to* HIM, who has been, as "*he* OUGHT *to have been*, the FIRST OBJECT "of YOUR CHOICE—I MEAN TO MR. SHE-"RIDAN, whose conduct on the present oc-"casion (laudable, delicate, and proper, no "doubt, as his motives have been) has DIS-"APPOINTED EVERY TRUE FRIEND TO LI-"BERTY, PROPERTY, AND INDEPENDENCE. "Should Mr. Sheridan UNFORTUNATELY, "at the General Election STILL DECLINE "your partiality for him, Lord Percy in the "mean time, (for he is now in Parliament, "by the favour of Lord Grenville), will, in "the Senate, have opportunities to prove "himself politically worthy of being, what "Mr. Fox adjudged as the first distinction "in the world, 'the worthy representative "of Westminster.' I have the honour to "subscribe myself, with every sentiment of "respect, your faithful servant, JAMES "PAULL."—In these sentiments thus expressed by Mr. Paull, I believe that gentleman was perfectly sincere, and had Mr. Sheridan stood, I have no doubt but that he would have been a zealous supporter and an active canvasser in his behalf.—Now, Gentlemen, what are your opinions respecting this address of Mr. Paull's when compared with his subsequent addresses and his speeches on the hustings?—Hitherto, then, an unexampled unanimity and unparalleled popularity appeared in favour of Mr. Sheridan as the fit and genuine successor of Mr. Fox. It is curious to trace by what mean arts, or accidents, even the lowest of the rabble, much less many respectable Electors, could afterwards have been turned against him. Mr. Sheridan persevered in his honourable determination not to oppose, but to give all his interest to Lord Percy, the candidate who not only possessed the whole support of the government, but the unanimous promise of the Whig interest, and, of course, of the great majority of the personal friends of Mr. Sheridan. It should appear difficult to find fault with that line of conduct adopted on this occasion by Mr. Sheridan, or to consider it otherwise than as Mr. Paull viewed it; who, in his address which I have already quoted, declares it to be, "laudable, deli-"cate, and proper." Mr. Cobbett, however, led the way to a new construction of Mr. Sheridan's motives; he discovered, that the whole was "*a juggle* between Mr. "Sheridan and the Duke of Northumber-"land," to whom the former had most ungratefully betrayed and sold the independence of the City of Westminster. From Mr. Cobbett's 3d. letter to the Electors of Westminster, I take the following passage:—"It appears clear to me, that from the "beginning, he (Mr. Sheridan) was in con-"cert with the Lord and his Steward; that "the meeting at Somerset House, and the "advertisement for the public meeting, "were for the purpose of preventing any "other candidate from coming forward "against the Lord."—But now to consider Mr. Cobbett's conduct relative to the Duke of Northumberland, I shall make a few extracts from his Register, from which you will perceive that this gentleman invariably forms his opions, and draws his conclusions, from principles which his imagination creates, without the aid of his judgment; and which are as mutable as his opinions. To prove this, I select the following extracts from his Register, Vol. X. page 481: "Even Mr. Sheridan, with all his conduct "before me, appears to me greatly referable to the Lord that has been offered to "you;" again, page 484, "Mr. Sheridan's "scheme has not succeeded; you seem not "satisfied with his nomination of the Lord; "if you must submit, let it for God's sake "be with every mark of reluctance." Page 548, he says, "would it have been of no "use to cause the family of Northumber-"land to expend sixty or seventy thousand "pounds? Would it have been of no use "to give nearly one half of you at any rate, "an opportunity of shewing your dislike "to the man you disapproved of?"—Again, page 552; "excuse me, if I ask you whe-"ther you remember how the high-blooded "Sire sat smiling at the window while "you like beasts of burden, were carrying "the sou upon your shoulders, and if I re-"proach you with worse than beastly un-"reasonableness, if you complain of bur-"dens hereafter." Then the Duke is charged with having most grossly interfered in the late Election, and of having libelled Mr. Sheridan; as will appear from the following letter, which Mr. Cobbett states to have been written by the Duke of Northumberland to some leading man in the parish of St. Margaret. Register, page 808; "the "facts are these; 1st., that Mr. Stephen-"son, the vestry clerk of the parish, read "to me, *before the election began*, minutes, "which he had made in his pocket book, "of the contents of a letter from the Duke "of Northumberland, to some leading men "in the parish, who, agreeably to the "wishes of the Duke, had *communicated* "the *contents* of the *letter* to the *Church-"wardens*; which contents as read to me, "in substance were, that the Duke was "highly offended that the Minister could "find no other man than Mr. Sheridan, to

" be the colleague of Earl Percy; that he " could not bring himself to consent to his " son's standing with such a man as Mr. " Sheridan. Those minutes," says Mr. Cobbett, " contain expressions, beyond all " measure more *harsh* than are contained " in my account of them; and Mr. Ste- " phenson well knows, that I have kept far " within the limits of truth." On the 15th of November, the spirit of the above *flimsy substance considerably enlarged*, and improved with many additions never before published, was placarded on the corner of every street; but it is strange that this circumstance, which was *so conducive to the interests of Mr. Paull*, should have been kept a profound secret until two days before the close of the poll, when we learned from Mr. Cobbett, that he was in possession of the fact previous to the commencement of the Election. The advertisement above alluded to, was the ground on which Mr. Paull's fertile imagination created those 800 imaginary votes, which he pledged himself to bring forward on the following Monday. —Hence it must clearly appear, that the whole of this was an electioneering trick.— I shall now, gentlemen, bring forward an evidence which must effectually confute and invalidate the rash and unfounded assertions of Mr. Cobbett, namely, a letter received by Mr. Sheridan from the Church-wardens of St. Martins, signed also by Mr. Birnie: on this I shall make no comment, as the following letter is incontrovertible.—" Spring " Garden Coffee-house, Nov. 16, 1806.— " Sir,—In answer to your communication " by Mr. A. Johnston, we beg leave to de- " clare, that no kind of influence has been " made use of, either directly or indirectly, " by the Duke of Northumberland, or any " person in his name, in this parish, on the " part of Mr. Paull, nor did we ever hear " of any letter being sent to the vestry, as " is mentioned in the bills posted about the " streets last night; nor is it possible such " a letter could have been received without " our knowledge.—We have the honour to " be, Sir,—R. Birnie, Chairman of Sir S. " Hood's Committee.——John Stanon, " Churchwarden."——Mr. Cobbett himself declares, p. 840. " The conduct of this no- " bleman, and all the persons acting under " him has been during the contest at West- " minster, truly *exemplary* and *constitution- " al*. They *have in no instance that I have " heard of, attempted to interfere in the " election*." My limits will not allow me to make any remark on this last quotation; and, indeed, the glaring inconsistency of Mr. Cobbett renders any comment of mine unnecessary. Mr. Cobbett says, p. 842, " A fact has come to light, too, which I " have great pleasure in stating, because it " will operate as a correction of an error, " into which, with many others, I was led " with regard to Lord Percy's election, " namely, that there had, from the begin- " ning, been a secret understanding be- " tween Mr. Wilson and Mr. Sheridan. It " now appears from unquestionable authori- " ty, that there was no such understanding." In supposing there ever had been a collusion between the Duke and Mr. Sheridan, how reasonable it would have been that a man acting under that impression, who had raised a foul and lying cry against Mr. Sheridan, should on the discovery of his error have made apology and atonement, and have endeavoured to repair the mischief he had caused; instead of which, Mr. Cobbett seems totally to have disregarded my letter, p. 556, in which I told him that such a report was too ridiculous to require an answer, and that I was certain he himself did not believe it; and, then forsooth, when it suits his own purpose two months after, he claims the merit of this discovery, and acknowledges that he has been led into an error; therefore, I hope and trust, for Mr. Cobbett's credit as a man of veracity, that two months hence he will publish a recantation of his present errors, though he may not give me credit for the truths I have advanced, to which I can have no manner of objection.— Gentlemen, I shall give you another proof of Mr. Cobbett's *consistency* In one Register he tells you of the risk Mr. Sheridan ran in opposing Lord Percy; in the following Register he asserts, there would have been no risk in so doing. In the Register of Sept. 27, p. 483, he says, " There was " indeed, a threat thrown out in a ministe- " rial paper, that Mr. Sheridan would *lose " his place* if he opposed the Lord, and *I " am of opinion that such would have been " the case*." Again, p. 548, Mr. Cobbett, says, " I am certain that if in such a " case, Mr. Sheridan had had the *courage* " to expose his places and his seat, *no mi- " nister in England* would have *dared* to " touch either."—I now come to a strong instance indeed of Mr. Cobbett's sincerity and consistency. On the Tuesday evening previous to the commencement of the election, he wrote to Mr. Sheridan the following letter. " Sir;—To be direct and frank " has always been my course, and I think it " right to lose not a moment in informing " you, that upon hearing that Lord Percy " had declined, that Pittite was to be set " up in his stead, and that Mr. Paull meant

" to offer himself, I immediately set off for " town, to lend this latter gentleman all the " assistance in my power, however trifling " that may be; and, *as the main object of* " *this letter*, I think it right to inform you, " that I am well assured that Mr. Paull *does* " *not mean to be considered as opposed to* " *you*, and, that if there should be any hos- " tility shewn between you, *the fault will* " *not be his, or that of his friends* —I am, " Sir, yours, &c.—Wm. Cobbett."—On the morning of the very same day on which Mr. Sheridan received this letter, Mr. Paull addressed to that most active and attached friend of Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Finnerty, a letter as follows: " Dear Sir;—I am not op- " posing Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Cobbett is at " my house, and we want merely to speak " to you, without attempting, what would " be both improper and useless, to weaken, " in any shape, your attachment to Mr. " Sheridan. We differ, however, with you " totally about our success, I am really and " sincerely yours, James Paull."——On the 29th of November, appeared in Mr. Cobbett's Register, p. 840, the following paragraph. " The cup of his (Mr. Sheri- " dan's) ambition was just touching his lip, " when we came and dashed it to the " ground." Now, I force Mr. Cobbett into this dilemma, and let him take his choice upon which horn of it he will remain suspended. Was he sincere, and was Mr. Paull sincere, or were they not, in their declaration, that it was not their object or determination to oppose Mr. Sheridan? If they were sincere, Mr. Cobbett's vaunt, that " we came and dashed the cup from his lip " to the ground," is a boastful after-thought and a libel on themselves. If they were not sincere, then are they convicted of an act of base hypocrisy in endeavouring to delude the friends of Mr. Sheridan by false professions. Let them take their choice. Being on the subject of Mr. Cobbett's *sincerity and consistency*, I must here bring another instance connected with the present subject. Mr. Cobbett has in various parts of his Register (notwithstanding the direct proofs to the contrary which have been brought forward, and the still stronger proofs which, but for Mr. Sheridan's delicacy, would have been produced) ventured to assert, that the overtures for an understanding with Mr. Paull were made on the part of Mr. Sheridan, and this he endeavours to establish by his statement of Mr. Rodwell's conduct on the subject, vide p. 760, in which he affirms, there had been an offer made to Mr. Paull by Mr. Rodwell, one of Mr. Sheridan's committee, on the part of Mr. Sheridan, to split votes with Mr. Paull. Now, gentlemen, observe, that this Mr. Cobbett, having inserted with the most frontless intrepidity, a gross and foul misrepresentation respecting Mr. Rodwell's conduct, he absolutely refused to give a place in his Register to Mr. Rodwell's clear and manly reply to the calumny, though published in most of the public papers, and which I shall now insert.—— " Copy of a letter from Mr. Rodwell to Pe- " ter Moore, Esq. Chairman of Mr. Sheri- " dan's Committee.—Leicester-square, Nov. " 16.—Sir,—In answer to your letter, just " received, I am, in the first place, to in- " form you, that, instead of being one of " the principal persons of Mr. Sheridan's " committee, I do not, and have not attend- " ed it at all; nor have I had the slightest " intercourse with Mr. S. on this business, " except once at the Crown and Anchor, " on the 18th of Sept., and last Sunday in a " public room at the Piazza Coffee-house. " Mr. S. never made, through me, any " proposal of any sort to any person con- " cerned in the election. I avow that my " wish was, as an independent individual " elector of Westminster, to have polled for " Mr. S. and Mr. Paull; and had I had any " intercourse whatever with Mr. S. I should " have taken the liberty, in a fair and man- " ly way, to express to him the opinion I " have before professed; but I was pre- " vented from attempting any communica- " tion with him, by the advice of a gentle- " man who is really one of the principal " persons of his committee (I mean Mr. " Burgess, Mr. Sheridan's solicitor), and " who assured me that Mr. S. would not " listen to such proposition, I afterwards vo- " ted singly for Mr. S. The letter I wrote " to Mr. Paull, was not on the day of Mr. " Sheridan's declared union with Sir S. " Hood, but on the evening of the Sunday " preceding the day of nomination. I have " since explained to Mr. Cobbett his mis- " take on the subject, and he has promised " to correct it in his next number. I now " conclude with observing, that I do not " feel myself called upon to make the least " apology for the part I have taken. Pre- " vious correspondence and communication " with Mr. Paull justified my writing to " him in the manner I did; and as an elec- " tor of independent mind and spirit, I had " a right to act for, and to judge whom I " would prefer to be the colleague of Mr. " S. I have the honour to be, Sir, your " obedient servant, T. Rodwell."—— Having now, gentlemen, arrived at the limits which Mr. Cobbett allotted to me in this number, I must defer till my next the

many instances I can bring forward, to prove that Mr Cobbett's libels on Mr. Sheridan during the late election, are as groundless and unsubstantiated, as I trust you are now convinced his attacks on Mr. Sheridan's conduct were with respect to Lord Percy's election —I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your very obedient humble servant,—— *Monday, Jan. 5, 1807.*—— FREDERICK HOMAN.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

CONTINENTIAL WAR.——*Fifth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Jena, October 15. ——The battle of Jena has wiped away the disgrace of the battle of Rosbach, and in seven days concluded a campaign, which has wholly quieted all the dreadful preparations for war, with which the Prussian heads were so much possessed. —The following was the position of the army on the 13th: The Grand Duke of Berg and Marshal Davoust were with their corps of the army at Naumburg, having a part at Leipzig and Halle. The corps of Marshal Prince Ponte-Corvo was on the march to come up to Naumburg. The corps of Marshal Lannes advanced to Jena; the corps of Marshal Augereau was placed in the position of Kahla —The corps of Marshal Ney was at Rotha. The head quarters were at Gera. The Emperor was on the march to proceed to Jena. The corps of Marshal Soult was on the march from Gera, to take a more convenient position upon the strait road from Naumburg to Jena ——The position of the enemy was the following: The King of Prussia wished to commence hostilities on the 9th of October, by bearing down his right wing on Frankfort, with his centre on Wurtzburgh, and his left wing on Bamberg All the divisions of his army were disposed for the accomplishment of this plan; but the French army, turning him upon the extremity of his left wing, was found in a few days at Saalburg, at Lobenstein, at Schleitz, at Gera, and at Naumburgh. The Prussian army, seeing itself turned, occupied the days of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, in calling in their detachments; and, on the 13th, formed itself into order of battle between Capelsdorf, being about 150,000 men strong. —On the 13th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the Emperor came to Jena, and on a small elevated flat, beset by our advanced guard, reconnoitred the positions of the enemy, in order to manœuvre in such a way as next day to force the different passes on the Saal, and so to fall on. The enemy made a vigorous opposition, and seemed by their dispositions, on an inaccessible position on the highway between Jena and Weimar, to think that the French could not stretch out upon the plain, without previously forcing that passage. It did not appear possible, in fact, to bring the artillery to play upon the flat, which was so small, that four battalions could scarcely open out their ranks upon it. ——The men were set at work the whole night, to make a way over the ruts, and at length, succeeded in bringing the artillery upon the height.—Marshal Davoust received orders to defend the passes near Naumburg and the defiles of Koefen, as the enemy wanted to march upon Naumburg, in order to reach Apolda, and fall upon his rear, in case he remained in the situation in which he then was.—The corps of Marshal Prince Ponte-Corvo was destined to stretch out by Naumburg, in order to fall upon the rear guard of the enemy, in case he bent strongly toward Naumburg or Jena.—The heavy cavalry, which had not yet come up with the army, could not be entirely brought on by mid-day. The cavalry of the imperial guard was at the distance of 36 hours march, notwithstanding the heavy journey which it had performed since it left Paris; but it was come to that moment of the war, when no single consideration should outweigh to deprive them of the advantage of being the first to meet and fall upon the enemy.—The Emperor placed the whole corps of Marshal Lannes in order of battle upon the level height, which the enemy seemed to overlook—(they occupied a position over against it). This corps was placed under the care of General Victor, each division formed a wing. Marshal Lefebvre ordered the imperial guard into a square battalion upon the highest point. The Emperor kept the watch in the midst of his brave men. The night presented a remarkable spectacle two armies, the one of which extended its front upon a line of six hours march, fired the air with its lights; the other, the lights of which seemed to be brought into one small point; and in the one, as well as in the other, all watchfulness and motion. The lights of the two armies were at half-cannon shot distance respectively; the sentinels were almost touching, and there was not a single motion on either side, which could not be heard from the other.—The divisions of Marshals Ney and Soult took up the whole night in marching.

To be continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 3.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1807. [PRICE 1s.

So venal and so [illegible]
"Paltry and proud, as drabs at Drury Lane."—NOTT: SAT. II.

TO THE

FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER V.

Botley, Jan. 13, 1807.

GENTLEMEN,

Having addressed four letters to you, in the preceding volume of the Register, I call this the fifth. It is my intention to continue the series, until I have submitted to you all the observations, that shall appear to me to have a tendency to insure, at another election, the success of Mr. Paull, or of whatever other candidate, or candidates, shall be found to offer themselves as the determined supporters of our principles. But, in the letter, which I have now the honour to address to you, it will be necessary for me to confine myself to an answer to two letters published by me from the pen of a MR. FREDERICK HOMAN, who, after having applied to me to know, whether I would insert a *defence* of Mr. Sheridan against my attacks during the late contest, and after having obtained my assurance, that such insertion should be made, sent me his promised defence, in the two letters, which I have published, and which you have, probably, seen at page 1013 of the preceding volume, and at page 54 of the present.

Mr. Sheridan, in his last address to his friends, of whom Peter Moore was at the head, had said: "leave Mr. Cobbett to "himself; rely on it, there is not a man, "woman, or child, in Great Britain, who "believes one word that he says." Mr. Homan quotes this passage at the outset of his defence, and he says, that there never was an observation more just, "or fitter to "be applied and attended to;" of the *sincerity* of which opinion you will want nothing to convince you, gentlemen, when you see this very Mr. Homan applying for permission to insert *a defence* of Mr. Sheridan against the statements of this same Mr. Cobbett, which statements both of them were quite sure, that no man, woman, or child would believe! So much for this miserable affectation of contempt forsooth, an affectation which bears no very faint resemblance to the "dammie-who's-afraid" of a duellist, when he is going trembling to the place of appointment.

But, you will ask, "who, in the name of all that is obscure, is this Mr. Frederick Homan." I, unhappily, asked the same question, some time ago, for which the subject of my question has, in his first letter, most severely, though I will not say unjustly, punished me, by imposing on me the task of conveying to the world the overflowings of his nauseous vanity, as exhibited in an account of his descent. We heard and saw enough of *high-blood*, during the election, and we will revive the subject, by-and-by, when we come to speak of *the Play-Actor's Dinner to the Sheridans*. At present, it will be best to leave Mr. Homan to the operation of those feelings, which, in your minds, will not fail to have been excited by his empty boast about superiority of blood. Personally, let us leave him in perfect charity, hoping that, whether by his scene-shifting, or other means, he may always be able, like you and me, to procure an honest livelihood; and that, when old age or sickness overtake him, his high-blooded relations, may be, contrary to the practice of many of them, disposed to support him without having recourse to the purse of the public.

In *a defence* of Mr. Sheridan's conduct, during the last election, I expected, and I dare say you did, an attempt, at least, to refute the several charges, which, during that contest, and immediately after it, we had made against that gentleman, and, in the promulgating of which I had had no inconsiderable share. But, gentlemen, in place of a defence of Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Homan has made an attack upon me, and has, by such means as he is master of, made, in his second letter, divers attempts to fix upon me the charge of *inconsistency*, and the still heavier charge of *insincerity*, if not of *downright falsehood*. To be consistent, to act with sincerity, and to speak the truth; to be regarded, according to the good old phrase, as "a *true man*," by all who know or hear of me, is my highest ambition; and I beg you to be assured, that, amongst all mankind, there is no body of men, amongst

whom I am so anxious to be thought worthy of this character, as amongst you. Thus feeling, you will, I hope, excuse me, if I trespass a few minutes upon your patience, while I prove that these charges are unfounded.

Mr. Homan, in order to shew, that, when the first vacancy for Westminster took place, I *had no objection to Mr. Sheridan as a representative of that great and enlightened city*, quotes from that address of mine to you, in which I declined standing myself, and which was published in the newspapers, under the date of 16th September, a passage, evidently, he says, intended to prevent you from electing Lord Percy, and not less evidently, of course, intended to aid Mr. Sheridan, who was, at that time, well known to be the other candidate, if there was to be any other. Mr. Homan's premises here are perfectly true; but, his conclusion, therefrom drawn, will, I am persuaded, appear to be perfectly false. My address, just mentioned, was written at, and sent from, Botley. I had been in Westminster a few days before. I had ascertained, with sorrow, that Sir Francis Burdett had insuperable objections to becoming a candidate. Next to him I thought myself the fittest man, that I could then call to mind, to represent you; because I had formed a resolution never to touch the public money as long as I lived, and because I was convinced, that, greatly deficient, in point of talent, as I might be, an ample compensation for that, would, if I had undertaken the task, been found in my industry and my zeal. I, therefore, returned home not quite decided as to what course I myself should pursue; but, that time for reflection, which, amongst many other excellent advantages, a distance from the bustle of the metropolis and the conflict of opinions and passions affords, produced the determination expressed in my address. There then remained to me a choice between Lord Percy and Mr. Sheridan, which, without any disrespect *here* implied towards either of them, was, with me, a choice of evils. Some persons, agreeing with me perfectly in all great political principles, thought, that, of the two, Lord Percy was to be preferred; because, though the choice of him would assimilate the city of Westminster with the family boroughs, the objections against Mr. Sheridan, as being a place-man and so gross a political apostate, were still more powerful. Such was, evidently, the opinion of Sir Francis Burdett, who, upon the ground of objection to Mr. Sheridan, and not of approbation of Lord Percy, hesitated not in promising his vote to the latter. My opinion was different. In objection to Mr. Sheridan, I went the full length of Sir Francis Burdett; but, my objection to Lord Percy; my fear of seeing Westminster partitioned between a great family, of endless means of influence on one part, and the Treasury on the other part; my dread of seeing your voice heretofore the instructor of the rest of the nation, the reprover of the corrupt and the encourager of the independent, the terror of evil-doers and the praise of those that did well; the dread of seeing this voice stifled *for ever*, was, with me, far greater than any apprehensions founded upon the character or conduct of Mr. Sheridan. Besides, *an election* was wanted; and, gentlemen, for there to be an election of a *new* candidate, there must be an opportunity afforded for the electors to *give their votes*, which, if Lord Percy was left to be chosen by the mere mummery of half a dozen toad-eaters, could not be the case. This doctrine, indeed, is very different from that of Mr. Sheridan, who, after having for twenty years, been bawling for such a reform as should restore to the people a frequent return of the exercise of their elective rights, talked to you about "an *election brawl*" as unsuited to the time when Mr. Fox's remains were to pass through the streets of your city; but, with me, gentlemen, the affording you an opportunity of *voting*, was a consideration, which, alone, would have induced me to support Mr. Sheridan (seeing that no other man was to be found) in opposition to Lord Percy; and, when you view this as a reason in addition to those before given, you will, I imagine, not perceive any inconsistency in my conduct, in wishing to support Mr. Sheridan in opposition to Lord Percy, and in opposing Mr. Sheridan, when he was opposed to Mr. Paull, whose principles and whose conduct were such as I most fully approved of.——

Mr. Homan says, in rather more words than were necessary, that, as soon as I found that Mr. Sheridan was not to be *forced* into a contest with Lord Percy, I began to attack him, and to censure those who passed a vote at the Crown and Anchor, on the 18th of Sept. declaring him to be the most fit person to represent the city. So I did, and was I not perfectly consistent in so doing? Had I not, before, wished you to support him *against* Lord Percy, and upon no other ground? Had he not disappointed you, and deceived you with his theatrical declamation and tears? Had he not thrown you into the hands of Lord Percy? And, did I ever, in the whole course of my life, let fall an expression encouraging the idea, that I thought him *the fittest* person to represent you? If, indeed, when I called upon you to support him in preference to Lord Percy, I had ex-

tolled his character, or his former conduct, then, I might have truly been accused of inconsistency, in afterwards reprobating that character and that conduct; but, as the facts are, and the facts that I have now stated no one can deny, as the facts are exhibited even in the garbled premises of Mr. Homan himself, his conclusion, containing the accusation, is, I am sure you will perceive, totally false.

This mention of my wish "to *force* Mr. Sheridan into a contest with Lord Percy" would, in a mind somewhat more lucid than that of Mr Homan, naturally have connected itself with another part of his remarks, wherein he seems to believe that he has exposed a fresh instance of inconsistency in me. But, first, of the *forcing*. Who forced Mr Sheridan to have a meeting of his friends at Somerset Place, on the Sunday evening preceding the meeting at the Crown and Anchor? Who *forced* his friends to call that meeting? Who *forced* him to go to that meeting? Who *forced* a *committee* to be formed, with his *own* attorney, Mr Burgess at the head of it? Had all this not been done by himself, never would he have entered into my mind as a candidate for Westminster So that, as to the *forcing*, all that I wished to do was (since no other man was to be found) to make him stick to the collar, after he himself had voluntarily thrusted his head into it; and, when he proved jadish, was I not, gentlemen warranted in lashing him?—— Now, as to the *cause* of this jadishness, Mr. Homan states, as a proof of my inconsistency, that, in my former letters to you, I had expressed a conviction, that, from the beginning, there had been an understanding between Mr. Sheridan and the Duke of Northumberland's Steward, Mr. Wilson, to deliver you, bound, hand and foot, into the hands of Lord Percy. Next he states, that he, upon the authority of Mr Sheridan, told me that this was not the case, and that I still persevered in my opinion. But, that, since the last election, I have said, that it "now appears from unquestionable authority "that I was *in error* upon that point, and "that there had been no such understanding" Gentlemen, can you perceive any inconsistency in this? But, *why* did I change my first opinion? *Why* do I *now* believe that there was no such understanding, having before rejected the solemn assurances of Mr. Sheridan, conveyed to me and to the public, through Mr. Homan? Because I am now told by Major Cartwright that Mr. Wilson says there was no such understanding; and, if I believe Mr Wilson in preference to Mr. Sheridan, the latter may find [illegible] with my taste, but certainly has no ground whereon to maintain against me a charge of inconsistency ——Having refuted the charge of inconsistency, I will not, like poor Mr. Chalmers upon the subject of the Pursuits of Literature, take up your time in an endeavour to shew, that my former opinion, though proved to be erroneous, ought to have been correct, but, I must just observe, that, if Mr. Sheridan's conduct, upon the occasion referred to, was not ascribable to the motive then supposed, he does not gain much with us from the statement of Mr Homan, who ascribes it to the influence of his Whig friends, joined to the dreaded power of the ministers and the known wish of an "illustrious personage." In one case as in the other you were, by him, delivered into the hands of Lord Percy; all the difference being, with respect to himself, that, in the former case, selfishness and knavery, and, in the latter, vanity and folly, must have been the preponderating ingredients in his conduct.

Mr. Homan inserts two sentences, taken from two separate letters of mine to you, in the former of which, written on the 25th of September, I observe, that there was a paragraph in one of the ministerial papers, threatening Mr Sheridan with *the loss of his place* if he opposed Lord Percy, and I add, "*my opinion is, that such would have been the case*". Then he contrasts this with a sentence in my letter of the 9th of October, wherein I say, that "*if, in such a cause*" (having before dwelt upon the nature of the cause and pointed out the manly line of conduct which he ought to have pursued) "Mr. "Sheridan had had the courage to expose "his places and his seat, *no minister in Eng-* "*land would have dared to touch either.*" Now, gentlemen, this, taken at the very utmost, amounts to no more than a change of opinion, and as such I would leave it, especially as it will manifestly appear, from a reference to the letters in question, that the change did not arise from any desire to maintain what was not true But, when you consider, that, between the 25th of September and the 9th of October, the meetings at the Crown and Anchor had taken place, and had given proof of a great ferment in the minds of the people of Westminster, and when you perceive, that, in the last quoted letter, I had been supposing a case, in which Mr Sheridan would have thrown himself upon your protection, setting all Whig cronies and all Carleton-house politics at defiance, a case far different from the one supposed in the first letter, where he was regarded as merely seeking his own views, clinging all the while to his party connec-

ions; which you consider these circumstances, gentlemen, I am persuaded Mr. Homan will not obtain from you even the credit of having detected in me a change of opinion."

In page 60 of the preceding sheet, Mr. Homan copies my letter to Mr. Sheridan upon my arrival in Westminster, just previous to the election. What do I say in that letter? Why, that *I prefer Mr. Sheridan to the ministerial creature, the Pittite Commodore*; and that Mr. Paull *does not mean to be considered as opposed to Mr. Sheridan*. This was the truth; and I said, at every stage of the election, "give me Sheridan in preference to Hood;" because it was evident, that this latter was set up by the ministers alone, and for the crafty purpose of stealing the votes of unthinking people by the exhibition of a shortened arm, and thus to shut out some man who might have been actually in the House, and upon whose conduct the people would have had their eyes. This sentiment was never, as you well know, disguised by me upon any occasion; and, in no one instance did I ever ask an elector for his second vote, if his other vote was promised to Hood, compared with whom, as to this transaction, Mr. Sheridan is, in my opinion, an angel of light. "I hate the Pittite Commodore," was a phrase repeated by me fifty thousand times, and I repeat it now, upon mature reflection, with as much sincerity as ever. All this you know well. It has been stated before in print; and, indeed, my letter to Mr. Sheridan, above referred to, is now brought forward by Mr. Homan, not for the purpose of showing, that we wanted to *split votes* with Mr. Sheridan (the object which it was at first published for), but, in order to suspend me, as he is so good as to call it, upon one horn or the other of a dilemma.——As *how*, think you, Gentlemen? Why, after having cited my letter, he quotes a part of a sentence, which, in his brogue, he calls a paragraph, from my first letter to Mr. Windham, thus: "The cup of his (Mr. "Sheridan's) ambition was just touching "his lips, when we came and dashed it to "the ground." Now, says he, either Mr. Cobbett was insincere, in his letter to Mr. Sheridan, or he has here published a boastful after-thought; so that, I am told to take my choice between "base hypocrisy," and vain-boasting. Verily, if I were to acknowledge the latter charge to be just, I think Mr. Homan's example ought, with his friends at least, to keep me in countenance; for, I should try my hand a long while, before I should be able to match him in this way. But, as I by no means covet the honour of such society, I must insist, that while I was, as I have before stated, perfectly sincere in my letter to Mr. Sheridan, I was as perfectly correct in my statement relating to our having disappointed the ambition of that gentleman. We did dash the cup of his ambition from his lips; we did this, and he well knows it; we sunk him, and for ever sunk him, as a popular character; we put him down, never to rise, nor even to peep up again: but, because such was the result of his double-dealing and his folly, and of our frankness, resolution, activity, and superior talents, is it thence to be concluded, that, before the contest began, we *wished* that such should be the result? We wished to see him succeed against the yellow-ribboned Pittite; we wished to see him in parliament in preference to that ministerial creature; we wished not to extinguish him; in the hours of our brightest hopes, in the hours of our greatest confidence, sorrow for "poor Sheridan," was a general, if not an unanimous, sentiment; but, if, in our exertions to support Mr. Paull, we did extinguish him, shall we not be permitted to state it, without exposing ourselves to the charge of vain boasting?

Another charge, which Mr. Homan prefers against me, is, that I *refused* to insert in my Register, a letter of Mr. Rodwell, one of Mr. Sheridan's most active and zealous friends. And, gentlemen, when you have read Mr. Rodwell's letter, in page 62, I must beg to call your recollection to the circumstances, whence it arose. Mr. Sheridan, after he had had the unexampled meanness to form a coalition with the Pittite Commodore, began to feel the severity of our stripes; for, to say the truth, we did not spare him. Boiling with revenge, and having no fair means of vengeance, he gave it out, and even stated in print, that he would publish a letter, wherein I, in behalf of Mr. Paull, had offered to split votes with him. Of this I accused him one day when he had been, by his friends, prevailed upon to show his face at the hustings. After a good deal of faultering about the matter, out came my letter in print, together with another private letter, which Mr. Paull had, about the same time, written to Mr. Finnerty, whom Mr. Sheridan, the "delicate" Mr. Sheridan, as Mr. Homan calls him, had, in an unguarded moment, I hope, prevailed over so far as to join him in this new and high-blooded species of political warfare; and, that the manner of the publication might be worthy of the act itself, *Peter Moore* was chosen as the herald. Mr. Sheridan had said, that he treated our proposition with *scorn*; but, hoping that I had for his answer to my letter, he sup-

pressed it in his publication, and was much surprized when he soon after saw it in print, *thanking* me for my frankness, as will appear from the copy of the letter inserted in my 10th volume, page 758. In commenting upon this unparalleled instance of "gentlemanly" conduct, I took occasion to state, that though *we* had made no such overtures to him, *he* had, through Mr. Rodwell, one of his committee, made such an overture to us, and that, too, at the very time, when his coalition with the Futile Commodore must have been in agitation; in answer to which proposition, I, on behalf of Mr. Paull, told Mr. Rodwell, that that gentleman had all along resolved not to have any connection with either of the other candidates, a resolution to which he still adhered. See the letter in Vol. X. p. 808. Rodwell, therefore, when he saw the private letters of Mr. Paull and me, published with a view of making the world believe, that we had proposed a coalition, went to both Peter Moore and Mr. Sheridan, showed them this letter of mine, and begged them to print it also, *which they refused*; and, when he offered it for publication, at the press of the no-less-delicate Mr. Perry of the Morning Chronicle, it was rejected, upon the pretext, that the editor was not at home. After this statement, not a word of which can be denied, it does, indeed, require no scanty stock of brass for a partizan of Mr. Sheridan to accuse me of a want of fairness in refusing to insert that letter of Mr. Rodwell, which will be found in page 62, and which, as the reader will perceive, was intended to show, that Mr. Rodwell was not one of Mr. Sheridan's committee, as I had supposed, and that his proposition to Mr. Paull was made without Mr Sheridan's knowledge. Supposing me to have *refused* insertion to this letter, should I not have been fully justified after the conduct of Mr. Sheridan, Peter Moore, and their hireling printer, Mr. Perry, in whose paper, observe, nothing of Mr. Paull's was to be inserted without *paying for it* at a most exorbitant and scandalous rate? No, gentlemen; I should not; and, I trust, you will never hear me plead in my defence, the example of "*the Right Honourable*" Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Let *him* publish private letters for the purpose of falsehood and suppress the answers to those letters. Let him, like the mountebank, play off his thousands of tricks, while I like the tailor, follow my honest profession; and I shall, like the latter who had, in the days of sun-shine, been mocked by the former, see him, if the pinching times overtake us, an object of compassion at my feet. No; I plead no such example. The facts with respect to Mr. Rodwell's letter are these. You will see by its date, that it was written on the 10th of November. The 10th of November was a *Sunday*. Of course, it could not possibly have appeared in the Register until a week afterwards, which brought us to the 22d of November; and you know, gentlemen, that *the election ended on Wednesday, the 19th of November*. After Wednesday, I had to write the Register of the next Saturday, which must always be in the printer's hands by Friday noon. Refer to what I wrote that week, and say if you think I had much time to bestow upon the unimportant letter of Mr. Rodwell. To say positively that the letter was not presented to, or sent to me, is more than I should like to do, when I consider how many, I may say many hundreds, of objects were, during that week, pressing upon my mind; but, I do not recollect that it was; I do not believe that it was; and I positively assert, that I never *refused* it admission; because I never in my life refused admission to any thing containing a complaint against myself, provided it came in an authenticated shape. The result is, that, if the letter had been inserted, it could not *possibly* have done Mr. Sheridan any good, or us any harm, the election being over some days before the latter would have appeared; that there could be no motive for my excluding it, as it contained a correction of a mere error as to the electioneering capacity of Mr. Rodwell, who, if not a committee man, was as active as if he had been; that the strong probability is, that the insertion of the letter never was applied for; and, that as to the *refusal*, as it is a fact which Mr. Homan could not *possibly* know of himself, he never having spoken to me in his life, and never having heard from me upon that subject, I shall, however painful the thought, be compelled to consider this high-blooded Bishop's nephew, though "nearly connected with one of the first families in this kingdom," the inventor as well as the promulgator of a wilful falsehood, until he can produce *proof* of his statement having been grounded upon credible testimony.

By this time, gentlemen, you will have been satisfied, that Mr. Sheridan has got a hopeful defender.——There remains only one charge, and that is so grossly foolish as well as false, that I can hardly bring myself to waste a moment of your time upon it. But, as I have trespassed upon your indulgence with a refutation of all the rest, I may as well, by way of conclusion, notice this also.——Mr. Homan, at page 58, makes three extracts from my former letters to you, all

expressive of my *disapprobation of Lord Percy as a member for Westminster.* What he makes these extracts for it is utterly impossible for me to say; for, no contrast does he attempt to make; no inference does he draw, or suggest, or hint at. He goes on, indeed, through the whole letter, as I call it for want of a fitter name, stringing together extract upon extract, by the means of senseless copulative sentences, just like a journeyman Reviewer, who is employed to praise or condemn books at so much a yard, and who, when he carries his work home, has it regularly measured by his master. But, what, again I ask, could Mr. Homan string together these last-mentioned extracts *for*? I have heard of such a thing as an author's fingers moving on without any communication with the brain; and, though I must confess, that I have sometimes thought I could perceive, in the "leading articles" of the Morning Post, strong presumptive proof of such an operation, I never did, till now, arrive at what may properly be called a belief of the fact.——These extracts finished, in which, observe, I only say what I have all along said, and what I still say, about Lord Percy's election; these extracts finished, however, there appears to be a slight return of the effect of Mr. Homan's thinking faculties, which, as we shall presently see, operate, as usual, but very little to the benefit of his client. He quotes, from my letter to Mr. Windham (Vol. X. p. 808) the passage, wherein I state to that gentleman the substance of the Duke of Northumberland's Letter to the leading men in the parish and vestry of *St. Margaret*, as it was communicated to me by Mr. Stephenson, the vestry-clerk of that parish, and as it had been before communicated to Mr. Porter of Parliament Street, and the other churchwarden, the said letter stating, that the Duke was highly offended that the ministry could find no other man than Mr. Sheridan to be the colleague of Earl Percy, and that he could not bring himself to consent to his son's standing with *such a man as Mr. Sheridan.*——"Now," says Mr. Homan, "I shall, gentlemen," (for he has the incomparable assurance of addressing this to you) "bring forward an *evi-*
"*dence* which must *effectually confute and* "*invalidate* the rash and unfounded asser-
"tions of Mr. Cobbett, namely, a letter to
"Mr. Sheridan, positively denying that any
"such letter of the Duke of Northumber-
"land had ever been received or seen by
"Mr. *Staton*, Churchwarden of the parish
"of . . . . . of *what*, think you?
"*by*, of *St. Martin's*——Now, whether Mr. Homan himself thought that St. *Margaret* and St. *Martin* were the self-same saints, and that Mr. *Porter* and Mr. *Staton* were the self-same churchwardens; or whether he thought that you were not capable of distinguishing one from the other; and, whether Mr. Sheridan thought that a letter from the vestry of St. Martin was the readiest and the best evidence of what had been said and done in the vestry of St. Margaret; these are questions, that I will leave for you to determine; but, in the mean while, I think, I may safely affirm, that, taking the whole of this together, it exhibits an instance of impudence and of unprincipled falsehood, rarely to be met with even in a couple of Irish adventurers; and with this, gentlemen, reserving the Play-Actor's dinner for my next letter, I shall dismiss this "Ne-
"phew of the Bishop of Killala," though "nearly allied to one of the best families in
"this kingdom."

With a sincere prayer, gentlemen, that God may preserve your children and mine from any alliance with high-blood of *this sort*, and that we may be enabled to prevent the possessors of it from sucking out that which we now have in our veins,

I remain,

Your faithful friend

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S.——It will, gentlemen, have occurred to you, how very just and fair it was, in this Mr. Homan, to work into an attack upon my consistency, a letter of *Mr. Paull*, in praise of Mr. Sheridan; a letter written at a time, when it is well known Mr. Paull was at seventy miles distance from me, and when I had not seen that gentleman for some months before. As to Mr. Paull's praises, in this instance, though I would not have joined in them, and though, if I had been at hand, I should have taken the liberty to dissuade him from publishing such a letter; yet, I am persuaded, that his praises were perfectly *sincere*, Mr. Paull always having differed in opinion with me as to the character of Mr. Sheridan, previous to the election; but, because Mr. Paull thought, generally speaking, well of that character *before* the election, was he to think well of it after he had seen Mr. Sheridan, whom, observe, he had praised as a friend to the *rights of the people*, meanly coalescing with the Pittite Commodore, and still more meanly soliciting the aid of such men as "Billy
"Baldwin," after he had seen him publishing private letters for the purposes of spreading falsehood, and suppressing the answers, lest that purpose should not succeed; after having seen all this of him, was Mr. Paull

still to speak in his praise? Was it not, on the contrary, his duty to censure him, and to do whatever truth and justice would warrant to prevent him from being returned to parliament? Besides, it is meanness of the lowest description, to seize hold of a letter like that of Mr. Paull, and to reason upon it as a deliberate expression of his fixed opinion. The letter was evidently written in great haste; it was the offspring of zeal, rather than of reflection; and, though it may suit the purposes of the Sheridans to give a contrary turn to it, I am sure you will readily excuse an error in judgment, especially when proceeding from a warmth of heart. There is, however, one comfort for the Sheridans upon this score; and that is, if they will but forgive Mr. Paull for his praises this time, they may rest assured, that he never will offend in the like way again.——As I wish to dismiss Mr. Homan *for ever*, I will just beg you to observe, that he pretends, that he would have *written more*; that he would have made still greater exposures, if he had had *room*. "The space *allowed* me," says he, "is now full." And, at his conclusion, he says, "having now arrived at the limits "which Mr. Cobbett *allotted* me in the "*present number*," and then he signifies his intention of treating you and me with another letter. Now, gentlemen, observe, that it is *six weeks*, since he had my promise to insert his letters; that, on the 27th of December, I inserted his first letter; that, on the 1st of January I wrote to him to say, that I could not, in justice to my readers and to my work, allow him any more than *ten* columns more, and that, as to *time*, I would allow him *the two next numbers*, namely, those of the 3d and the 10th of January, that, in the Number of the 3d, I did, however, offer him *six* columns more (see page 32), but I positively insisted that he should *close* in the Number of the 10th, that is to say, in the Number published last Saturday. Yet he now sends me only *eight* columns, when he might have sent *sixteen*, and yet he has the assurance to complain of being straightened as to room! You will say, perhaps, "give him rope enough." I *have* given him enough. Every one must now be satisfied, that if I wanted to add to the disgrace of the Sheridans, I should encourage this their *defender* to proceed; but, those that are down to the bottom can be sunk no lower; and, as to any *amusement* which my twisting and tossing of this burgling advocate about might afford to some of us who were engaged in the Westminster election, it would, by my other readers, be regarded as too dearly purchased by the exclusion of matter of general interest and utility. For these reasons I shall beg leave to refer Mr. Homan and his friends, "the *highly respectable* gen-"tleman of the daily papers," in whose boundless miscellanies his lucubrations may find circulation, and may stand recorded side by side with those of his brainless brethren, John Bowles and Redhead Yorke.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——The fearful progress of this war being but too correctly given in the French bulletins, with which they, with malicious kindness, duly supply us, I should not think it necessary, at present, to make any observations upon the subject, did I not discover an intention in the daily prints (for now that Mr. Perry has got a place, they are *all* of a mind as to matters of this sort) to inculcate the opinion, that, whether from the force of arms or of sickness, Napoleon will be compelled to retreat before he has accomplished his purposes, and that there is a prospect even of his being defeated. His army is said to have the dysentery, as the Duke of Brunswick's had in Champagne, when he invaded France; but, I am sorry to perceive, that this disorder in the French, is not attended with one of the symptoms, with which it was attended in the Brunswicker's army, namely, that of impelling the patient to take to his heels —— There is a passage in the Morning Chronicle, upon the subject, so truly savage and cowardly, that it must, one would think, have proceeded from the pen of Mr. Perry himself. It contains the expression of a hope, that the French soldiers may all be destroyed by this terrible disorder, and that, thereby, we may be freed from the danger of their arms! Reader, be assured, that, if a nation consisted wholly of men entertaining such sentiments, they must become the slaves of a conqueror, to which I will add, that they ought so to become. It is forbidden by the laws of war, as inhuman, to cause sickness in the army of your enemy; and, to wish for it, is to go as far as you are able in this path of inhumanity.—That the French may be obliged to retreat, that they may be beaten, that they may be killed by the arms of their enemies, who, I would *fain hope*, are our friends, it is natural and laudable to wish; but, a prayer that the pangs of death may come upon them through the means of disease; a prayer that we may be protected from their arms by their being, by disease, rendered incapable of coming at us, is fit to be addressed only to the devil. But, besides the baseness of such a prayer, is the extreme folly of it, as applied to the case before us;

for, if the French army be really (which I do not, however, believe) in a state so very sickly as that represented, is there any reason to suppose, that the armies of Russia and of Prussia (if the latter has any) are not equally sickly? The cause must be either in the season, or in the fatigues of the soldiers; and, will not the season operate upon the armies on both sides in the same way? or, is it likely, I should be glad to ask, that the fatigues of the French soldiers have been more harassing or their fare harder, than those of the soldiers of their enemy?——What may be the result of such an undertaking no one can possibly be certain; but to me, there appears not the least prospect, that fortune, who has so long favoured Napoleon, has any intention to change sides. This is, however, but a foolish way of speaking. It is not *fortune*. It is superior genius on one side, aided by the disaffection or indifference of the people on the other side.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT. (Continued from page 49).—I. *India Affairs.*—II. *Slave Trade.*—III. *Army.*——I. In the House of Commons, on the 12th instant, LORD FOLKESTONE gave notice of a motion, to be made on that day fortnight, for the printing of the papers relative to *Lord Wellesley's transactions with the Nabob and principality of Oude;* and, it must have been with no little surprize, that Lord Howick was heard to begin an objection to it. The speech of the latter, as published in the Morning Chronicle, is the most extraordinary that I ever read. What did he mean by Lord Folkestone not having "laid sufficient parliamentary ground?" What is the meaning of this special-pleader-like phrase? The case is this: these same papers were printed before; a *charge* had been grounded upon them, laid before the House, put upon the journals, printed, and re-printed in the public papers, as may be seen by referring to page 885 of Vol. IX. of the Register; and yet Lord Howick is represented as having appealed to the *sensibility* of the House, whether it was fair "to circu-"late such *severe attacks* upon the character "of the *noble* person alluded to." He had been more than *alluded to*, my Lord Howick; he had been *named*. His name had been given at *full length*, and he himself had before feasted our eyes with his picture, as he did the people of Calcutta with his statue. Oh, the tender feelings of the noble person! Why not a little feeling, too, for the Nabob of Oude and the Polygars? They are not, to be sure, closely connected with Lord Grenville; but, they have feelings, I dare say. At any rate, as Lord Folkestone observed in reply, this was no objection at all; because, all the papers had already been circulated; and, as to that *effect* of the publication, which seemed to be anticipated by the tender mercies of Lord Howick, I think, I could venture to assure his Lordship, that the effect, upon the mind of every honest and humane man in the kingdom is already as great as it possibly can be. There is only one circumstance that can add to it, and that is, an evident intention in the ministry (which I hope will not appear) of stifling the inquiry into this most important subject.—But, what did his lordship mean by "*severe attacks* upon "the character of the noble person?" In his anxiety to put a stop to the revival of the discussions upon this subject, he seems to have entirely overlooked the purport of Lord Folkestone's intended motion; for, the papers, intended to be moved for by his Lordship, consist entirely of *official documents*; of letters from and to Lord Wellesley, of negociation dispatches, nine-tenths of which were written by Lord Wellesley himself, or by his order! And, will my Lord Howick, have us suppose, that these papers contain "*severe attacks*" upon his noble, noble friend? It was a blunder of some sort of a reporter. Lord Howick could never have said this.——Lord Folkestone *pledged* himself to prosecute the inquiry, if no one else would; and, my Lord Howick, *he will keep his word*. He has not been fashioned to the barefaced breaking of pledges. He has not been bawling for twenty years against a system, which pocketing the money of the people will induce him to support.——It has been said, that, to get rid of this discussion and its consequences was one of the reasons for dissolving the Parliament. I hope the assertion will prove unfounded; but, I must confess that my lord Howick has given me some fears upon the subject.——II. A bill is going through the House of Lords for the total *abolition of the Slave Trade*; and Lord Grenville has stated, that, in order to remove the objection, that other powers, if we did not, would carry on the traffic, negociations were entered into with France upon the subject, and that to abolish it on both sides was actually agreed on as a provision in the new treaty with America.——Every thing that can be said upon this subject has been said; and all that I shall say, at present is, to express my conviction that the measure will prove dreadfully injurious to our colonies; to the *only* colonies that are worth our care; and, that, since the abolition of slavery is begun, I hope the ministers will think of the

Whites as well as the *Blacks*, begging leave to remind them, that the number of *paupers* in England and Wales, the number *added to our stock of paupers since Pitt began his career of power*, is *greater* than that of *the whole black population of our West India Islands*; and that those paupers are harder worked (such of them as are able to work), and worse fed, than are the slaves in the West Indies. I am at any time prepared to prove. But, not a word of answer can you get upon this subject from any of them. The taxing and pauperizing system *must* go on; their places and pensions *must* be regularly paid. There is a sort of over-ruling necessity for this; but, it is very cheap to them to make a parade of humanity, in cases where they themselves are not likely to be affected.——Since, however, we must have *emancipation*, why not begin *in Ireland?* Mind, *I* do not recommend the measure; where are the pledges of Mr. Grey and Lord Grenville upon this score? and how came Mr. Fox to be so quiet about it?——Below I insert a letter from a West Indian. It contains a curious fact: and though I do not quite agree in the comment upon it, I could wish to see Lord Holland, for whom I entertain unfeigned respect, cause the fact itself to be contradicted.——Of the tyranny and the slavery in the *East Indies* we seem to think nothing at all. The bloody works carried on there, the capricious and sanguinary tyranny, if the news-papers speak truly (which I hope they do not), make the deeds attributed to Napoleon shrink into nothingness. But of this more hereafter.——III. On the 12th instant Lord Castlereagh made a motion for papers and returns relative to the "military "force." This is what we may call a standing dish. "The opposition," as the Morning Chronicle dubs three or four clerks turned out of the Treasury, will never object to any grants of the public money; they will perfectly agree with the ministry about Lord Wellesley; they will join them in carrying on a war of extermination for Hanover; they will even go before them in any measures, if such, contrary to my hopes and expectations, should be adopted, for stifling the liberty of speech and of the press; but, about the military measures, in discussing which they will be sure not to fall foul of their own projects and profits, they will always have a great deal to say. But, the misfortune for them is, that, of this the people are weary. The only branch of the military about which the public are very much concerned, is, the *Hanoverian branch*; and here the ousted clerks will be so far from opposing the ministry, that they will be their rivals in praising the measure.

LLOYD'S FUND, and several valuable communications from correspondents, must be deferred till my next; and, when I look at these communications, I cannot but feel provoked at myself for having bestowed so large a portion of my room upon that incomparable dunce, Mr. Homan.

SLAVE TRADE.

Jamaica, Nov. 3, 1806.

SIR,——The decided aversion which you have ever shewn to the time serving professions, and accommodating principles of our political leaders, whether headed by the son of Chatham, or the hero of the Whig club, induces me to hope you will make public the following fact, which will place in a true light the disinterested conduct of a violent declaimer against the slave-trade.—Among those who declared their abhorrence of this traffic, and supported the resolutions of Lord Grenville in the Upper House, Lord Holland was one of the most conspicuous; as owner of a Jamaica plantation in right of his wife, he must have been listened to with particular attention. The admirers of Mr. Fox may have supposed that his nephew had too delicate feelings to encourage the sale of his sable brethren, and that he was willing to sacrifice his private interest at the altar of humanity. The world at large, and the majority of his brother peers, are probably less credulous, and may have drawn a conclusion from his conduct, that the abolition would not be injurious to the West Indian planters. I shall not now enter into any defence of the trade, but hope by pointing out the consistency of this rising statesman, to prevent others from being led away by his arguments.—On the 9th of October, 1806, the agent of Lord Holland attended at the public sale of the cargo of the ship Perseus, at Montego Bay in this island, and purchased several slaves for his lordship's plantation, and in so doing must have acted in conformity with his lordship's orders. This transaction requires but few comments, but will confirm your repeated admonitions, that little confidence should be placed in the professions of men in power. It was no repugnance to dealing in human blood, (as it is sometimes termed) that caused Lord Holland to come forward as an advocate for the abolition, for he has himself become a purchaser of his fellow creatures, and still holds them in slavery. No, Sir, it was because he found he could follow his own party in the pursuit of popularity, without injuring his own possessions, and wisely takes measures at the

same moment to counteract the evil to himself. Lord Holland feels that he has now a sufficiency of negroes for the cultivation of his estate during his tenure. Nay, the abolition of the slave trade may do him comparative good, by ruining the estates of his neighbours who have not had the same means of being as provident as his lordship; and in proportion as the West Indies make less sugar his own will be of greater value.—It appears to me extraordinary that the gentlemen of the United Kingdom, should have feelings so tremblingly alive to the sufferings of negroes. Why ransack the tropics for objects of compassion? Are the complaints of the Highlander unfounded? Or, is there no misery in an English workhouse? If the traffic in mankind distress them, why not endeavour to put a stop to the sale of Irishmen in the Delaware? Surely, Sir, it would be as humane, and a little less presumptuous, if they would exert their benevolence at home, and would not meddle with the colonies.—We have many and active enemies to contend with; it is almost forgotten on one side of the Atlantic, that a reliance on the good faith of the British nation induced our forefathers to leave their native country, and risk their lives and fortunes in this inhospitable climate, and I see and deplore, for that is all I can do, the ruin of myself and fellow colonists determined on. To you who have ever reprobated the conduct of our persecutors, allow me as an individual to express my thanks. A sense of right alone can have led you to support our cause, our grievances would be but few, if our fate depended on men actuated by the same principles.—A WEST INDIAN.

THE PLACE-HUNTER'S PHILOSOPHY.

SIR,——I am a constant reader of your Register, and have therefore the means of forming some opinion of your public principles; I am persuaded you would never suffer political sophistry to establish itself over political truth, while you possessed the power (for I am persuaded you will ever have the will) to prevent it; under this conviction, I have taken the liberty to request your insertion of this letter.——On reading the leading article in the Morning Chronicle of the 16th of December, I there perused a shallow effort to reconcile all classes of people to the hardships under which they labour; its sophistical reasoning, however ill adapted to the end, was designed to produce resignation to national rigour, or rather a peaceful submission to gradual ruin. Among other passages I met with this extraordinary one; "He who talks of the poverty of England, of the number of paupers, and so "forth, talks of the evils inseparable from "a highly cultivated, highly industrious "community, where labour and idleness, "virtue and vice, wealth and poverty, are "mixed as in all societies in large proportions. But he who imputes these things "to war, speaks the language of ignorance "or faction."——I must confess, I should have been surprised had I perused such sentiments a year ago, in the same paper, but looking to some late changes to the advantage of Mr. Perry, and the probable anticipation of a few others connected with him, it will not astonish you, Sir, if I presume, that gratitude on the one side, and interested hopes on the other, have, by their united efforts brought about this change, and at the same time, the wonderful discovery, that war and all its heavy calls upon a country have nothing to do with the poverty that follows it. The doctrine is good enough, considering the views it has, for places and pensions now existing, and also offers which the wisdom of our rulers may think proper to establish hereafter, must be paid, and since the *people* must pay them, why it is as well to make them think, if we can make them think so, that it is not by calling on them for their money that they become poor, because, when they are persuaded that they lose nothing by losing that, they will not care how much is taken from them; and this is by no means an uncomfortable philosophy for pensioners and sinecure holders to inculcate, and when they are fatigued with the labours of their heavy duty, it will be a kind of philanthropic recreation, to reconcile their countrymen to a poverty which is inseparable from them.——But, in answer to this quoted passage, it seems to me, Sir, that if a man work all day, and can just earn enough to maintain himself and family, that he should not be classed among the idle, or extravagant, and for no other reason, than because the calls of government have at length rendered his earnings insufficient. If the exigence of a nation take from him half the means of his bare support, who will pretend to deny that that exigence has brought the poverty upon him. If, indeed, the value of labour increased in proportion with the unavoidable demands upon property, then to be poor would be a presumptive proof of idleness or extravagance; but if the calls upon him increase while his means are limited, let him perish in want, if the necessity for it can be sanctioned in public justice, but let us not insult him in his wretched condition, either by proclaiming his idleness as the cause of his ruin, or maintaining that his ruin is inseparable from him.—The

question is not whether poverty would exist without war, for it would be ridiculous to suppose no other cause; but whether war do not increase its influence, and while it gives abundant wealth to hundreds, involves millions into poverty, and thousands into absolute want. If war can do this, (as in my opinion it evidently has done) I impute to it all our additional individual poverty, and assert, that whoever denies to it a share in this destruction, speaks the language (I will not say of faction) but of an interested perversion of common sense. I do not speak against the propriety of bearing with patience the consequent evils of a necessary war, but I would have effects, (whenever attempted to be explained) traced to their proper source, and if I be reduced to beggary, by conceived national necessity, let me have the credit at least of not having ruined myself by my *own imprudence*.——But the Morning Chronicle has its own views to answer, and fearing that our increased individual poverty, might be attributed to the system of augmenting taxation, and knowing that to prevent the continuance of such a measure, a lopping-off of sinecures and unmerited pensions must necessarily ensue, (a circumstance, which, if I be not mistaken, would damp its own self-interest, and remove much of the influence of its ministerial support), has endeavoured to establish that poverty and want are never the result of a mismanaged government, but exist, merely because "they are inseparable from highly cultivated communities," thus by making them appear indiscriminately to be the consequence of vice and not of necessity, takes from the victims of a pernicious system their last, their only stay from absolute ruin; I mean compassion, for that would create investigation, and investigation might ultimately end in justice. It is to cut off this that such sophistry is introduced, because the places and pensions of our *mock patriots* would otherwise stand upon a tottering base; for thousands of industrious families must be allowed but a scanty meal, if the tables of such spungers are to teem with luxury, and many an uncomfortable dwelling, (by degrees become so) must at length disgorge the wretched bed of its inhabitants, that such may sleep on down.—— The Morning Chronicle when it speaks of the poverty inseparable from a nation, argues as if fatality had established it, and that it was not the result of natural causes; but, it should remember, that while imperfection is inseparable from the order of things, no *particular* evil is doomed to be the consequence of it, and though the utmost stretch of human ability can never produce perfection, its being limited does not empower us to name the particular evils which it cannot remove. But, supposing that poverty were inseparable from a highly industrious nation, where does the Morning Chronicle mean to draw the line of limitation to it? Or, does it mean that the continual expansion of it is likewise inseparable? But, though such may be the opinion of the Morning Chronicle, does it therefore follow that it is ignorance or faction to differ about the truth of it? Yes, to be sure it is, for who could be so foolish or so wicked as to presume that war or increasing taxes, or hundreds of thousands yearly applied to sinecures and unmerited pensions, or any such innocent things, could have any hand in producing poverty amongst us? Suppose, for the sake of argument, a great improbability,—that a peace were established, and that a large reduction were to take place in our national expense; or, a still greater improbability,—that on such a reduction half of the present taxes were repealed; supposing this, I say, would any body be so ridiculous as to suppose, that he would be the richer for having fewer demands upon his property or having in his pocket, at his own disposal, half the value of his present yearly taxes; if there be one so ridiculous, let him read the Morning Chronicle, and he will find that poverty is inseparable from his country, and that if he think that the conclusion of the war, and the reduction of taxes, have made him less poor than during the war, that he is either an ignorant or a factious subject. —If you think I have treated the subject as it deserves, you will perhaps indulge me with the insertion of it in your valuable Register, the almost only remaining record of candour and truth.——MARCUS.

REFORMING MINISTRY.

SIR,——I have not been an inattentive observer of the acts springing from the present administration since their accession to power; and, I have witnessed them with inexpressible regret, because I hoped to have seen the country restored to its original strength and vigour, by a reformation of the gross abuses existing in it; brought on and increased to such an alarming degree, for so many years past, by former bad and wicked ministers, I had fondly cherished the hope of seeing the vigorous and virtuous plans so eloquently urged by Mr. Fox in the House of Commons, put into practice; that a motive might have been given to the people to bear those grievous burdens imposed on them by the wasteful ministery who, happily is dead, and additions to them, which it was out of the power of Mr. Fox or of the wisest and

most virtuous minister on earth to have avoided, under the circumstances of the time when he came into office.—You have done me the honour of inserting in your Register my sentiments on a former occasion; I then stated, I did not expect it possible (to use a hacknied metaphor) they could cleanse the Augean stable at once. No; such a work requires time and much patience; but, I did expect that we should have seen those steps taken towards the accomplishment of the plans as would give all honest men hopes that it would be as speedy as such a task would allow.—When the coalition was announced, I felt somewhat alarmed, lest the Grenville party in the cabinet should be the stronger of the two, (for I consider the Addingtons as mere appendages to that than to either in particular) and I regret to see their principles predominate, and those of Mr. Fox give way in almost every instance. From the openness and sincerity of his heart, I am convinced it was his wish to do all he had promised the people he would do; and it is to be regretted, he had not been more firm under *particular circumstances* which came to my knowledge at the formation of this administration. That the wishes of the Grenvilles were entirely despotic, desiring no other than power, and to use that power for their own advantage to the certain expense of the people, I do not hesitate to declare as my firm belief. It is not prejudice, to believe the principle of power without control to be inherent in that family and their party, for their history proves it to be so; and the cry of Jacobin, Democrat, and Anarchist, revived by the hireling prints of the day is music in their ears. With such a mixture, what hopes have we left for any reform in our abuses? Have we not seen Mr. Fox induced, by this faction, on one day, to be the bearer of a bill to the House of Commons that Lord Grenville might be enabled to hold a sinecure (with all his other riches) and the next to propose fresh burdens on the people, and call on them to forego almost their necessaries of life, to contribute——to what? not to the exigencies of the state only, but to my Lord Grenville's sinecure. Have we not seen him propose fresh grants to the princes of the blood, and at the same time call on the people to make greater sacrifices? Did he not propose the exemption of the King from the tax on his money in the funds? when he forces even the day-labourer to contribute to the state in the same proportion, as a man of 20,000*l.* a year. It will be said he has established boards of inquiry into the unaccounted millions of the former administration; so have they been established by others, and to little purpose. I say this is nothing more than adding to that power of the crown, which power ought to be abridged, and creating new places for their hungry followers at the expense of the people, because they had not others to give them. Would Mr. Fox have made the declaration he did, about Hanover, if he had been out of power, or free from the shackles of the Grenville faction? Most assuredly his former sentiments are in direct opposition to that declaration. These acts, Mr. Cobbett, I do not attribute to the want of principle in Mr. Fox or a less desire than ever to do the people good—but I attribute it to a hope that by giving way in these measures, he might, at a future opportunity retrieve the rights of the people, and restore to them the power of electing their own representatives. I attribute it to his coalescing with a party who hate the people, and notwithstanding Mr. Whitbread's letter, I most cordially agree with Sir Francis Burdett, that the history of the world bears out the assertion, that coalitions of factions or parties are made at the expense of the people.—This I have thought long ago; and though it did not strike me at the time, an expression, which fell from the lips of one of their underlings, has made a due impression on my mind since, who expressed his thanks most fervently, that the people had nothing to do with this change.—I do not mention many other circumstances which have occurred since the union of these parties. The conduct of Lord Henry Petty on Mr. Robson's motions not only shews their unwillingness that any of the abuses should be pryed into; but how a plain honest question will expose and puzzle a minister if he acts against principle. It was playing the Doctor over again in the farce of the Sick and Hurt Bill for 10*l.* 10*s.* These acts, Sir, have totally destroyed all hopes of the promised reform so much looked for by the friends of rational liberty.—By reform I do not mean those visionary theories of a few ignorant beings who bawl about what they do not understand; but a restoration to our ancient rights, a proper representation of the people, and a disposition in ministers to listen to their voices. We are now called upon to elect a new House of Commons long before their usual time—whether it is that ministers were afraid of the last, lest they should disapprove of their conduct in the late negociation or any other circumstance I do not pretend to say, for we have not seen the papers, and it would be wrong

to condemn them unheard. This, however, I suspect to be the case, that if they had suffered the last Parliament to remain and vote the war, at the time when it expired, the people would have been more exhausted and consequently more dissatisfied with it. Under such circumstances a minister would not be very popular in the country, and therefore he dissolves the Parliament at the commencement of the war, and should the people hereafter grumble it will be thrown on themselves; for that *they*, as the theory supposes, will pledge themselves to the crown to carry on the war I have little doubt.—A. E —*Nov.* 8, 1806.

EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Sir,——As yours is the only paper that has attempted to undeceive the public, as to the great advantages derived to the country from the East India Company, and to point out the many abuses which are practised in virtue of their charter, I am in hopes you will give insertion to a few remarks, which I think the present conduct of the Company most loudly calls for.—The East India Company is bound by act of parliament to provide a certain quantity of tonnage, for what is called the private trade; and for this purpose they have hitherto assigned a certain number of their extra ships, (no private merchant being allowed to ship in those denominated regular), but this year it so happens that they have no extra ships at home, nor are any expected before March next, though in the regular course they ought by this time to have been ready to leave the Thames on another voyage to India. The cause of this delay is pretty well known to be the poverty of the Company's Treasury abroad, which has prevented their agents from having investments ready for the ships, at the usual seasons for Europe; but, as this is foreign to the subject of the present letter, I shall not enlarge on it; what I have now to complain of is, the want of attention shewn by the Company in providing tonnage out to India, for the present season.—The applications for tonnage from the private trade this season, amount to about 8000 tons; the Company to answer this, have taken up two of their regular ships, which, at the outside, cannot carry more than 2000 tons; and have intimated to the private traders that this is all the freight they can allow them; the consequence is, that a merchant must pare down his orders, so as to make the shipment of them of little or no value to himself or his correspondents, or else confine himself to one or two particular articles. This inconvenience which has been gradually increasing, is so severely felt, that many of the principal houses have been in the habit of investing their money in bills and dollars, and remitting them to their correspondents in India for the purchase of produce, rather than have their shipments curtailed in the manner I have mentioned. Independent of all this, the Company possess the right of limiting the exportation of all articles not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain, and they have in their late regulations declared, that no one person shall load on any ship more than 50 chests of wine, or 50 hogsheads of beer, the former of these articles certainly comes within their jurisdiction, but what right they have to lay their interdict on the latter I know not, nor can I discover the policy of it, excepting that beer is a bulky article, and they have no freight to spare.—The whole of their shipping regulations are vexatious in the extreme, and no part of them more so, than that clause which says, "all applications for freight shall be made on the first Wednesday of September, December, and March, and any application made in the intermediate months, will be considered only in the ensuing quarter." So; that were a packet to arrive to-morrow from India with large orders for goods, as the first Wednesday in December is past, leave to ship them could not be obtained for three months, by which time the markets may have fluctuated so as to render the shipping of them at all imprudent.—You will, I have no doubt, be surprised to hear, (unless you know it already) that no private trader is allowed to export the staple commodity of the country, woollen manufactures; the reason is, the Company are bound by their charter to export annually woollen goods to a certain amount, half a million, I believe: and, as this is generally a losing trade to them, they have imposed this restriction on the private merchants, for fear of lowering the markets still more.—I could fill up the whole of your Register with a detail of the abuses occasioned by this charter; but, as I am sensible of having trespassed too much already on your indulgence, I shall only observe, that at a time like the present, when the country requires every aid that commerce can give her, it is not only impolitic, but unjust, to suffer the East India Company to destroy a trade, which if properly protected, would so materially benefit our manufactures, and increase the revenue, and which it has been clearly proved the Company cannot carry on.——I am, Sir, yours, &c.——R. N.——*London, Dec.* 18, 1806.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTIAL WAR.—*Fifth Bulletin of the Grand French Army. (Concluded from page 64.)*

At break of day the whole army was under arms. Gazan's division was disposed in three rank, the left on the level height. Buchet's division formed the right, the imperial guards occupied the summit of a height. Each of these corps had their artillery in the little space between.——From the town and the neighbouring valleys, the passes had been discovered by which the troops which could not be placed upon the level height might extend themselves in the easiest manner, and this is surely the first occasion when an army had to defile through so small a pass.—A thick fog obscured the day. The Emperor passed before the different lines; he commanded his soldiers to take care of the Prussian cavalry, which had been described so extraordinary; he bade them remember that a year was not elapsed since Ulm was taken; that the Prussian army, like the Austrian then, was surrounded, had been driven from their line of operations, and lost their magazines; that they at the present moment no longer fought for honour but for retreat; that they alone sought to make themselves an opening upon different points, and that the corps of the army which should let them pass, would lose its honour and its glory.——To these inspiriting words the soldiers answered, with a loud cry of "Let us onward!" The light troops began the action. They opened a very brisk fire. Good as was the position of the enemy he was nevertheless driven out; and the French army marched out in the plain and began to arrange itself in battle.—The enemy's army, which, on their side, had no other view than to fall on whenever the fog should have cleared up, took up their arms. An army of 50,000 men from the left wing, posted itself to cover the defiles of Naumburgh, and to get possession of the Pass of Koefenud; commanded by Marshal Mollendorf and the Prince of Orange.—The general staff is occupied in preparing an official relation, which shall make known, with every detail, all the different corps and regiments that have distinguished themselves; to entitle them to the esteem and acknowledgments of the nation, if any thing are wanting, they have testified it amply in the enthusiasm and loyalty they have shewn for their Emperor, in the thickest of the fight.—At one moment there was room for a doubt, every mouth at once was filled with the universal cry of, "Long Live the Emperor!" a sentiment which ran through every heart in the midst of the battle. The Emperor, seeing his wings threatened by the cavalry, set forward at full gallop, to the spot, to direct other manœuvres, and order a change of front. He was every moment annoyed with the shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" The imperial foot guards, enraged not to be allowed to press on while they saw that every other corps was in motion, several voices among them cried out "forward!" "What iis this?" said the Emperor; "This came from none other but some beardless boy, that will give orders independent of me: let him wait till he has commanded in thirty-battles, before he takes upon him to advise me."—In the heaviest of the fire, when the enemy had lost almost all his generals, it might be seen what Providence had done for us, which had spared our army. Not a man of distinction, on the side of the French, is injured or wounded. Marshal Lannes was grazed by a musket bullet on the breast, but escaped unhurt. Marshal Davoust had his hat and clothes shot through in several places with small bullets. The Emperor was continually surrounded, wherever he appeared, by the Prince of Neufchatel, Marshal Bessieres; the Grand Marshal of the Palace, Duroc; the Grand Master of the Horse, Caulincourt his Aids-de-Camp, and Equerry in Waiting. A part of the army did not fire a single shot. ——Erfurt is taken: the Prince of Orange Fulda, Marshal Mollendorf, several other generals, and a considerable number of the troops, are prisoners of war.

Twenty-second Bulletin of the Grand French Army. (Concluded from Vol. X. p 960.)

But this was already forestalled by Marshal Davoust. The two other armies, one amounting to 80,000 men strong, placed themselves before the French army, which was opening out from the level height of Jena. The mist hung over both armies, lasting two hours; but at length was dissipated by the brightness of the sun. The two armies mutually beheld each other, at the distance of less than cannon-shot. The left wing of the French army supporting itself against a village and the woods, was commanded by Marshal Augereau. The imperial guard shewed their fire upon the centre, which was maintained by Marshal Lannes; the right wing was drawn together out of the corps of Marshal Soult. Marshal Soult had nothing but a small corps of 3000 men, purely composed of troops which had arrived of his light corps.—The enemy's army was numerous, and displayed a fine cavalry; their manœuvres were exactly and rapidly executed. The Emperor had requested to

delay coming to an engagement for two hours, in order to watch the positions which the enemy should take after the action of the morning, and to give the necessary orders to the troops, especially the cavalry, which required the greatest care. But the impetuosity of the French was too ardent for him. Several battalions had begun to engage in the village of Hollstedt. He saw that the enemy was getting into motion to drive them out; he gave immediate orders to Marshal Lannes to march with expedition to the support of the village. Marshal Soult had attacked a wood on the right. The enemy having made a movement with his right wing upon our left, Marshal Augereau was commanded to repulse them, and, in less than an hour, the action was general. Two hundred and fifty, or three hundred thousand men, with seven or eight hundred pieces of artillery, scattered death in every direction, and exhibited one of the most awful events ever witnessed on the theatre of history. On one side, as well as on the other, every manœuvre was performed as if it were on a parade.——Among our troops there was not for a moment the least disorder; the victory became ours in this moment.

To be continued.

MR. CANNING'S AMENDMENT.

As published in the Courier Newspaper of the 22d December, 1806.— *Concluded from p.* 30.

XIII. That if we have not the triumph and satisfaction, as in former years of war, of offering to H. M. our congratulations on any signal and decisive victory by sea, we nevertheless reflect with just pride and acknowledgement, on the several distinguished instances in which the skill, valour, and intrepidity of British officers and seamen have been displayed in their usual lustre, and with their accustomed success, over equal or superior squadrons of the enemy. But we cannot help lamenting, in justice to the naval service, as well as to the interests of the country, that supiness or mismanagement, by which the predatory squadrons of the enemy have been permitted to range, unchecked, among our West-India colonies, and to escape with impunity; and by which our commerce has been exposed, to a degree of annoyance highly injurious to the interest, and discreditable to the maritime superiority, of Great Britan.—XIV. With equal sorrow, and with no less astonishment, we have observed those delays and uncertainties, and that apparent perplexity and fluctuation of councils, which have marked the conduct of the War Department of the State, which have hitherto prevented the execution of those measures which Ministers persuaded the late Parliament to enact, and upon which they themselves professed so greatly to rely for the internal defence of the Empire; which have so long confined our expeditions within our own ports, and have rendered the military preparations of this Government at once ineffectual to the annoyance of the enemy, and a just ground of dissatisfaction and disappointment to the nation at large.—XV. We rejoice in the opportunity of congratulating his Majesty on the capture of that valuable and important Settlement, the Cape Good Hope, by those distinguished Officers, Sir D. Baird and Sir H Popham. We have, however, the consolation and gratification of being able to recal his Majesty's attention to acquisitions and achievements in the course of the present year, by which, notwithstanding the apparent inactivity of his Majesty's present servants, the credit of his Majesty's arms, by sea and land, has been sustained in the different quarters of the Globe. We congratulate his Majesty on the signal advantages obtained by his Majesty's arms in the Expedition under Sir H. Popham, and General Beresford, against the Spanish Settlement of Buenos Ayres; advantages which, if seasonably supported and diligently improved, must be in the highest degree valuable to this country, opening fresh channels of commercial enterprize, and affording new and increasing encouragement to British manufactures and navigation; advantages doubly important at a moment when the other markets of the world are attempted to be closed against us.—XVI. We reflect with heart felt exultation, on the brilliant victory obtained on the plains of Maida, by his Majesty's Land Forces, under the gallant and able conduct of Sir J. Stuart, over a French army, superior in numbers. We feel the full value of the seasonable check given by this splendid achievement to the overweening confidence of the enemy: and of the proof which it affords that the character and constitution of the British army were not inadequate, upon their ancient footing, to maintain unimpaired, the lustre of the British name, and the military glory of our ancestors.—XVII. That we shall nevertheless examine, with due attention and solicitude, into the effect of that new system which the late Parliament were induced to adopt, for improving the character, as well as augmenting the amount of his Majesty's Regular Forces; willing to hope that we shall have the satisfaction of discovering an

improvement so striking, and an augmentation so rapid and abundant, as at once to have supplied all the deficiences arising from the disuse of such measures as have been either abolished or suspended, and to compensate for the certain, permanent, and large addition which they have necessarily occasioned to the military expenditure of the State.—XVIII. We shall investigate with equal care, the state of our other military establishments, and particularly that of the Volunteers, the cheap, efficient, and patriotic defence of the United Kingdom; we trust and believe that we shall find them, in spite of all discouragement and discountenance, neither abated in zeal, nor, as yet, materially reduced in numbers, at a period when it appears but too probable that their services may be more than ever essential to their country.—XIX. That we are fully sensible of his Majesty's paternal affection for his subjects manifested in the regret which he expresses at being compelled to call upon them for sacrifices of so great an extent as may be necessary in the present crisis of affairs. That however painful the duty of imposing fresh burdens upon the people, we shall, however, not shrink from discharging it; satisfied as we are of the prevading determination of all ranks of the community to submit with chearfulness to the indispensible necessity of providing means for the continuance of a contest, in the issue of which public safety and private happiness are alike inseparably involved. —XX. That we earnestly wish it were in our power to close our address here. But we feel that we should be wanting as well in duty to his Majesty as in fidelity to that people, in whose name and on whose behalf we are proffering sacrifices unexampled in magnitude and indefinite in duration, if we were to disguise from his Majesty the deep and general sentiment which prevails respecting the measures which preceded and accompanied the late general election.—XXII. Far be it from us to question his Majesty's undoubted prerogative But we cannot reflect without concern and disapprobation upon the circumstances of surprise and deception which attended the sudden exercise of that prerogative in the dissolution of the late Parliment; and particularly upon the irreverent use of his Majesty's Royal name in a proclamation summoning the late Parliament to meet no fixed and no distant day, issued at a period, when the measure of dissolving that Parliament must already have been in contemplation.—XXIII. Connected also with this subject, we cannot forbear to notice rumours which strongly prevail throughout the country, of the most improper and unconstitutional interference of his Majesty's Ministers in the course of the late Elections; rumours at once highly discreditable and injurious to his Majesty's government, and to the independent character of Parliament.—XXIV. We hope that upon inquiry and examination they may be proved to be utterly unfounded: convinced as we are, that the tendency (though we trust not the effect) of such interference, as is alledged, must have been to revolt and disgust the well-affected part of the community, and to sow distraction and discontent in place of that unanimity which is so loudly called for;—at a moment when the prosperity of the British Empire depends upon the consenting and cordial co-operation of all orders and description of the people. Convinced also, that it is our peculiar duty, as it is the common interest of all those who prize as it deserves, the inestimable blessing of a free form of government, to mark with our strongest reprehension a perversion of power which would be too well calculated to favour those delusive and dangerous theories which stigmatize the House of Commons as an inadequate representative of the people.—XXV. But while we feel this most unpleasant duty forced upon us, in vindication of our own independence, and of the rights of those whom we represent, we humbly and earnestly entreat his Majesty to be persuaded, that neither this nor any other misconduct of his Majesty's Ministers can essentially affect the firm and settled purpose of this House and of the great body of the nation, to unite in that general cause, and against that common danger—in comparison with which all other considerations, however important in themselves, are at the present moment unfortunately, inferior and subordinate.—XXVI. And we venture confidently to assure his Majesty, that great and unexampled as are the difficulties and dangers which surround us, his Majesty possesses in the wealth and prosperity of his dominions, in the loyalty and firmness of his Parliment, in the bravery of his fleets and armies, and in the affection, zeal and courage of his people—resources which, if wisely called forth, and diligently and judiciously applied, are yet amply sufficient to ensure the safety and honour of the British Empire, and to maintain the only remaining hope, under Divine Providence, for the restoration of the liberties and happiness of mankind.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 4.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 24, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

"After all, however, the truth is, that the threat (the American non-importation act) *cannot* be put in "execution. The thing is impossible; and, when the reader has duly considered what has been said above "together with what he will find in page 600, Vol. VIII, he will, I am persuaded, be convinced, that the "only danger, at present, with respect to America, is, that, from not well understanding all the matters "connected with the subject, our negociators may be induced to go too far in the way of concession.—— POLITICAL REGISTER, Vol. X, page 976.

TO FRIENDS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

The mean vindictiveness of many persons, who send me letters for the sole purpose of putting me to expence, has compelled me to form the resolution, to receive, henceforward, no letter, of any description, or from any quarter, (except letters by the Two-penny Post) unless it come *free of postage*. My friends will, I am certain, when they consider the cause, have the goodness to excuse the additional trouble, that I shall thus give them; but, I shall always take care *to pay the postage of my letters to them*. That there should be men so mean and so base as to resort to the sending of anonymous letters for the purpose above-mentioned is shocking to think of; but, such is the fact; and, though, at the General-Post Office, I have, when I have made application in such cases, always found a disposition to return me the postage; yet, there is, as it will easily be conceived, no little trouble attending such applications; and, after having tried every other way that I could think of, the one which I have now determined upon, appears to be the only means of protecting myself against this dastardly species of robbery.——My address is, *always*, at No. 5, Panton Square, London. Orders for the Political Register, the Parliamentary Debates, or the Parliamentary History, are addressed to my publisher, Mr. Richard Bagshaw, Bridges Street, Covent Garden, I having nothing at all to do with the retail sale, or the distributing of either of those works.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN STATES.—In the article, from which my motto is taken, the reasons, upon which the opinion expressed in the motto was founded, were stated at large; and, if it be vanity, I trust it is excuseable vanity, to say that events have proved the soundness of those reasons, and have fully verified that opinion. The congress, it appears, met on the 2nd of December. The President, in his opening message, begins, as will be seen by a reference to that document (which will be found in p. 152 of the present number), by a statement evidently intended to call the immediate attention of the two houses to the subject of the non-importation act, which, observe, was to begin its operation on the fifteenth day of the *preceding* month.——The lower house did not tarry long before they began to do away this foolish act; for, of the proceedings of the 6th of December, we find, in the Washington news-paper, the following report:— "The report of the bill *for suspending the non-importation act*, was taken into consideration.—Mr. CROWNINSHIELD was of opinion that it ought not to be suspended at all. Mr. Sloan was of the same opinion, but was willing that a power to that effect should be lodged in the president. He thought if it were suspended by Act of Congress, the terms of suspension should not last beyond the month of February.—Mr. RANDOLPH said, that he had understood the sense of the house to be that the law should not be suspended so long as the 30th of June next; he had however named that day. It now seemed, from the documents before them, that the conduct of G. Britain towards us was more friendly than at the last session, when it was stated to be extremely hostile, and when the Non-importation Law was, notwithstanding, suspended until the 15th of Nov. He would, therefore, now move that the blank should be filled with the 31st of Dec. next.—Mr. ELLIOT seconded the motion, and was in favour of an entire repeal. Congress would rise before the 30th of June. Their session would constitutionally close on the 3d of March. The merchants would not know what to do with their orders; the farmers would be at a loss to dispose of their produce. Another nation had invaded us, and we should not wantonly quarrel with G. Britain.—Mr. BIDWELL was in favour of the 30th of June, so was Mr. SMILIE, who thought that the measure had had a salutary effect.—Mr RANDOLPH declared that, although in the Select Committee he had

"proposed the 30th of June, he was now "clearly convinced, from the subsequent "representations which had been made, "that much commercial embarrassment "would proceed from the period taking "place during the recess of Congress, with- "out any power being vested in the Ad- "ministration to prolong it.—On the motion "being taken for filling the blank with "'Dec. 31,' there were for it 46; against "it 94. It was then moved and seconded, "that the Bill should be re-committed, in "order to give to the President the right of "suspending the operation of the law. This "motion was lost; the blank was then fill- "ed up with the words 'July 1;' and, on "the 3d reading of the Bill, it passed in the "affirmative; Ayes, 80; Noes, 5."—Thus, then, this terrible act, which had well-nigh scared some of our commercial politicians out of the little sense they had, has blown off again, in a puff, until the 1st of July next; and that, too, observe, without any thing having been conceded, or any thing having been done at all, by us; for, the President had no communication whatever to lay before the House from his ministers, or Commissioners, in England. What will Mr Spankie, the editor of the Morning Chronicle, say to this? Why, I am afraid (for I do not yet despair of *him*), that he will refer to the speech of MR. RANDOLPH, and say, that the act has been suspended, on account of the altered conduct of the government of England. I am afraid, that, forgetting his country's interest and honour, and clinging to the cant of the treasury, he will ascribe this new suspension to the discretion and wisdom of the ministers. But, unluckily for any position of this sort, the act was passed during the last session of Congress, and was then, even in the moment of its passing; even when, as Mr. Randolph says, "Great Britain's conduct was most hostile "towards the American States;" even then, the operation of the act was suspended until the 25th of the then next November, a space of more than six months, and terminating at the time when the Congress would, in all probability, have met again; that is to say, the suspension was to terminate at the very time when it would be in the power of Congress to suspend it anew; or, in other words, to prevent its operation from exposing those who made it to contempt. But, there were seventeen days between the 15th of November and the 2nd of December, during which this famous *law* was in force; but, *what force* had it? Perhaps twenty ships, laded, in part at least, with the prohibited articles, arrived during those days. Not one of them experienced any delay in landing their cargoes; and the law, like the Parish Bill of our wiseacres, Pitt and his minions, served only to expose the imbecility of its supporters, without having, however, like our law, given any one an hour's vexation, the people of America having compared their wiseacres to Chrononhotonthologos, who, in strains of Pitt-like bombast, gives orders that no one shall, in future, debase himself by submitting to the power of the god of sleep.——Such an act *cannot* be executed in America for any length of time. "It was" as I before observed (p. 4 of this volume), "a hasty effusion of vanity and "ignorance. A sort of trick to try us." And, though I am not free from apprehensions upon the subject, I yet hope, that the trick has failed. The questions which have been put to Lord Howick, relating to the treaty now concluded with the Americans, have not, indeed, been answered in a manner that tends to lessen my apprehensions. Yet, I do still hope, that nothing material has been conceded; if there has, eternal execration will be due to all and to every one, who have had act or part in the negociating or the approving of this treaty.——In my article of the 20th December, above referred to, I mentioned, amongst the motives that might induce certain persons to wish government to concede any thing to America, rather than run the risk of a rupture, the possessions which those persons have *in the funds of America*; and, I am sorry to have seen in an American newspaper, that one in this country, now closely *related* to persons in that country, has great possessions in those funds. I had heard of this some years ago; but I was in hopes, that an elevation as unexpected by all the world as it was unmerited by the party elevated, might have wrought some change in his way of thinking, and might have given him confidence in the courage and resources of his own country, to which he is so *dear*. I have heard of others too, and, some of them, persons who have won their riches by the valor of English sailors, resorting to America as a place for depositing their wealth. I have heard of noble-men; aye, and of ancient family too, who have sent their rents, *the fruit of English labour*, to the same *place of safety*. I feared the influence of all this upon the late negociation; and, all that I will add at present, on the subject, is, that I sincerely hope my fears may prove groundless; but, if they should not, if any material part of our best rights shall have been sacrificed, I think, (though I must hold my tongue), that they have been sacrificed from the basest of mo-

lives.——Under the head of "American States," I mentioned, in page 10 of the present volume, the affair of Mr. Burr, late Vice President of the United States, who had been, or was about to be, arrested upon a charge of high treason, having, as was alledged, formed the scheme of separating the Mississippi States from the Atlantic States, and of erecting in the former, a kingly government, of which he intended to be at the head. I there gave it as my opinion, that though Mr. Burr *might* fail, some other man would, 'ere long, succeed in some such scheme. I beg leave to refer the reader to the article of which I am speaking; and, from the following account, taken from the American papers, he will be easily able to estimate the power of the Federal government in the Mississippi States.——"Judge Innis, "(at the Federal court in Kentucky), having taken time to consider the application "of the Attorney of the district, which was "to issue process to enforce the attendance "of Mr. Burr, to answer interrogatories "whether he was engaged in the scheme "ascribed to him, and to enforce the attendance of witnesses to give testimony "on the same point, on the 7th or 8th of "Nov. pronounced the decision of the "court, which was, that the court did not "possess the power to grant the motion, "and if they did, that the affidavit was not "sufficient ground for it.——On the motion of the Attorney of the District, the "court then ordered the Grand Jury to be "summoned *instanter*, which was accordingly formed during the sitting of the "court. At this point of time Mr Burr, "attended by his Counsel, appeared in "court. Mr. Burr addressed the court, "and said, that having understood, just as "he was about to leave the State, that certain charges had been preferred against "him, he had come from Lexington for "the purpose of requesting an immediate "investigation might be had.——Mr. Daveiss, the District Attorney, said, he was "not prepared to go into an immediate investigation before the Grand Jury, and "moved that they should be dismissed until "the Wednesday following to give him an "opportunity, in the mean time, to summon "his witnesses. The court granted the motion. On Wednesday the court met. Of "13 witnesses summoned, 12 appeared. "The only absent witness was a member of "the Legislature of the Indian territory, "then said to be sitting. The Grand Jury "likewise attended.——In this stage of the "business, Mr. Daveiss, it is said, without "assigning any reason, informed the Court "that he was not prepared to carry the case "before the Grand Jury, and moved their "discharge, which accordingly took place. "*No reasons are assigned for this most extraordinary course of procedure.* The "state of the *public mind* at Kentucky *was* "*tranquil*, and *not a voice was heard in* "FAVOUR OF SEPARATION."——This closing sentence naturally puts me in mind of the articles, in our ministerial prints, respecting the state of Ireland, upon the eve of a commotion. "The public mind in Kentucky *was tranquil!*" Indeed! What, though Mr. Burr was brought to answer to a motion of the Attorney General, yet the people gave no manifestations, at least, openly, of discontent; and the public mind was tranquil! What an obedient and forbearing public mind this must be! But, this is not all: there was no talk even of a separation from the Federal Government. The assertion does not, indeed, go quite this length. There had been a talk, seemingly; but, "not a "*voice* was heard in *favour* of the separation." That is to say, there was not a man, no, not a single man, who *decidedly* and *openly* declared his wish to commit high treason! What a striking instance of docility! What a convincing proof of the attachment of the Western people to the Federal Government!——This country *must* divide. The separation *must* take place; and, my opinion is, that it will be into *three* parcels of territory, if not more; for, as to New England remaining, for many years, under a government, the seat of which is six hundred miles from Boston, the idea is perfectly absurd.

LLOYD'S FUND.——Lord Howick's observations upon the conduct of the little government at Lloyd's, have produced a battling between the anti-ministerial and the ministerial newspapers, the former being the assailants, and having begun by an attack upon his lordship, so strongly marked by insolence as well as ignorance, that it is next to impossible that it should not have originated with the little impudent government itself. The Courier (the advocate of the Lloyd's men) says, that no fault would have been found of the institution, if the Committee had not given a reward to an officer disliked by the ministers, alluding to Sir Home Popham; and, indeed, the Morning Chronicle (the *defender of the ministers*) can, I fear, make but little out against this charge. But, as to *me*, be it recollected, that I was opposed to the fund from the beginning; upon principle; and, for reasons stated as clearly as I was able to state them.——The Courier asks, "how the Committee were to *know*,

" that Sir Home Popham had been guilty " *of disobedie ice of orders*;" and, it is well asked. There can be no answer given to it; and, I, for my part, am delighted to hear the present ministry taunted with the fact, that many of them gave their money, for the purpose of erecting this little government; for establishing this dangerous and hateful combination of unlawful takers and rulers.—I exhorted the present ministry to put down this impudent confederation. They were all convinced, that the collections in the churches were unlawful, and that every minister of the established church, who permitted those collections, would have been severely punished, if the law of the land had been duly executed. Of this they were all convinced; and, if they had not come into power, they would have brought forward the subject in parliament, and would have charged the late law-officers of the crown with a gross and scandalous neglect of their duty. Now the ministers see the consequence of not having seized on the monster at once. They now see what a formidable rival they have in the affections of the Navy and the Army. They now complain; but, they do not complain with a very good grace. Let us hope, however, that they will have the courage to put an end to the confederation; for, if they do not, it will put an end, not only to their exercising of the powers of the state, but to that power itself.——The argument, that the Lloyd's men, that is to say, the stock-jobbers of London, were not informed, and could not know, that Sir Home Popham had been guilty of disobedience of orders, is very good, is perfectly unanswerable, as towards the ministers, who had been nine months in power without having expressed any dislike of the confederation; and, it is also very good towards the Morning Chronicle, which had never proposed to put the combination down, and which, at one time, even reproved me, in no very gentle language, for expressing my detestation of it; but, as towards me, as towards those who objected to the existence of such a confederation, it is a most excellent argument of attack upon that confederation; for, what must every reasonable man think of leaving the granting of rewards and honours in the hands of a set of persons, who, in justification of themselves against a charge of having misapplied them, plead, as their only defence, an ignorance of the fact of whether they were merited or not? "ignorant!" yes, to be sure they were. How should they be otherwise? How should they ever know any thing of such matters? They are ignorant of every thing, except the art of working the taxes into their pockets; and how, then, should they know any thing about the bestowing properly of rewards and honours? Their fund was raised from the two-fold source of hypocrisy and unthinking-folly; and, of such largesses, ignorance and factiousness seem to be the most appropriate stewards.——When I complain of the ministers not having, at once, seized the confederation and put an end to it, I wish not to be supposed to charge them with any very great inconsistency, if they do their duty, in this respect, now. They may have thought, though I should not, that it was best to wait for some glaring instance of the mischievous tendency of the confederation. Besides, they have had much to attend to; and, if they do their duty now, no great blame can, as to this matter, be imputed to them. But, if they flinch now, if they now suffer three or four city stock-jobbing votes to restrain their hand, then, indeed, will they fix their characters for ever.——There are some venal scribes, who have thought it likely that they should advance their wages by accusing me, and those who think with me, of a wish to see *confusion* in the country; but, if this were our wish, I must be still more weak than wicked; for, of all the means of creating confusion, of all the combinations that ever were formed for the overturning of a government, the confederation at Lloyd's is the most likely to succeed. It possesses the grand means of making a formidable opposition to the government, *money*; and it addresses itself to those who, in all commotions, must give the turn to the tide, the *army and the navy*. Its funds now amount to more than a quarter of a million of money; it has upon *its pension list* great numbers of officers, soldiers, and sailors, it grants pensions superior to those coming to persons in similar cases, from the crown; it has no orders to give, no duties to impose, no obedience to exact, all which are thrown upon the government, while the confederation has nothing but the amiable office of rewarding and honouring. The collections made by this confederation were *illegal*. Not only has no body of men in the country a right to raise money, in any manner, for the purpose of seducing the army and navy from their attachment to the king; but, part of these collections, amounting, in all probability, to *a hundred thousand pounds*, were made in direct violation of positive laws. The money, thus raised, is *illegally holden*; and, unless the confederation would, upon application made by the Attorney General, immediately give it up, to be disposed of as the king might think fitting, they ought to be

prosecuted. I, by the aid of a valuable correspondent, *proved* the illegality of the collections in the churches (see Vol. IX. p. 85, and the following ones); and, so fixed was my resolution to put the matter to the test, that, had the minister, in the parish where I reside, suffered a collection, my resolution was to have indicted him at Winchester. His own wisdom, his knowledge of his duty, his respect for the law, and his contempt of hypocritical cant, prevented this; but, I scruple not to assert, that every collection so made, in the established church of England, was an offence at common law, on the part of the minister who permitted it, and subjected him to the punishment of fine, imprisonment, and the pillory. Yes, Doctor Ireland, vicar of Croydon, who had the modesty to reproach your non-subscribing parishioners with *selfishness*, and who has got, by what means you and I know, *three fat livings* in the church, while hundreds of your brethren are half-starved; yes, the pillory, I say; the pillory! Shake your ears at it as long as you please, I say, it subjected every minister, permitting it, to the punishment of the pillory, and that punishment many of them ought to have suffered.—— There were, amongst the clergy of the church, many honourable exceptions, and, their merit was great in proportion to the height of the clamour, which the Jewish confederation had, by the means of their circular letters to the magistrates and others (which letters were franked from the General Post-office) contrived to excite against them. But, I can, in no case, admit of the plea of *ignorance* in defence of the clergy. Men that learn *Latin*, and especially *Greek*, can never, surely, be ignorant! Men who possess the "*learned* languages;" men who have spent whole years under black gowns and four-cornered caps, can, surely, never have the face to stand forward upon a plea of ignorance!——The articles written by me, upon the subject of this illegal confederation, are to be found in the four preceding volumes, by referring to the several indexes, under the words Fund at Lloyd's and Lloyd's Fund. These articles trace the confederation from its dawn to the present day; and the motive from which I now point them out, is, that I am satisfied, that an impartial perusal of them will convince every man of sense, who wishes to see the constitution preserved, that this offspring of craft, selfishness and ambition, on the one side, and of hypocrisy or folly, on the other side, ought, without a moment's loss of time, to be put down and annihilated.

Buenos Ayres.——So! this precious possession, the capture of which has, in all probability, cost England two hundred or three hundred thousand of pounds, is, at last, said to be re-captured, and, with 1,400 of our troops, many of whom will now, if the news be true, have to end their days in a loathsome prison, and, at any rate, will be a loss to their country of a hundred thousand pounds, to say nothing of baggage, stores, &c. &c.; and all this we shall pay, and our countrymen suffer, for the chance of Sir Home Popham and his associates enriching themselves by the *plunder* of a possession, which it was impossible should do this country any good. It is not *after* the rumour of the recapture, observe, that I say this. By a reference to Vol. X. pages 458, 497, and 1006, at the last of which places I took the liberty to comment upon that part of Mr. Canning's *amendment*, wherein that profound statesman expresses his dignified regret, that no mention of the important conquest of Buenos Ayres had found a place in the king's speech; by a reference to these passages, it will be seen, that I always looked upon the capture of the colony in question as *injurious* to this country. I stated my reasons for this opinion, which opinion I still entertain; and, therefore, I shall hear of the recapture with pleasure, thinking that one year's mischief is better than the mischief of two years; but, while I shall rejoice, that my country is delivered from the burden and the oppression and the insolence, which the possession of this colony would have added to what it already endures, I shall lament the fate of the poor men, who will have been sacrificed to the greediness of their commanders, and I also shall lament that these men will be lost to their country, and their country to them, while she has thousands of Hanoverians lodged in her houses and feeding upon her produce.——As to the conduct of those commanders, it is impossible to speak of it in terms too severe: for, though they would have had no merit in case of success, their demerit will be augmented in proportion to the injury which they will have done their country. Their disobedience of orders was a crime, which no success could have done away; but, the crime will be greatly aggravated by the circumstance of its having led to consequences, which will prove that they risked, on the part of their country, so much in committing it.——That Sir Home Popham and Sir David Baird were actuated principally by a *thirst for plunder* I, for my own part, have no doubt. They could, if the report be true, have had no accurate information of the state of the enemy in that part of the world. This is to put the best

construction upon the matter; and, if they had not, what but a thirst for plunder, for parks, and palaces, could have led them to the undertaking of such an expedition?—— Now, when we are weighing the conduct of these commanders, must we forget the unparalleled arrogance of Sir Home Popham, in writing circular letters to the traders of London, Liverpool, Birmingham, and other places, taking upon him, like a minister, at the head of the government, to give a direction to the commerce of the country. He has thus, if the report be true, ruined hundreds of men and their families. He thought to secure, by such means, the popular voice on his side. It was an act of daring hostility to the government. It was a thing that hardly a man upon earth, except himself, would have had the effrontery to do. In short, *his* conduct in particular has been so outrageously insolent, as well as mischievous, that it is impossible, one would think, for any man to be found to attempt an excuse of it.—— But, it was said, and I should suppose, with truth, that, along with the intelligence of the capture, the commanders sent home the *valuables* which they had seized there; and, it was said, that Sir Home Popham's banker, Davison, had actually received an immense sum from him. If this be so, shall these commanders be allowed to retain their plunder; this price of their disobedience, and, if the report be correct, of the blood of their sailors and soldiers; of the great injury of their country? If so, the *military* punishment, that may be inflicted on them, will, I imagine, have very little weight in the deterring of others from following their example. No: they should be made to disgorge this plunder, not one dollar of which should remain theirs.——There has been an idea thrown out, that it is unfair to attack them in their *absence*. Their *absence!* What, then, no officer is ever to have his conduct discussed, until he return home! Suppose he *never* return home? Why, then, you are never to find fault with him, to be sure, though he may have caused your armies to be massacred and your fleets to be sunk. This is a new and most comfortable doctrine. You hear, for instance, that a governor is playing the tyrant in a colony; that he is working, in all manner of ways, for its speedy destruction, yet you must not move to have him recalled, because, to make a motion without supporting it with reasons would be absurd; and, to give your reasons would be to attack him in his absence; so that, at this rate, as long as he and the minister can agree, he must remain, and that, too, without even any complaint on the part of the people or their representatives. The Pitts it was who first brought up the fashion of treating with such *excessive candour* all criminals in the service of the public. That set of men had declared open war against the people in all manner of ways. The people's day will surely come; and sorry I am that the *leader* of their spoilers is not alive to see it approach. His *monument*, however, will be at hand!

DAVISON.—This article is a very fit companion to the preceding one. The plunder it will treat of is of a different kind, to be sure, but plunder is plunder, however acquired.——The *third report* of the Military Commission has been made, and printed by order of the House of Commons——The reader will not have forgotten, that, in volumes IX and X, the affair of the famous DELANCEY, the late Barrack-Master-General, was treated of. We have never yet been informed, that he has paid to the public the immense sums, which, through the means of GREENWOOD, he drew from the public, and did not expend on the public account; and, I am afraid it will be very long before we shall see any of the "faithful Commons" demand an account of what has been actually done in this case.——DAVISON; the renowned Alexander Davison, of St. James's Square, and Pall Mall, banker; the Colonel of the North British Volunteers; the man who was so lately tried for bribery at elections, and who was imprisoned for that offence, but who, almost immediately after his coming out of prison, was made *Treasurer of the Ordnance*, an office that causes between *three* and *four millions* a year of the public money to pass through his hands; the man, who, it was publickly said, was to be made *a Baronet*, at the beginning of the present administration, and whom, were not Sir Francis Burdett a baronet, I should like to have seen put upon that rank; the man, who, when the baronetcy was given up, gave, as the news-papers told us, a grand and splendid entertainment to the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Clarence, Earl Moira, Mr. Sheridan, Colonel M'Mahon, and others; this celebrated person was, it appears, from the report above-mentioned, the Agent of the Barrack-Office for the supplying of every article for all the Barracks in Great Britain as well as in the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, from the commencement of the year 1795. In consequence of a bargain made between him and Delancey, which bargain never was, it appears, submitted to the Lords of the Treasury or any body else, Davison was to receive a commission of two and a half per

centum, for supplying the articles of beds, bedding, sheets, blankets, towels, ironmongery, candles, beer, and forage; but, that, as to coals, he was to supply them as a Merchant.——The way in which the public was wronged was two-fold:—FIRST, by Davison following the example of Delancey, *in drawing immense sums of money long before they were expended by him for the public service*; by which means he always had in hand a million, perhaps, or more, of the public money, of the interest of which money the public were deprived by him.—SECONDLY, *the price of the articles furnished.* Upon this head there do not appear to have been any means of detection afforded, as far as relates to the articles furnished on commission: but, with respect to the *coals*, ample means of detection have been found, and the Commissioners have made good use of them. The bargain respecting the coals, was this: Davison was to buy them on his own account, and was to sell them to the Barrrack Office, having no one but brother Delancey to examine and check his accounts. He was to supply them at the prices which wholesale dealers sold their coals at, at the several places where the barracks were situated; and, that these prices might be ascertained in a regular way, Davison was to produce certificates that his prices were fair, these certificates being signed by persons of the most respectable description. In the first place, however, he charged as a retailer in point of *measure*, not making the allowance, made by wholesale dealers, of one chaldron in twenty; so that, supposing his prices to have been fair, he thus gained one twentieth part more than a fair wholesale dealer would have gained; and, of this our good friend, brother Delancey, must have been aware.——But, as to the *prices*, a most consolatory scene is opened to our view; a most heart-cheering proof of our taxes being well managed; a most striking proof of the vigilance and purity of the heaven-born minister, under whose fostering wing so many of these bright geniuses have sprung up from the dung-hill to palaces. Never, the report tells, except in *one single instance*, did the Barrack Master, Delancey, make any inquiry into the character, or the means of knowledge, of the persons, whose names were affixed to Davison's certificates of prices; so that, for any thing brother Delancey knew of the matter, those certificates might be signed by Alexander Davison's footman, or by some of the members of his volunteer corps.—— With such a field of operations before him, so great a commander could be at no loss how to act, and that his actions were uncommonly bold, the following extract from the report will leave little room for doubt.——"In the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey, "the certificates were *generally signed* by "a person of the name of George Richard "Walker, a dealer in coals, and who was "*concerned with Mr. Davison, under some "agreement or contract in supplying coals "for the Barracks in Guernsey and the ad-"jacent islands for about four years.* He "was afterwards *Mr. Davison's agent*, for "about two years more, in the same busi-"ness, at a commission of 2½ per cent. on "an estimated price of the coals delivered. "He was also Mr. Davison's agent in sup-"plying candles, during the whole time.— "This person had, therefore, a direct in-"terest in certifying high prices, and he "had also an interest in the quantity de-"livered in; for, while he acted as Mr. Da-"vison's agent, he received a commission "of 2½ per cent. on an agreed valuation "of 65s. per chaldron on all the coals "measured in the Barracks It was during "this period that the great increase on "the cargoes sent to these islands ap-"peared.—Now, this Richard George "Walker was CONVICTED OF FORGERY, "AND EXECUTED.—On the 23d of January, "1799, Mr. Hargraves, a coal merchant "Brighton, delivered at the Barracks there, "60 chaldrons of coals, on account of Mr. "Davison, and charges him 46s. per chal-"dron, and draws a bill for the same, 138l. "at 40 days. The *self same Mr. Har-"graves certifies the price on that day to be* "58s. and 2s. for carriage to the Barracks, "making together 60s. and this the public "pays.—Mr. George Leith, of Walmer, "delivered 60 chaldrons, 6 bushels, into the "Barracks, for which he charged 72s. per "chaldron, including all expences. The "certificate, signed by two inhabitants of "Deal, states the price of coals on the same "day to be 90s. and the price of carriage to "be 2s 6d. more, by which Mr. Davison "has a profit of 1l. and 6d. per chaldron, "or about 30 per cent. on the cost price.— "Richard Emmerson and Co. charge Mr. "Davison 45s. per chaldron, and 9s. 6d. "more for carriage, from Dover to Deal, "making together 54s. 6d. The certificate "is, that the price of coals is 3l. per chal-"dron, and that carriage is 17s. 8d. giving "Mr Davison a compounded profit of 1l. "3s. 2d. per chaldron, or above 40 per cent. "—Neither Mr. Davison, nor his late Clerk, "to whom he referred the Commissioners, "attempted to explain these two last trans-"actions.—After the execution of George "Richard Walker, the Commissioners ob-

"tained *his ledger*, from which they extract "some of the deliveries, shewing the prices "*paid* by Mr. Davison to Walker, and those "charged by him, and allowed by the Bar-"rack-office, under certificate."—When the reader has gone *twice*, at least, over the foregoing extract, he may proceed to the following comparative view of the difference in the prices which Davison *paid* and those which he *charged* to the government, and which were paid him from the Treasury, under the heaven-born Pitt and his successor Addington; but, let us note here, by the way, that the Commissioners call Davison, "Alexander Davison, *Esq.*," and never less than "Mr. Davison," while they call poor Mr Walker, the unfortunate dealer and agent and certifier that was hanged, plain *Walker*, just as if he had had not the least spark of gentility in his composition Let us not participate in this partiality. Let us not be such cowards as to bestow all our reproach upon the poor dead rogue. For my part,

"A thief's a knave to me, in ev'ry state:
"Alike my scorn, if he succeed, or fail,
"Sporus at court, or Japhet in a jail."

The reader will observe, that the following table exhibits what was done upon *one little spot*. But of this, and of the total sum, of which the public has, by such means been defrauded, we will speak hereafter.

Date of Delivery.	*Quantity.*				*Price paid by Davison.*	*Prices charged by Davison to the public, and certified by Walker to be the first prices.*
		GUERNSEY.				
1799.	*Ch.*	*Bus.*		*Bus.*	*per Chaldron.*	
May 22	158	12	or	5,700	55s.	76s. 11d.
June 17	194	16		7,000	55s.	69s. 4d.
		JERSEY.				
January 1	36	12	or	1,318	50s.	92s. 4½d.
February 18	194	16		7,000	80s.	90s. 4½d.
March 18	361	4		13,000	86s.	90s. 4½d.
May 20	97	8		3,500	55s.	74s. 4½d.
June 10	166	24		6,000	55s.	74s. 4½d.
		GUERNSEY				
July 4	92	3	or	3,315	55s.	68s. 0½d.
August 12	170	0		6,120	65s.	65s. 0½d.
September 16	54	20		1,970	65s.	75s. 7½d.
October 16	105	30		3,810	65s	75s 7½d.
November 10	138	32		5,000	65s.	90s. 3d
——— 18	153	2		5,510	65s.	90s 3d.
December 6	75	0		2,700	74s.	90s 3d.
——— 11	104	6		3,750	74s.	90s 3d.
——— 19	115	10		4,150	74s.	90s 3d.
——— 23	95	35		3,455	74s.	90s. 3d.
		JERSEY.				
July 20	83	14	or	3,000	55s.	74s. 4½d.
August 6	222	8		8,000	55s.	74s. 4½d.
September 30	388	32		14,000	65 .	74s. 4½d.
——— 17	52	12		1,884	not in W's led.	74s 4½d.
October 28	166	24		6,000	65s.	90s. 3d.
November 18	225	0		8,100	65s.	90s. 3d.
——— 30	272	9		9,981	74s.	90s. 3d.
December 24	136	0		4,896	74s.	90s. 3d.

Now, I will do what the Commissioners have not done, and that is, state the *average* of the over-charge. I do not know *why* they have not done it. A merchant would have done it; and so, it seems to me, any body would have done, that wished to have rendered the fraud intelligible to the people.——The average of the price *charged to the public*, if I have taken time to calculate correctly (which I am not quite sure of), is, *eighty-one* shillings a chaldron, throwing aside fractions; and the average of the price *paid by Davison*, is, *sixty-one* shillings a chaldron. This is a difference of one quarter part, or of *twenty-five* in the hundred. But, to this must be added the one chaldron in twenty which Davison ought to have given in, as the wholesale dealers do, and which amounts to *five* pounds in the hundred more. This makes a gain of *thirty* pounds in every hundred. Besides which, he was to make the deliveries in the *most*

favourable seasons, instead whereof, he made almost the whole of them *in winter*, when coals were dearest, though he had bought them at the seasons when coals were cheapest, and that, too, observe, with the public money, vast sums of which De Lancey and Pitt suffered him always to keep in his hands. So that, upon the whole, without supposing any frauds in the *quality* and *measure* of the coals, the public paid; we, the people of England paid, out of our property and our labour, at the rate of *a hundred pounds*, for that which, under vigilant and honest ministers, we might have been supplied with at the rate of *sixty pounds!*——The Barrack accounts laid before parliament are so very instructive, that there is no telling precisely how much of our taxes have gone into the hands of this man. These accounts consist of *one word* annually: "BARRACKS;" and then follows a sum of from two to *three millions*. What part of this sum went to Davison I cannot tell; but, I should suppose, not less than *a million a year*, upon an average; and, as he was the supplier for about *nine years*, it is no wonder he possessed the means of bribery at elections and of giving, if the newspapers spoke truth, "grand and splendid entertainments "to the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cla"rence, Lord Moira, Mr. Sheridan, and "others." And, yet, we are not to complain! And yet, the base daily press accuses Sir Francis Burdett of a wish to overturn the government, and to destroy all property, because he complains of a waste of the public money; because he inveighs against the "infamous 'swallowings" of the ministers and their creatures! And yet, the detestable daily press, the property of placemen and peculators, has the audacity to tell us, that we are foolish or factious, because we complain of our burdens, and because we ascribe the pauperism and unparalleled misery of the people to a misapplication of the fruit of their labour, wrung from them by hundreds upon hundreds and thousands upon thousands of tax-gatherers! And yet, we are reproached, and anathematized, because we grudge to make sacrifice upon sacrifice, for the preservation of such a state of things, and Mr. Sheridan, for whom Davison voted, and who was the *banker of his subscription* for the purpose of stifling the free voice of the people of Westminster, has the unfeeling insolence to tell us, that, in support of this state of things, we are "to sacrifice "even *the necessaries of life*," in which he is heartily joined by those literary mercenaries, John Bowles and Redhead Yorke!——Towards the close of the Report there is a fact stated, which serves to throw light upon the dispositions of ministers, in cases where frauds committed upon the public came to their knowledge. We had, indeed, some pretty striking instances of this sort in the affairs of Mr. Pritchard and Mr. Atkins, the two discarded Barrack Masters of the Isle of Wight. In this Report, a new personage appears, namely, Mr. Yorke, Secretary at War, and afterwards Secretary of State, during the ministry of Mr. Addington. The Report says, that "whilst the "commissioners were pursuing their in"quiry into the mode of the supply of coals "they were made acquainted with a letter "addressed to the Lords of the Treasury, by "a person of the name of Robert Edington, "in which "he accuses Alexander Davi"son, Esq. and one Walker, and their de"pendent confederates, as well as Lieut. "Gen. De Lancey, in conniving at the prac"tices of peculations and frauds in the sup"ply of coals in the islands of Guernsey, "Jersey, and Alderney, and he has no doubt "but that these peculations will be found to "have existed up to the clear amount of "£150,000." This letter was referred to "the Secretary at War, Mr. Yorke, who "inquired into the allegations, the result of "which he declared in his report not to be "satisfactory to him; for the certificates of "the prices of coals in these islands being "signed at least by one of the persons con"cerned with Mr. Davison in the supply, "were not proper vouchers in support of "his claims; but he acquits Lieut. Gen. "De Lancey of all connivance. The com"missioners also inquired into the allega"tions of Robert Edington, but he shewed "such a want of knowledge of the real state "of the transactions, and he had so untruly "represented many matters, that they "omitted to examine him, and also because "he was himself a party in the forgery of "which George Richard Walker was con"victed, having been admitted an evidence "for the crown."——Very true. He was not a person of fair fame; but, mark the difference! He was a very good witness *for the Crown* in a case where *the life of a man* was at stake, which life was actually taken away partly upon his evidence; but, in a case where the banker and dinner-giver and treasurer Davison was the accused party, he was not thought worthy *even of examination!* But, in turning to Mr. Yorke, we are not informed *why* "he acquitted De Lancey of "all connivance," and, I think, it would puzzle him to show, how it was *possible* for De Lancey, supposing him to be in his right senses, not to have *known* of the frauds that

were committed. At any rate, however, Mr. Yorke was satisfied that frauds were committed. And what did he and Mr. Addington do in consequence thereof, for the letter was addressed to the Lords of the Treasury also? What did they do? Did they put an end to Davison's contract and agency? No. Did they institute an inquiry into his and De Lancey's conduct? No. They did nothing at all in the matter. Did Pitt do any thing in this way, after he returned to place? No. Not a step was taken by any of them to correct this enormous abuse; and had it not been for the prosecution of Lord Melville, the clue of which was first given by Mr. Robson, which was afterwards taken up by Lord St. Vincent and the Addingtons with a view of keeping back Pitt, and which was, at last, carried on by the Opposition for the purpose of crushing Pitt and Lord Melville; had it not been for the developement thus made, which compelled Pitt to appoint a Military Commission of Inquiry to prevent the Opposition from moving for such a commission, which, on the very evening that he did it, they were going to do by the mouth of Mr. Grey; had it not been for this wrangling and rancorous contest for place, power, and profit, not a word should we have heard of the conduct of De Lancey and Davison to this day.——That such is the case no man of truth and honour will attempt to deny; and, yet, shall we patiently hear Sir Francis Burdett accused of factiousness, of seditious, and even of rebellious wishes and views, because he is endeavouring to bring about such a reform in the representation of the people, as would put an end to these shameful abuses, which, if not put an end to, and that effectually and speedily, must and will destroy the kingly government of this country, root and branch? Shall we patiently hear ourselves, we, who sorely feel the lashes of taxation, and are neither rogues enough to lick ourselves whole by participation, nor cowards enough to pine in silence under our sufferings; shall we patiently hear ourselves represented as jacobins and levellers; shall we patiently see the place and pension-pampered host combine against us, and subscribe the fruits of our labour for the purpose of depriving us of the use of the little voice that is left us; shall we patiently see ourselves thus combined against, and stigmatized as low and bloody-minded miscreants, because we complain that "the necessaries "of life" are taken from us for the purpose of increasing the luxuries of the board of such men as the dinner-giving and prince-treating Davison?——"But," some hireling of Whitehall will say, "these abuses, as you "see, are *now* to be put an end to, without "any of the changes that Sir Francis Burdett "would introduce." An *end* to; indeed! What *redress* has the public obtained for the conduct of De Lancey? Has he *paid* the money which he owed to us? Has any member of parliament even *asked* whether he has paid it or not? I will tell you the *redress* we have obtained.—It is this, that since his conduct was clearly made known to the ministers, he has had granted him *a pension of upwards of two thousand pounds a year for life!* This is our redress; and, in such cases, from such a source, such redress do I always expect. In the Report before us, why is not the gross sum, which Davison ought to refund, stated; clearly stated, so that the parliament and the people may know the amount of it? And why is there no mode of proceeding against him pointed out? That would be "*indelicate*;" that would be "*illiberal*." Go to the Police-offices, and there learn what delicacy and liberality is exercised towards the people, when any of *them* are found guilty of frauds. Look back to the *Plymouth Tin-man*, and see how severely a novice in the science of bribery is punished.—— Davison may, perhaps, be turned out of his place of Treasurer of the Ordnance. What *redress* will that be to us? *Another* will fill his place; and who shall assure me, that that other will be a cleaner-handed man? The money, due from him to the public, will, I fear, be very long on its way to the Exchequer; and, in short, until I see a House of Commons, without placemen and pensioners, I shall expect to see nothing done for the good of the people; for, until such a change as that take place, the ministry, be they who they may, and do they what they may, will always have a majority to support them; and for the securing of that majority, the "drug," to use the phrase of Excise Walpole, "will always be found "at their shop"——I must confess, that the present ministers, except, perhaps, Mr. Addington, are not chargeable with any neglect, with respect to Davison and De Lancey; and I will do Lord Grenville the justice to say, that I have heard, that he means to compel them to refund to the last farthing. I will also say, that I believe them to be sincerely disposed to save the public money, if they can do it without touching *the system*; but, it is the Pitt system that has brought us into our present situation; that they know as well as I do, and, therefore, the paying of that man's debts out of the fruit of the labour of the nation whom he had ruined and disgraced, is what I never can forgive them for. I would, and I will, give them the lit-

the support that I am able to give, in all their laudable undertakings, and especially in opposition to the persecuting, the malignant, the greedy, the hypocritical minions of Pitt; but, were it my fate to act in what is called public life, never would I have for an associate, never would I throw my legs under the same table, never would I shake hands with, and call my brother, any one who had conspicuously participated in that outrageous insult to my country. From the moment that that insulting act was committed, I broke off from all those, whom I had before been connected with, who took a leading part therein; and I resolved never again, as long as I lived, to have any connection with them. I live in hopes of yet seeing that grant of money reversed. It is one of the things, which, when the sun-shine of hope breaks in upon me, I, in prospect, though distant, enjoy; and, were I upon my death-bed, taking my last farewell of a son likely to bestir himself in such transactions, connected with my blessing should be a charge never to desist from his exertions till he had wiped from his country that mark of her deepest disgrace.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."—Below will be found two letters, from two correspondents of different sentiments, upon this subject, whereon I touched, as the reader will, probably, recollect, in page 36 of the present volume. The first of these correspondents asks of me an explanation of my propositions, which I still think to be very clearly stated. He puts to me two questions, both of which I answer in the *negative*; for, I know, that many of the Latin and Greek authors were *really* learned men; and I am far from supposing, that their works are never to be read, in their originals, with advantage. But, these opinions are not at all inconsistent with the proposition, to which he refers; for, with this acknowledgement to facilitate his promised undertaking, he will, I am persuaded, find it difficult to show, that, in *general*, the *time spent* in the learning of Latin and Greek, could not be more advantageously employed, and *would* not be more advantageously employed, if those languages were not so generally taught; and, if he should fail in his endeavours to maintain the contrary opinion, I shall, of course, retain mine, "that, "*as a part of general education*, those lan-"guages are *worse* than useless." I did, indeed, flatter myself, that my propositions were too plain in their meaning to require explanation; but, if I have now succeeded in making them so, I shall not grudge the time which it has cost me. I shall hope, however, that I have now nothing to expect from any one, upon this subject, until the regular and finished defence comes.—Here I should have stopped, had not the "Late "member of Queen's College, Oxford," who, as the reader will see, dates from *the Temple*, thought proper to question my *seriousness*, in challenging his brethren to the discussion. His contempt of me, as an antagonist, was to be looked for, as a matter of course; but his snips and snaps at wit and point are, also, perfectly in character; but, I must forewarn him not to think me in jest; for, he will find, that, unless my proposition can be over-set, I shall question the justice and the policy of leaving so large a portion of those means, which are so much wanted for the creditable maintenance of our starving parish priests, to be wasted at Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere; and this, I take it, is *no jesting*.——The date, "from *the Temple*," has, in a case like this, no terrors for me; for, though the novices in that profound community are very successful in eating their way to the bar, I am thoroughly persuaded, that, in this dispute, the best of them will do little more than shew his teeth.——Upon looking over the article of my Register, in which the challenge was given, I perceive one phrase which I wish to explain, namely, the "*mummery of monkery*," by which I would, by no means, be understood as expressing my contempt, indiscriminately, either of the monkish institutions, or of the profession, the capacities, or the conduct of the monks. The mummery *only* was an object of my contempt; and, it unfortunately happens, that we have, with respect to the collegiate establishments, been sifting and boulting in such a way, that we have little more than some of the worst of the mummery and its attendant imposture remaining.—— And now, though perfectly serious, let us, with good-natured looks and hearts free from anger, await the result of the discussion.

There are several of the letters from correspondents, contained in the present double Number, to which I would have added some little information of my own; or upon which I would have offered, here and there, a remark. Want of time must be my apology for the omission, which I will endeavour to make up for in my next.

LEARNED LANGUAGES.

SIR,—I am not at this time a member of either of the Universities, or certainly should not stoop to take up the gauntlet which you have thrown down to them; and I feel that an apology is due to the learned body to which I formerly belonged, before I enter

into such a contest.—That the "*languages*," in which all the wisdom of antiquity has been conveyed to us, "*are, as a part of ge-*" *neral education, worse than useless*," seems to me a proposition too monstrous to be treated seriously; nor is it my intention so to treat it. For I am inclined to believe that you were so carried away by your anger about the "UTI POSSIDETIS," as not to be left in the "*actual possession*" of your own senses. It is my wish, however, to ascertain this before I proceed: and you must therefore allow me to deprecate a similar fit of anger, when I beg your attention to the "STATUS ANTE BELLUM:" and I dare say, Sir, that you will agree with me in thinking, that the "*state before war*," is a question which it is more useful to consider at the *commencement*, than at the *termination* of a contest; and that it would have been happy for mankind, if *nations* could, in this respect, have had *us* for an example. —I wish then to know, Sir, what you really mean by the *assertion* which you have so hastily made; I speak of the latter part of it, for I shall not deny that "*languages*" which "*are worse than useless*," are "*improperly*" "*called learned*." But, when you say, that the *languages* of *Greece and Rome* "*are* "*worse than useless*," do you mean that their *writers* were *such fools* as not to deserve our attention? Or, that they can never be *read with advantage* till they are *translated into a modern language*?—When you have had the kindness to inform me to *which of these two opinions* we owe your PROPOSITION, you shall hear from me again. In the mean time, I remain,—Sir, Yours, &c.

A LATE MEMBER OF QUEEN'S COL. OXFORD.

Temple, Jan. 13, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

SIR.——I am far from thinking that any suggestions which I can offer, on the usual topics of your interesting publication, will be either new, or in any manner worthy your particular notice. Nevertheless, I cannot forbear to express my high gratification, on finding from your last sheet, (p. 36,) that it is your intention to expose the ill-founded pretensions of the useless drones, who assume a superiority, in society, on the ground of having spent a certain portion of their years, in dissipation, or in indolence, at Oxford or Cambridge. Judging from the *real* usefulness of these persons, and from the *deference* which they, studiously observe towards each other, while they affect to look with contempt upon other men, we might be led to suspect, that our colleges are designed for purposes, similar to "Free Ma-" sonry;" and that no one is to be considered as a brother, who has not been initiated into *their secret*.—It will not, I believe, be disputed that, among all the academicks, the clergy are the most infected with the supercilious arrogance alluded to; which, surely, could not be the case if they *really* believed themselves to be bound to observe the lessons and example of their humble Master.—— Reflecting on this matter, some little time ago, I amused myself by committing to paper a few unconnected thoughts thereon, which I mention, to confirm to you the interest I have entertained in the case; from which, also, you will judge of the pleasure I promise myself, in perusing the treatment of the subject from *your* pen. You do not purpose to begin until Lady Day next. I do not think your challenge will be accepted—unless, perhaps, by some hot-headed, and over-daring youth.—I am, very respectfully, Sir, Your obedient and humble Servant.—

7th January, 1807. J. B.

On the subject of *Hanover*, there can be but one *sincere* opinion, and Lord Grenville, even, must hold it.—That there are *persons*, sufficiently childish in themselves and unjust towards England, to be so mean as to re-accept that fatal gift, from the French conqueror, is not so much to be wondered at (*those persons* being considered), as that *any* minister should insult, as in this instance, the understandings and the feelings of the People of England.

INCOME TAX.

Plymouth Dock, Jan. 15, 1807.

SIR,—I am an old superannuated sailor, and have five children, and have also, thanks to my past labour and prudence, an income of five hundred a year. I was last night lamenting with my neighbour, Dick Dowlas, over the grievances of the times, as we are wont to do. I must tell you, that Dick, having formerly had a little contract for Barrack sheets, is a great stickler for Government, i. e. ministers, but is withal a good friendly fellow. "You growl," says Dick, "at the hardships of the Income Tax; why "don't you claim the abatements that the "legislature, in its wisdom and humanity, "has ordained for the relief of those, who, "like you, have many children to provide "for: I cannot say that I know the extent "of the act in this respect, because, being, "as you know, an old batchelor without "chick or child, it does not particularly "concern me; but, I have not the least "doubt, that you will discover, that a most "liberal and ample latitude is thereby giv-"en, for easing the pressure of which you

"so captiously complain."—Well, Sir, to make short of my story, I sent to my friend Amplify, the lawyer, and borrowed the act, the precious production of our late, ever to be lamented, heaven-born minister. I was, at first, a little taken aback and astounded at the bulk of the volume; but, I turned out early this morning, and with eager hope and expectation set doggedly to work in search of the promised consolation. After about six hours labour, for I found it a more crabbed task, than working the most intricate set of lunar observations,—I do really think, Mr. Cobbett, that I have discovered, and made out, pretty nearly, the meaning of all the consolatory provisions of the act, as far at least, as regards my case. But, Sir, you shall judge; and, if you please, your readers shall also judge; for I dare say, that, poor souls, many of them, and, perhaps, those whom it most concerns, little know, or even suspect, the happiness in store for them, or the reservations in this most equitable act, in favour of those, who, like myself, are somewhat stiver-cramped, and, who, at the same time, have a numerous crew to victual. I have, as I before told you, five hundred a year, and five children; Now, Sir, in order to be entitled to the exemptions I shall hereafter mention, it seems nothing more is necessary than some few ceremonies, which, however tedious, degrading, and embarrassing they may at first sight appear, will, no doubt, by custom, and a due sense of the important end in view, become reconcileable to minds of suitable pliability.—In the first place, then, if I understand the matter right, I am to begin by paying, as is no doubt reasonable, all that is demanded of me. I am then at liberty to give notice to certain assessors, inspectors, or commissioners, I am not exactly certain which of the tribe, that I intend to claim an abatement for a certain number of children. In due time I shall be called upon by these said commissioners, for a minute and detailed account in writing, of all andevery, even to the most private of my concerns, relating to my income; to which account I am to swear. After I have so sworn, these gentlemen are to sit in judgment, and to deliberate upon the truth or falshood, or probability, of my statement. At some subsequent period I am to be summoned (possibly twice or thrice) to attend these inquisitors, to answer all such questions as they may think it expedient to ask; or how, indeed, otherwise, should they know, was I only to swear to the account, that it is correct? But, Sir, to cut the matter short, for, God knows, if I was to go through a description of the whole process, I should both puzzle the brains and tire the patience of your readers; these said commissioners may, if they are so graciously pleased, and if they can by no means pick a hole in my jacket, I say they may, if they are so disposed, grant me a CERTIFICATE. But then, Sir, the advantages, the benefits, to accrue from this said *certificate*;—talk of troubles, and delays, and vexations, ! Look at the reward? Why, upon my veracity, Sir, I do firmly believe, by only conforming to the little ceremonies I have in part described, that, under the considerate provisions of this blessed act, there is a remote possibility, I wont go so far as to say a chance, that on account of my five children, I may escape by only paying an *eleventh* and a fractional part, instead of a *tenth* of my five hundred a year. In short, Sir, at not very much more trouble, delay, vexation, humiliation, and expence, than a poor bankrupt endures to obtain from a set of obdurate creditors, *his certificate*; I may, perchance, obtain a precious document, which will save me very little short of SIX POUNDS A YEAR!—But, Sir, to be serious; for, on my troth, 'tis not a subject to treat with levity, these tender mercies of the Income Act, remind me of an old story of one of our martyr saints, who, finding his position on the gridiron somewhat uncomfortable, the scoffers around him, told him, if he felt uneasy, to turn to t'other side. J. L. V.

OPPRESSION OF ASSESSED TAXES.

SIR,——In your Political Register of Dec. the 13th, p. 900, you produce a number of inconveniencies which the Assessed Taxes are liable to, but I do not look upon either of the instances you have enumerated as a real hardship, or, indeed, as a grievance, (as the greater part of them, if not all, are optional) compared to what we are made to feel in this district. I am a small freeholder from one hundred and fifty pounds, to two hundred pounds, per annum. At the first operation of the act of parliament, imposing a duty upon riding horses. I entered mine, although I had at that time only one horse. Some time afterwards I rented a farm, stocked it with cattle, horses, &c. and ultimately married; and the consequence of that marriage has been a numerous family of small children, to be provided for from my small income, and from the industry of my wife and myself. About eight years ago I was surcharged for a second riding horse, and as I could not swear before the commissioners, but that I might, or some part of my family, have ridden another horse in the course of the preceding twelve months, the

charge was allowed; but I could then, and can still swear, that I did not, nor do keep one horse exclusively for the purpose of riding; every horse I am owner of working in the team, except one, which one draws in the harrows, goes to mill, carries the children to school, and does all the drudgeries of the farm. Well, that charge I have continued to pay ever since. But, now I am going to state to you the hardship I have to complain of, and every other person of my description in this neighbourhood are in the same predicament with myself. About two or three years back we were surcharged for a two pound male servant. Why? because, forsooth, we paid for two riding horses we must pay for a servant to look after those horses. In vain did I urge in my defence, that I had no servant of the description required by the act of parliament; that it was a day labourer that cleaned my mare; that it was a maid servant that cleaned my boots and shoes, and most commonly saddled my mare when my wife or myself had occasion to go from home to market or elsewhere.—The inspector produced his book of cases, but not one of them applied; he then insisted upon substantiating his case under schedule (C) in 43d Geo. III. cap. 161, where it mentions, "That the duties shall "extend to every person who shall be employed in the capacity of a coachman, "&c. although such person shall have been "retained for the purposes of husbandry, "where the master of such person shall be "chargeable with duty for two or more "horses kept for the purposes of riding"—The inspector told us we might have a case for the opinion of the judges if we thought proper to demand it, and pay for it, but the commissioners advised us to submit, and not to throw away good money after bad. This tax I have ever since paid, amounting at present, including the ten per cent. to eleven pounds per annum, although I have but one horse, that can by any construction of the act of parliament, be called a riding horse. Now, what I wish to learn from one or more of your correspondents, through the channel of your widely extended Register is, whether the same oppression exists elsewhere, and whether the loose schedules of an act of parliament, are to be taken as part of that act, though not mentioned as such in the body of that act by a special enactment.——D.——

Carmarthenshire, Jan. 10, 1807.

MILITARY FORCE.

SIR;——The communication which I [illegible] on respecting the importance of a regular army, and its superiority over every other species of force, has, observe, drawn a reply from one of your correspondents, who signs M. S. You will, I dare say, very readily believe, that I am deeply impressed with the importance of those opinions which I have endeavoured to propagate and enforce, respecting the decisive efficacy of regular troops. It is from a sincere conviction of the truth of those opinions, (a conviction which, the more I reflect on these subjects, the more I extend my inquiries into history, is the more firmly impressed upon my mind) that I am induced to spare time from more pressing avocations to reply to the observations of M. S.—M. S. apprehends, in the first place, from a regular army, danger to our constitution, and in support of this, in my opinion, chimerical apprehension, he brings a passage from De Lolme, and another from Gibbon respecting the licentiousness of the Prætorian bands. M. S. never attempts, however, to prove any danger will result to our liberties from the maintenance of a standing army; he does not shew in what way it will operate to the destruction of our constitution.—He does not tell us, whether a standing army will be converted into an engine of despotism by the sovereign, by the ministers, or by its own generals. Those apprehensions, respecting a standing army, have always appeared to me chimerical in the extreme; and, though I have often heard of those, who, like M. S., "felt an *extraordinary* "degree of jealousy and suspicion" at the bare mention of a standing army, I never found that they could give a rational or intelligible account of those fears and jealousies. It is not on the authority of a theoretical writer on the constitution of Britain, or on the faith of fanciful analogies which but feebly apply, that M. S. can think to establish his conclusion. He must point out in what possible way, an army officered with men who understand and feel the full value of their civil rights,—an army ultimately connected with the natural aristocracy of the country, could possibly be converted into an instrument of arbitrary power. These dangers, however, arising from a standing army, are not generally felt through the country; they are only discerned by the angry patriot, when his brain is heated by the fumes of party passion.—— With respect to the 2d point, namely, the superior efficacy of a regular army M. S. is, if possible, still more unsatisfactory. I endeavoured to shew that all the great revolutions of which history has preserved any authentic record are to be ascribed to the superiority of a well disciplined army over

militia or volunteers. Now M. S. ought to have shewn that they were brought about by a different cause, and he ought to have explained what that cause was. It is not even sufficient to point out a few widely scattered instances where disciplined troops have been foiled in a contest with troops less experienced. Particular events are liable to be influenced by accidental circumstances; they are the whirls and eddies of history, which do not correctly indicate the direction of the main stream. As long as the leading events of history bear testimony to the superiority of regular troops over every other species of force, as long as the discipline and the regulations of armies are founded on the weakness of human nature, and are indeed obviously adapted to subdue those feelings of dread which the mind naturally feels at the approach of death, as long as I find, that great and experienced generals, when they have commanded raw troops against veterans, uniformly recognising the wide distinction which must always exist between those two different sorts of force, have adopted a system of operations purely defensive, I must still persist in my opinion, respecting the necessity of regular training, and a peculiar process of moral discipline to make a soldier; and, also, that wherever a state possessing only raw troops is attacked by a well disciplined and well commanded army, it is probable, that its independence will be destroyed. I do not, however, say, that the destruction of such a state is certain. A great deal must depend on the commanders of the respective armies. It is difficult to say what an uncommon genius may effect with raw troops in the defence of his country, particularly if the invading army has to force its way through a strong barrier of fortified towns, or to struggle with the difficulties of a naturally inaccessible country. Certain sorts of countries afford peculiar facilities for defence, and it is by confounding the obstacles which a mountainous and rugged country presents to the progress of a well disciplined army, with the resistance which it meets with from the people, that a great deal of error has arisen. When I speak of a regular army and militia or volunteers, I mean to contrast them on equal terms. The natural obstacles which a mountainous country presents to an invader, is quite another subject, and must be reserved for a separate discussion. It is possible also that the commander of a well disciplined army may mismanage it; he may pursue a system of warfare ill adopted to display the peculiar superiority of his troops. Instead of employing his force in enterprizes of desperate and sanguinary hostility, he may allow the war to assume a languid and indecisive character, instead of the most rapid movements, and the most adventurous design, he may loiter away his time, and stand wavering before passes, or difficult positions. The general of an invading army, after beating his enemy in the field, ought never to allow him to recover from the consternation of his first victories; he ought never to rest in pursuit of a routed foe. If he allows his enemies to recruit and reanimate their broken and disheartened troops, to secure their strong holds, and to consolidate the physical strength of the country against him, his ruin is certain. It is therefore no answer to tell me, that undisciplined troops (even allowing the fact), have defended a country against troops better disciplined, unless we enquire under what circumstances this has taken place. That a hardy race of Swiss mountaineers may do wonders in defending the passes of a mountainous country, is what I can readily believe, because such a field is very unfavourable to the operations of a regular army. The pursuits of mountaineers are also more favourable to military habits, than the occupations of a commercial population. As to America, the country is so extensive that it always afforded a retreat to the Americans when they were defeated, till by degrees their militia became equal to a standing army. And, besides, is M. S. prepared to say, that the American war was conducted with sufficient vigour? Was that mode of warfare adopted which was best calculated to call into full action the superior excellency of the British force? When the Americans at Rhode Island fled, beaten and disheartened, within their entrenchments; when several individuals were carried by their natural ardour within the American lines; and when the whole army were eager for an assault, would an enterprising general have hesitated? Would the conqueror of Okzacow, of Ismail, or Warsaw, have wavered in such circumstances?——As to the Neapolitan peasantry, under Cardinal Ruffo, I was sensible after I had sent off my communication, that the statement of that fact might mislead those who had not reflected very deeply on the subject. But it proves nothing more, than that an armed peasantry can be eminently useful. At the time that Cardinal Ruffo was so successful, the French were flying before the victorious armies of Russia and Austria; their force throughout Italy was necessarily weakened, and not only in Naples, but in other places, the peasantry rose up and gained advantages over the remnant of the French force, which had been left to overawe the country.

To be continued.

OPPRESSION OF ASSESSED TAXES.

SIR,——I can but return you my best thanks, for inserting in your justly celebrated Register, R. W's. letter upon Property Tax Vexations, (p. 50.) What he there advances is of the nature "of those truths we have the advantage of hearing every day." Upon reading it, I remembered an extraordinary fact, that occurred some little time since in the Lackford Hundred, County of Suffolk. As I know you to be a speaker of bold truths, and a patriot of incorruptible practice, I thought you would feel pleasure in being informed of the circumstance, and in return, I beg you to make a few remarks upon it, with your usual energy of thought and language.—In the parish of Newmarket lives a poor widow; the house in which she resides consists of two tenements; the person who occupies the other part has a vine, one branch of which spreads to the tenement of the widow, and she enjoys the fruit of that branch for keeping it in proper pruning, &c. &c. It so happened one day, that her neighbour directed a gardener to prune his branch, and the widow observing that, requested the gardener to prune her's also. —*At the end of a few months this poor widow was furnished with a surcharge for employing a gardener.*—When the day of appeal arrived, she had to travel nine miles at considerable trouble and expense. On her arrival, after informing the commissioners of the fact, she withdrew with the gracious consent of those commissioners to dismiss the surcharge: *the tax for keeping a gardener was however confirmed!*—Tell me, Mr. Cobbett, is this the land of freedom that our forefathers bequeathed to us? You may tell me, that we are improved in science, in the arts, in manners, and in luxury; but I will venture to agree with you, Mr. Cobbett, that our liberties have received fatal stabs in the appointment of such informers as inspectors, and such inquisitors as the commissioners of property.——A. X.——*Jan.* 11, 1807.

VICE SOCIETY.

SIR,——The subject on which I am about to address you is one, that has, for some time, been buried in oblivion. Of dragging it forth to public notice, and holding it up to the detestation it deserves, I have now undertaken the task. In so doing, I feel conscious, that I have the support and good wishes of every friend of his country; with respect to the rest, "I care alike their favour and their hate." Petty tyranny will ever be found to exist, even in the best governed states; but, to this petty tyranny we may, with justice, attribute a great portion of the miseries of a people, and their consequent rebellion. It is not so much the government that excites their indignation, as the oppressive conduct of its agents, which, as it more nearly affects their domestic happiness, the sooner will it rouse the latent sparks of freedom which arbitrary governments *in general* have smothered in their breasts.—Dr. Goldsmith has observed, that a monarchical government is better for the people, than one supported by a democracy. "Since," he says, "it is entailed upon humanity to submit, and some are born to "command, and others to obey, the question is, as there must be tyrants, whether "it is better to have them in the same house "with us, or in the same village, or still "further off in the metropolis. Now, for "my part, as I naturally hate the face of a "tyrant, the farther he is removed from "me, the better pleased am I. The generality of mankind, also, are of my way of "thinking, and have unanimously created "*one* king, whose election at once diminishes the number of tyrants, and puts "tyranny at a greater distance from the "people."—To you, then, Sir, I appeal, to endeavour to subvert that petty tyranny which exists in this country; and which, if not prevented, will undermine the attachment of the people to the king, by the very means adopted to promote it, and at least expose if you cannot prevent

> "*The insolence of office*, and the spurns
> "That patient merit of th' unworthy takes."

—If we revert to history, we shall find an instance in our own country, that, where unlimited license has been given by the government to petty power, the consequences have, ultimately proved most serious. The well-remembered event of the rebellion of Wat Tyler, affords an illustration of my argument, and the petty tyranny exercised by the farmers-general of France contributed, in a great measure, to hasten the catastrophe of the general revolution. But, that an institution similar, in many respects, to the ancient inquisition, which, for so many ages enslaved Rome, and other Roman Catholic countries, should exist, and meet with encouragement in this nation, whose boast it is, that it is neither shackled by the fetters of superstition, nor restricted by the rigour of arbitrary power, is astonishing, and cannot be accounted for by any other means than by attributing it to that unaccountable love of power, which predominates, in a greater or less degree, in every breast.—Let not our

spirits be broken, our thoughts be enchained by men who cannot exact any *legal* right over our inclinations, but who, if we submit, may render this temporary alienation of our liberties an irremoveable and never ending bondage.—I allude, Sir, to the despotic sway the Society for the Suppression of Vice exert over the minds and actions of the lower orders of the people. Every day's experience presents some instance of their severity, with circumstances of additional aggravation; and this body of men, composed merely of parish-officers and tradesmen, who to skreen themselves from its influence, enlist under its banners; without one *gentleman* among them. This synod, give laws, and exercise the most arbitrary power at pleasure. They even publish their *edicts* against those who are hardy enough to brave their resentment; and act, in every respect, like lords of some petty state. Like the inquisition, they too have their *officials* or *informers*, who act as spies on the hapless wight who stands suspected.—I could not forbear smiling at the dictatory style in which they informed the *shop-keepers* (in bills which they had caused to be printed and circulated) that if they continued to serve on the Lord's Day, they should shortly feel the utmost severity of the society's resentment, concluding with a severe malediction on all those who should slight this *their public notice*. Of such instances of tyranny time cannot furnish any precedent; they may at least claim the merit of its being entirely original. But, I would willingly inquire by what right such arbitrary proceedings are authorised, and whether they can quote any law in the British code, that will justify a society composed of private individuals, in arbitrarily oppressing that class of men whose poverty is a sufficient slavery, without subjecting them to such unheard of grievances as these.——They attribute the motives of their conduct to a desire of implanting in the minds of the people a strict sense of morality and their religious duties: but, the means they take to effect this are the most despotic and oppressive, exclusive of the meanhesses they have resort to, to acquire a knowledge of the offenders punishable by *their law*; hiring at a weekly salary the most despicable of wretches, common informers, to hunt down their prey, like beagles, into the jaws of their enemies. In excuse for this they say, that, provided the end aimed at be good, the means used to procure it, if they are the most corrupt and despicable, become not only excuseable, but even praise-worthy. This, however, is but a weak axiom, for good can *never spring from evil*; their attributes are so widely different that an union is impossible. Nay, *admitting* the soundness of the argument, what *good* has or will it produce? So far from having wrought the desired effect on the minds of the people, it has produced the direct contrary. They aim at entirely suppressing *wrong*, before they have instructed them in what is *right*; and experience has proved that compulsory doctrines can gain but few real proselytes; for,

"A man convinc'd against his will
"Is of the same opinion still."

It is even so with them. They *suppress vice* without encouraging virtue. True, they may be *driven* to their duty, but they will never adhere to it *voluntarily*. It is a kind of fanaticism which impels them, similar to that which occasioned the broils between the Hugonots of France and the Roman Catholics. Like them they find they cannot convince by oppression and tyranny, and as their nature leads them to adopt a different line of conduct, they lay aside all pacific endeavours and still have recourse to force.—In addressing you, Mr Cobbett, I consider myself as addressing a man who has ever proved himself the friend and champion of the people, one whom party can never influence, and who would zealously defend his country's right *even to his own personal injury*. That you have already done this, experience has convinced me; that you will continue to do it, I have no doubt: therefore, in thus laying before you my thoughts on a subject which has long engrossed my serious attention, I am confident, that you will, with me, see all the future grievances likely to be entailed on this country, by the means of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, and endeavour, as far as lay in your power, to prevent them.——I am, &c. JUVENIS.—*Jan.* 12, 1807.

PROSTITUTION SOCIETY.

SIR,——In the Morning Post of this day you will see an advertisement signed by RICHARD LEA, chairman (a very benevolent alderman I have no doubt), and entitled THE LONDON FEMALE PENITENTIARY. The professed object of the institution as held out by this advertisement, is to afford an asylum to women who have deviated from the paths of virtue, and are desirous of leading a reformed life by means of religious instruction,

and industrious habits. The advertisement also contains the following passage. "A *prompt* admission of *applicants* into a temporary ward, will form a very important feature in this institution; at the same time no encouragement is to be given to those who seek an asylum in it more from want than from any virtuous or moral choice."—It is also added, that the necessity of such an institution is demonstrable by indisputable and well attested facts. Now, Sir, I will not take up much of your valuable publication, by endeavouring to shew the absurdity of endeavouring to reform vice, by holding out a direct encouragement to the commission of it: but, I cannot let slip this opportunity of expressing the great regret I feel, that persons of real benevolence should be called on to give their sanction to an institution which holds out an *immediate* asylum to those who having satiated their vicious propensities, and perhaps, held on their full career of wickedness, till they find their course of life not quite so good in experience, as it once was in imagination, they are enabled, by means of some little interest among their *old friends*, or by a sorrowful countenance and *professions* of virtue, to place themselves in as good, or perhaps a better situation, than that from which vice originally tempted them.——But what must be the effect of a public institution like this, on the minds of those whose propensities and fears nearly hang in equilibrium, who are deterred from vice only by the almost certain prospect of the punishment which generally accompanies it; to these, Sir, this institution is a direct encouragement to decide against virtue. Of this description are thousands of the maid servants who live in the metropolis; so necessary is the consequence I have just alluded to, that every benevolent lady who contributes a single guinea to such an institution, is very likely to be the indirect means of prompting her own servant to a course of life which the dread of misery may hitherto have preserved her from. What is true with respect to this class, will be true, in some degree, to all classes of women who supply the town with prostitutes; they will reason thus, "I shall gratify my propensities, I shall perhaps make my fortune by gaining an establishment as a kept mistress,—but, what if I *fail*." Aye, there at present is the barrier! The obvious misery, want, and disease of those wretched beings whom we see in the latter stage of this profession, would till now have been an example to many a giddy girl, who had just reason enough to believe her senses, and still more to those who could reason somewhat distinctly upon the choice; but, now a public institution holds out an immediate asylum to every one, the moment misery brings the reward it deserves.—Sir, what are the indisputable facts that can sanction this institution? How are the managers to judge of the *motives* of the applicants? I have no hesitation in saying, that nothing can sanction a *public institution* holding out objects like the present; there may be many a wretched being, who might be the subject of *private* relief, of the class of those miserable females thus intended to be succoured, (and nobody more sincerely pities them all than I do), but let not the benevolence of the public by performing, what I will admit to be a direct good, be the source of an evil of ten times greater magnitude.——I am, &c.——R. W.——*Jan.* 13, 1807.

SUGAR.—CORN.—MALT.

Sir,—The observations of X. X. in your last Register, p. 24, respecting the situation of the West India Planters are but too correct; and no one can look at the situation of this respectable class of society, without participating with your correspondent, in feelings of regret for the difficulties under which they labour, in consequence of the measures lately adopted on the Continent by the great enemy of this country.—Without entering into the question of the extent of that relief which they would receive from the measure your correspondent proposes, viz. of allowing the consumption of sugar in breweries and distilleries, I must differ from him, when he says, that this would be attended "with circumstances of considera-"ble advantages to the nation at large, and "*without any circumstances of detriment.*" One, of two modes, must be adopted;—to prohibit the use of corn altogether in the breweries and distilleries, and by those means to throw the whole consumption of those manufactories on sugar; or to allow the use of either article as may best suit the interest of the manufacturer.—It would be perfectly useless to occupy any of your time, or that of your readers, in proving, that the first of the two plans would be eminently injurious to the landed interest, in as much, as it would prevent the consumption of by far the greatest part of the barley grown in this country; there being no other channel of demand for it, except in the feeding of cattle. In the other case, if the use of either corn or sugar be permitted, not a pound of the latter article would be consumed, unless such a part of the duty be taken off, as would occasion a material loss to the revenue. I understand, that, in the distilleries,

where equal quantities of barley and malt are used, it has been ascertained, that 1½ cwt. of sugar, will produce as much spirit as a quarter of such mixture of corn. Take then a quarter of barley at the present price of 44s., and a quarter of malt at the present price of 82s., the average of both will be 63s. the quarter; 1½ cwt. of sugar at the present price of 62s., are 93s.: so that, unless a drawback of the duty on 1½ cwt. of sugar, of 30s. or of 20s. per cwt. be allowed, it will be more for the advantage of the distiller to use corn entirely. In the brewery where *malted corn alone* is used, supposing the same relative value of extract to exist, sugar must be sold at 55s. per cwt., to enable the brewer to use it on the same terms with malt at 82s. But when it is taken into consideration, how much more of saccharine fermentable matter can be obtained from a quarter of malted corn, than from the same quantity of *raw*, and malted in equal mixtures, the brewers cannot give more than 50s. or 52s. per cwt. for sugar to use in their manufactories; so that, in this instance, there must be a reduction in the duty of 10s. or 12s per cwt.—There is also a class of useful and industrious individuals, whose interest would be materially involved should this measure be carried into effect. I mean the malsters; who, it is notorious, at this season of the year, have large quantities of barley in preparation, and which, when manufactured into malt, would be sold at very great loss, should the demand of the breweries and distilleries for that article be considerably lessened. This is a subject I can only hint at: I think, however, that I have proved to your satisfaction, that the use of sugar in the breweries and distilleries would be attended with serious detriment, either to the landed interest, or to the revenues of the country.—I am, &c.

Jan. 8, 1807. Z.

ALIENS IN PUBLIC OFFICES.

SIR,——The daily papers having recently announced the intention of Government, to make some material regulations in regard to Aliens, permit me, through the medium of your Political Register, not only to congratulate my Countrymen on this most indispensable precaution, in times like the present, of peril and dismay, but allow me at the same time to offer a few observations, on a subject collaterally connected with this serious object of prudence in the executive Government; demanding, in my view of the case, the most severe animadversion on its duration, and consequently, calling loudly for immediate reform: I allude to the prevailing practice of employing *Foreigners* in the different offices of the government. This custom Sir, which has obtained but of late years, appears in my mind fraught with many serious dangers to the state, and unanswerable objections in other respects. I shall, however, on the present occasion, select only the two most prominent, the cruelty, impolicy, and injustice, at *any period* and on *any occasion* of preferring Aliens to the native youth of the United Kingdom; and the extreme danger *at all times, but more particularly in time of warfare,* in trusting Aliens with employments under government.—In regard to the first point, I will take leave to ask, upon what principle the preference of foreigners in public departments can be defended? Will it be contended that our native youths are less competent for the duties to be performed? I trust not! Can it be urged that their natural ability and education do not fit them so well for the public civil employments as Aliens? Surely not! How, then, can it be accounted for, that go when you will into a public office, you are sure to be addressed in *broken-English* by clerks of every rank, by office keepers, and by messengers? Indeed, so general are the two latter descriptions, that I have frequently found it difficult to render myself intelligible, to those *worn out Alien Domestics* of *Lords, Ladies,* and *Diplomatic Gentlemen.*—Now, Sir, I think I may venture fairly to infer, that for every Alien so appointed to a public office in this country, one of our own countrymen has been thereby deprived of an opportunity to render himself a useful, an honorable, and a happy, member in society; equal in point of capacity and education to the prefered Foreigner, and inferior to him only perhaps, in art, intrigue, and condescension.—Then, is it not cruel, impolitic, and unjust, to establish a system so decidely subversive of the natural and imprescriptable rights of our countrymen; and does not such a system call loudly for reform? Particularly, when, lamentable to state, the evil is daily encreasing.—Thus much for the cruelty, impolicy, and injustice of resorting to foreign aid, where native ability is fully competent. But look, I beseech you, to the next objection: the danger is incalculable in time of war. Is it not well known to every man who takes the trouble to think, that Napoleon has gained more conquests by intrigue, and the organization of spies, than by the fair and manly contention between army and army? Is it not as well known that, his victories have generally been arranged at Paris, with his *Arch-fiend and Counsellor Talleyrand?* And how are these things accomplished?

But through the agency of spies, and previous understanding between the victors, and the predisposed victims! I beg, Sir, to be perfectly understood in the observations I now make—Far be it from me to insinuate that any Alien clerk now employed under government, could be infamous enough to betray this country into the hands of the great *Leviathan of the Continent*; I object not to the men, but to the measure, and the more I think of it, the more am I convinced of its impolicy and danger.——No doubt, many, perhaps all, the persons I allude to may be honorable characters, but this does not lessen the effect of my complaint; nor would it be any consolation to me, if *one* Alien acted treacherously and ruined my country, that *ninety and nine* were to be found, too just and honorable to partake in his diabolical schemes.——It may be argued, that all the people I have mentioned are placed in situations too inferior for the danger I apprehend; I answer, that more or less, every clerk is in the confidence of government, and not one Alien so employed, but possesses the *power*, if he feels the *inclination*, to do this country material injury.——I contend therefore, that, the employment of such people *has proved* inimical to the interests of our countrymen, and *may prove* hostile to the well being of this country, nay, may prove its destruction.——I am not weak or base enough to recommend, that the Emigrant or Alien should be driven from our hospitable shores, but I consider it essential to the very existence of the nation, that, they should be scrupulously, and constantly watched: they ever have been, and ever will be, doubtful characters, nor can I see any good reason why Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, Swiss, &c. should be employed in our *Public Offices*, and thereby brought more intimately to our connections, merely because it has pleased Messrs. Buonaparté, Benevento, and Co. to drive them from their homes to take refuge among us!—I know full well that I risk the charge of inhumanity and illiberality in the opinions I have broached. 'Tis true that benevolence and generosity, designate the character of Britons; they are God-like virtues when properly applied, but like other virtues, the excess of them borders on their opposite vices. The excess of benevolence, therefore, or rather a mistaken, or misapplied philantrophy, may be the destruction of the country.——We take to our arms without consideration or reserve, unfortunate men of all nations. These people contrive to get into our good opinion by their easy and gentlemanly address, their misfortunes, and a pleasing exterior win our hearts; we commiserate, we relieve, we protect them. If we paused here, perhaps little fear might be entertained of danger to the state; individuals might and would suffer, but the country would not have to dread the consequences of perfidy in those, who, say what you will, must ever feel a predilection for their native land, and consequently, will be always alive to that which is likely to promote its interests.—Really, Sir, this seems to me a very serious subject, perhaps more so than may at first appear. No doubt, this letter, if it does no more, will rouse *you* to a consideration of the fact. In your hands, and with your language and argument, the legislature may be disposed to make enquiry; the result *must* prove advantageous to the country, and cannot fail to reward the labours of—

A British Merchant.

London, 8th January, 1807.

RETALIATION AGAINST FRANCE.

Sir,—Although disagreeing materially in many political points with yourself, yet I confess, I believe you are actuated by love of your country, and I admire your candour and the perspicuity and clearness with which you inforce your premises and draw your conclusions; and, through your paper, I wish to submit a few lines to the public on our present situation with respect to France, as it operates on our shipping, colonial and commercial system Buonaparte having taken the most efficient method of distressing the trade of this country, by seizing on the ports of the North Sea, and meditating, as he assuredly does, the shutting up of the Sound, it behoves the ministry to counteract, as far as possible, the injury we may sustain, by acting with energy and by preventing France receiving from her own colonies, either direct, or through the medium of neutrals, any articles of colonial produce: so that her inhabitants and vassels shall be obliged to have recourse to Great Britain for supplies, and which will bear more heavily on them, as they will be introduced by surreptitious means, by her own subjects, at their own risk, and with the additional charge of forced introduction added to their original price.—The first necessary step to bring about this desirable end would be an immediate and vigorous attack on the colony of Martinico,—the only strong hold possessed by France in the western hemisphere, and from whence the enormous quantity of 80,000 hogsheads of sugar, five millions of pounds of coffee, besides large quantities of cocoa and cotton, are annually shipped to France through the channel of American shipping, protected by false and colourable

documents of ownery. Independent of the benefit to be derived to our revenue by this capture, it is of most material consequence, in other points of view. It was only through the quiet possession of Martinico, that France was able to send out the Rochefort squadron, which destroyed the town of Dominico, plundered Montserat, Nevis, and St. Kitts, burnt the merchant shipping at all those places, detained the large convoy for many months in the West Indies, to the great loss of the Merchant, Planter, and Ship-owner, and caused the mortality of an immense number of British seamen cooped up in the unhealthy harbour of Grenada. —It was to the possession of this colony, France dared to send out the armament under Villeneuve, which retook the Diamond Rock, destroyed the Antigua convoy valuably laden, and would have ravaged the whole of our islands but for the dreadful name of Nelson.—It was to the possession of this island that the fleet under Gmillaumais and Jerome Buonaparte owed their safety and their re-equipment, and which cost Great Britain the service of three squadrons of eighteen sail of the line, under Warren, Strachan, and Cockrane, for nearly five months; and the armament, recently captured by Sir Samuel Hood, was bound to this island, and, but for the vigilence of that officer, we should have read very shortly of other disasters in that part of the world.—The next step to be acted upon with determination, giving fair and proper caution to the remaining neutral powers, would be a strict blockade of every port from the Baltic to the Adriatic. France, by these steps, would very soon be convinced of the impotence of her military system or navigation, and we should draw from her concessions arising from imperious necessity. America, with all her hatred of Britain, must be convinced that Buonaparte only wants naval power to reduce her to slavery, and her government would hardly complain of this act of necessity. At all events, better for us that America should be our open enemy, than the insidious and unopposed friend of France.—I will not enlarge for the present. If my communications are worth printing you will notice them, if not, I am yours, &c.

ANTI-NAPOLEON.

London, 7th January, 1807.

PITT'S GLORY.

Long was the reign, and great was the power and the insolent domination of Pitt; but, it was about the years 1794, 5, and 6, that he was at the height of his *glory*. The terror of the times; the dread of a revolution, had broken the phalanx of his parliamentary opponents and of their followers out of doors; he had set one half of the nation to be spies upon and to keep down the other half; in short, his absolute will was the only law.—— In turning my attention back to those days, a correspondent favoured me with the originals of the following letters, which passed between Mr. WADDINGTON, whom an English judge, at the commencement of the 19th century, imprisoned for *forestalling*. The letters are truly curious; and Mr. Waddington's is an admirable specimen of sarcastic repartee.

DEAR SIR, *Southwark, 21 Nov. 1795.*

I have seen with very great concern your name affixed to certain advertisements in the public papers, in direct opposition to the steps which government think necessary to be adopted, to preserve the peace of the metropolis, and of the country at large, against the machinations of designing, artful, and disaffected men, who seem to have in view the total overthrow of our glorious constitution. And, as it appears to me, that your being the champion of these people is totally incompatible with your continuing any longer a member of a corps of volunteer cavalry, who have avowedly stood forward in the defence of their king and constitution, I must beg the favor of you to have the goodness to return to me the arms and accoutrements which you received from me as your commanding officer. I am much hurt in being obliged to take this step; but you will, I trust, readily perceive, that the honour of the Southwark Troop demands it.—I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

E. J. COLLETT, Capt. S. T. S. Y. C.

S. T. Waddington, Esq.

THE ANSWER.

SIR, *New-Bridge Street, 23 Nov. 1795.*

The same *principle* which induced me to enroll myself in the Honourable Surrey Corps, to defend my country against a threatened foreign invasion, has equally impelled me to stand forward in its defence, against a domestic invasion of the *constitution itself*.——As the "honor of the Southwark Troop," and the existence of the British Constitution are incompatible, (as from your letter it should seem they were) it is with mortification I comply with your requisition, in returning the *cloak* and *cartouch box* (and a *halter*, which I had almost forgotten), being the only "arms and accoutrements," which I received from you, as my commanding officer.—I am, &c.

S. F. WADDINGTON.

E. Collett, J. Esq. Capt. S. T. S. Y. C.

AGE OF FINANCE.

SIR,—The last century may not improperly be termed the Age of Finance. Europe was immersed in manufactures, commerce, and revenue. The fundamental principles of government, of civil society, and of national force compose, in comparison, but a small part of the annals of that time. The numerous wars of that period, with very few exceptions, were wars of the Exchequer; while money was easily found nations continued their quarrels; when that began to fail, peace was concluded. So completely had those objects absorbed the general attention that, in the first wars of the French revolution, when its newborn force was forming and acquiring consistency, it was maintained by our administration, apparently with the public assent, that they were wars of finance: they demonstrated to their applauding adherents, with mathematical certainty and accuracy, the very moment when, at the rate they were going, the French would fall into the Charybdis that was to swallow them up, and relieve Europe from the terror of the political effects of the revolution; for an idea never seemed to have occurred to them that an age of steel was to return. Yet, I do not know that there ever was an instance of a nation being ruined by its debts: even in Holland, the nation was worn out before its finances; nor do I know that any nation ever professed that it would allow itself to be ruined by them except England at this very time. Heretofore, wherever men determined to defend their coutry have been found, when they could not untie they have cut the Gordian knot. But, though the finances rank in the scale of importance far below civil, political, or military institutions, and even below several branches of national industry, yet, from the influence they have on the happiness of the people, not only from the amount of the taxes, but from the manner in which they are levied, and from the necessity of revenue for the operations of government, they stand high among the objects of national concern. —A few individuals may still be lulled in dreams of peace, but the general inattention to the state of our finances, as well as to subjects of still higher importance, arises from that indolence which detests any care beyond that of the present moment, and that imbecillity which cannot look difficulties in the face. If it was not before it is certainly evident now, that unless some great change takes place in the state of Europe, we have no alternative but war or subjection: it seems incomprehensible that a man can be found so blind as not to see that war cannot be carried on much longer on our existing system of finance: was it a subject that required any depth of understanding to comprehend, such a delusion would afford less reason for surprize, but it is clear to every one, from his own private affairs, or to every clerk who can put figures together. Notwithstanding all their professions, it is not easy to conceive that our men in office think the Stock Exchange and tax bills are mines which can never be exhausted, or, that they regard them as more than temporary, almost momentary expedients, which will fall with the infatuation that supports them. These are not times for fairy palaces that vanish with the spell that created them; the castle must be built on a rock to resist the fury of the elements: without strength, perseverance and stability in every department of the state, we cannot expect safety, still less to acquire superiority. It is full time, indeed absolutely necessary, to look out for the means by which the nation can be effectually relieved from its burthens, with the least danger to the public and the least loss to their creditors. Conquerors supply the deficiency in their own treasury at the expense of the conquered: the Romans enacted heavy tributes; the revolutionary French quarter their armies, levy contributions, and demand subsidies from those whom they honour with the name of allies. Of domestic expedients, the most common has been to debase or diminish the coin; this, under another form, is in fact annihilating so much of the public debt, but it likewise introduces the same injustice into private dealings as it in the same proportion releases the private debtor at the expense of his creditor, and it has this farther disadvantage, that if the coin is restored to its former intrinsic value, which it has sometimes been, the public is but little benefitted in the end. But, however that device may have been viewed when money transactions were few and little understood, it is too stale a trick to impose upon the most ignorant in such an age as the present.—Whatever mode may be resorted to, the first thing is to take care that the free revenue shall be sufficient for the necessary expence of the war. Laying the question of justice or injustice aside, that primary object which must be kept in view, renders a partial annihilation of the debt impracticable, because, an end being put to loans, it would be impossible to find the funds for the service of the war, while a large part of the revenue was required to pay the remaining interest of the debt. To apply a spunge to the whole at once is so flagrant an act of injustice, and would involve so many fami-

lies in ruin, or something nearly approaching to ruin, that nothing but the most urgent state necessity, and no means of alleviation to be found, could vindicate it. It would, likewise, occasion a revulsion in all the commercial and monied transactions of the nation, and in some measure, though, perhaps not to a great amount, affect the revenue itself, by destroying the income of so numerous, and so wealthy, a part of the community.—There appears to me, however, to be one way, and only one way, in which the nation ever can be relieved of that load, without great injustice, and giving a shock to the monied interest, the commerce, the industry, and the revenue of the country, and that is, by devising means of converting the whole debt into paper saleable at market, like navy and exchequer bills. Few great discoveries have been made by reasoning alone; the consequences of government paper have, likewise, been discovered by chance; they were, I believe, first seen in America. Money being there scarce, taxes few and difficult to be levied, the American colonies had recourse to issuing a sort of treasury notes, for which hard money was not exigeable, till the state found it convenient to pay them. I think so early as the year 1750, the paper money of the New England colonies had been issued to so large an amount as to have depreciated thee or four hundred per cent. but their fears of France being then removed by the conquest of her colonies, they afterwards contributed very little to the general expense of the empire; and redeemed it so far as to bring it back to par. The paper of the American and French revolutions has long been a subject of ridicule at the Exchange and Whitehall; nor has fatal experience yet taught the plodders of either to reflect that the independence of America was established against all the gold of England, and the revolution of France against all the powers of Europe, almost without a public revenue. Nay, I think I may venture to say, that that paper money was, in general, the most equal and the most equitable tax that ever was levied, for it passed so rapidly from hand to hand, that the depreciation was insensible to each possesser. Both in the American and French paper, there was, indeed, one act of injustice; having no other means of providing for the public expenditure, it was made a legal tender, which enabled many debtors to defraud their creditors, when it had much depreciated; but, except from thence, I know of no mischief that it occasioned, or that it affected the private affairs of the subject. Here the necessity of making it a legal tender does not exist, as the revenue, with economy, would be sufficient for the public service. No man, perhaps, can, with certainty, foresee the consequences of a money transaction to that amount, but I do not think that any one who has been well acquainted with the American or French paper, will have much doubt of its being practicable. The sum is great, but the immense traffic that there is still in the funds, shews that it is not too great for the money speculations of that country to embrace.—Several modes of carrying it into execution may, probably, occur to those who are conversant in money transactions; but there is one, and a very simple one, that I think would effect the purpose; an act of parliament to enable the ministry, if the national demands required it, to apply the whole revenue of the current year to the service of the state, and to postpone the payment of the interest of the national debt, granting certificates to the holders for the amount of that stock, with a claim for interest from the date. Such certificates, if granted for small sums, would very soon be in the market, at a discount, which, if the war continued, as if we remain an independent nation it must do for years, would constantly increase, till they would either become redeemable at a very cheap rate, or expire of themselves, like the American and French paper. I believe it has been the opinion of speculative politicians, that upon the first shock, public credit would fall and the whole fabric vanish at once; but there is nothing in experience that can lead to that conclusion; it is on the contrary, highly probably, that it would very slowly and gradually decline. The present holders of stock would suffer some loss, but I doubt if it would be so much as the profit they now expect to reap; for a great part of the stockholders are now speculators for gain. The rise of the funds at a peace has been such, that much money has been withdrawn from commerce, manufactures, and landed security; many estates have been sold, and many not bought, to raise money to be invested in the funds. The public, indeed, borrow upon usury, for sixty pounds that they receive in time of war, they have to repay more than seventy in time of peace. That those, who enter into such an adventure, should sustain a small loss, is no great injustice, as a Jew runs the risk of lending to needy prodigals: nor is it improbable, that a few individuals would lose the principal part of their stock; there will always be some too credulous or too avaricious, not to

grasp at recovering the whole, but I am inclined to think, that the number would be small, and that almost all the paper would soon be for sale.—Should the annals of these times survive the next deluge of barbarism, and be preserved for another age of civilization, they will furnish instruction in finance. America and France have shewn the vast resources that may be drawn from paper and credulity. The Americans stumbled upon it by chance; not themselves comprehending what they were doing, they fell into an error; to keep up the credit of their own paper, they funded a part of it, that has left a burthen which they are paying off by economy, and the dangerous expedient of having a very small national force. France, whose revenue was nearly mortgaged and dissipated by the revolution, supported an enormous expense for years, by the same means, and at last extinguished a large part of her former debt. It is evident, that if England had established, and rigidly applied, an efficient sinking-fund from the first of her debt, she might, notwithstanding her long and expensive wars, have had the greatest free revenue in Europe; beside, an immense additional capital, employed in the national industry. It now remains to be seen how she will get rid of a debt the greatest, I presume, that any nation ever contracted, and of which it is probable, almost certain, that she must be disburthened, or that the state must fall.——

CAMILLUS.

QUAKER'S LETTER.

FRIEND COBBETT,——Thee must know, that a youth of thy faith cast an eye of affection on my daughter Dorcas, and that she, forgetting her allegiance to our undefiled religion, consented to become his helpmate. Not that either Dorcas or I have had any cause of complaint against him, or, that I have had any other reason to regret it, except that he was educated in the vanities of this world. Their daughter Susannah has been the great soother of my declining years: as thou mayst well suppose, I have often wished to recal her to our pure faith, but when I begin to exhort her to abandon her follies, she smiles, and if thou hast grand daughters whom thou lovest, who smile in thy face when thou attemptest to chide them, thou wilt know that the spirit is weak. She has now so far set my authority at nought, that when she is not beguiling my time, she amuses herself even in my presence as the rest of the worldly minded. But a little while hath passed away since after she had with her prattle, stolen some of my hours from more serious reflections, I sat me down in my great chair to read thy observations on these sinful times, and she took a profane book, which I think she said was the history of a man of the name of Thomas Jones. While I wiped the assistants of mine eyes, that I might more distinctly perceive the characters in which thy meditations are clothed, I heard her reading in a low voice to her sister in the farther corner of the room, but nothing of what she uttered arrested my attention, till I heard the word, "and he was the terror of evil doers." I had been reading thy reproaches of the man whom James Paull and thee call Richard Colley Marquis Wellesley, and of the man whom thou callest General Delancey, when those sounds struck mine ears. I said unto Susannah does Thomas Jones speak of William Cobbett; the hussey laughed so irreverently that I questioned her no further on the subject. Now, whether thee be'est Thomas Jones's friend of whom he spoke or not, thee knowest best, but I was thence led into a train of reflection upon thy conduct, and, as I see, that though thee wincest a little under the admonitions that are sent thee, thee wisely dost not cast them from thee, I resolved after serious deliberation to fulfil my duty, and admonish thee of the error of the course which thee pursuest.—— Sinners are strayed sheep whom thee oughtest to lead back to the fold, but thee waxest wroth against them, and threshest them in thine anger: consider again thy own words, and say thyself if they are the words of brotherly love. If Richard Colley hath done evil in the east, thee shouldst have exhorted him privately to have returned unto the east, to repair the evil which he had done. Thee seest that when thee pourdst forth thine anger against friend Delancey, it produced no effect, but that when the brotherly admonition of the man whom thee callest Lord Grenville, was conveyed to him in private, he immediately yielded up the subject of thy indignation. "The wrathful man stirreth up strife," saith the wise man; thee stirreth up strife between the men whom thee callest Grenvilles, and the men whom thee callest Whigs. Thee reproachest the Grenvilles with not forgetting their own affairs, while they are taking care of thine; dost thee not know that the labourer is worthy of his hire; and that, if any thing more than hire is to give, charity beginneth at home; is not that the maxim of prudence, and didst thee ever know a man of the name who was not prudent? Thee sayest that thee hatest the Whigs, and why dost thee hate them, because they are not like unto thee,

wrathful and full of strife; but have as becometh them forbearance and long suffering. I fear too, friend Cobbett, that thee art one of the worldly minded; for, instead of exhorting those whom thee sayest are evil doers for the good of their souls, thee talkest of the misapplication of thy money; dost thee not know that when a man taketh thy coat, thee oughtest to give him thy cloak also: the heathen whom thee callest the Nabob of Oude, is by thy own confession, more of our true faith than thee art, for thee sayest that when Richard Colley took one half of his dominions from him, he gave him the other half also. Thee speakest irreverently of those who are set in authority over thee, because they will not employ carnal weapons against those whom thee sayest are evil doers; and, because they will not train the people to war, desolation, and bloodshed; thee knowest them not, they are the children of meekness and peace; when thou supposest that they are in consultation about thy bloody schemes, they are studying the precepts of our pure faith in the Apology of friend Barclay, who, though sorry I am to say, that his kinsman so far degenerated as to be seated in that worldly conventicle called the House of Commons, which thee hast so well lauored to prove a conventicle of sinners, is the champion of our true faith. The seest that they do not prepare war, nor wake up the mighty men: verily, there was something in the likeness of men of war, their raiment was of the colour of the woman of Babylon, their array was like unto the array of battle, and they held the weapons of death in their hands; their garments are changed, their array hath passed away. Arthur Young has piously proposed to arm the land with sticks and with prayers, and the time is near at hand, when our rulers like unto the rulers of other nations, will order us to put on the true armour of our faith, patience, and resignation. In their deliberations on the relief of the Blackamoors, I saw an expression in the dialect of the heathen, which as thee mayst well suppose, I do not understand, but which friend Joseph Sly, who has wasted some of his precious time on such vanities, told me was, "let what is right be done, if the heavens should tumble about our ears." Now, surely, even thee wilt allow, that it is not right to slay our fellow creatures, nor that the coming of the Gentiles can be so great an evil as the heavens tumbling about our ears; yet thee William Cobbett, thee, thee and some of thy bloody-minded correspondents are labouring to greet their arrival, by driving lead into their bodies, or thrusting iron into their bowels, and to prevent the universal reign of peace and union under one head, which they who are set in authority over us are preparing.—I had proceeded thus far, when friend Joseph entered my habitation. I shewed him the good work in which I was employed: he said, friend Obadiah thee art mistaken; our rulers have adopted one of the strongest powers of resistance in nature, the *vis inertiæ*; I see, too, that friend Cobbett searcheth for some pithy sentence with which to preface his lucubrations; I think I can often save him that trouble; when a new set of rulers come into power, according to the stile in which he talks of them, he may always prefix, "*in nova fert animus mutatas dicere mentes;*" and when he afterwards discusses their proceedings, he may change *mutatas* into *canoras*, and *mentes* into *nugas*. I asked friend Joseph, whether the *vis inertiæ* was made of timber, or the *mentes* and *nugas* were wooden horses, as friend Perceval had given thee a hint not to meddle with such things; he said he could not easily explain to me those words, but that friend Perceval had not so great an antipathy to those things now, as he had at that time. Friend Reuben Slack had followed friend Joseph, and as soon as he learned the subject of our conversation, he said, friend Obadiah, why dost thee trouble thyself about William Cobbett, every body knows that he has a crack in his upper apartments, he often writes what nobody understands, and often what he does not understand himself; and he brought unto me a book, an expounder of hard words, called a dictionary, in which he verily shewed me many words which thee often makest use of, such as Disinterestedness, Integrity, Independence, Public Spirit, &c. &c. which were marked obsolete, and were not now understood, and others that were explained, such as

Ability, i. e. 1. To comprehend somewhat of the routine of public business. 2. To know how to keep in office.

Talents or genius, i. e. To have words ready for three or four hours without stopping, the more sonorous the better.

Manly, i. e. To make barefaced declarations respecting home affairs, or to use insulting expressions towards a foreign power when you know that you have a majority of your auditors on your side.

Vigorous, i. e. To make a blustering speech in either House of Parliament, but more particularly in the House of Commons. Eat a choice dinner and go to sleep.

Now, could any man whose skull is sound be perpetually hammering at such un-

intelligible jargon, or deny that we have ability, talents, manliness, and vigour, when it is clear that the nation overflows with them. Friend Joseph said, "friend Reuben, canst thee guess what William Cobbett will say. I think I can, it will be that thee measurest things by the Grenville Noömeter which he asserts, is not graduated higher than 32 degrees; he likewise says, that not one only, but most of our patrician families of this country have taken for their motto, *paterno robore tutus*, and has advised them to make a plebeian addition to it, and after *paterno* to place *et suo*.—I do not understand such things, friend Cobbett, but mayhap thee mayst; my exhortation to thee was intended to be purely spiritual, and I deliberated long before I would transcribe to thee, and it hath cost me much trouble to copy so many words that I do not understand, the judgment of the sons of men, which friend Joseph and friend Reuben have an opportunity of learning, by mixing more among the profane than I do; but, after due meditation, I thought that thee oughtest to know the opinion of the children of this world, as it sometimes has more weight with such as thee than that of the children of light.—If I should see that this admonition shall have a proper effect upon thee, I shall perhaps trace an exhortation upon paper to Susanna, to endeavour to recal her to the right path.—— OBADIAH SIMPLE.——*Mincing Lane, 1st Month, 10th day.*

FUNDED PROPERTY.

SIR,—Though an humble admirer and a reader of your lucubrations, long before the establishment of the Political Register, yet I feel my pen very inadequate to trespass on your liberality, by attempting to occupy a single line in the Register. But being of that class of persons whose little all is vested in the Funds, it would be highly gratifying, would you permit me to express the extreme uneasiness that *many*, as well as I feel, at your animadversions on that *species* of *property*; for till you had better informed me, I had flattered myself with a belief my children would not be paupers after my decease; but I entreat you will council me further on this subject, for I literally delineate my situation. My little all, as I said before, was vested in the 3 per Cents stock, on my marriage, in the names of *Trustees*, for the benefit of my children, nor will *they* suffer me to remove it. The stock, when purchased, was 92 ½, and is now about 64, so that a third of the capital sum is actually lost already. But, cursorily, Mr. Cobbett, the finances of this yet happy country are not so palsied, as to induce any Minister to have recourse to a national bankruptcy. I would rather hope, that a ministry may be formed who shall pursue the line of œconomy you demonstrate, and by curtailing pensions and sinecures, and retrenching exorbitant profusion in the various departments of the state, enable us confidently to say, we will not have the laws of England changed. The Grenville family have been pointed out in the Register, as receiving £55,000 from the public purse—in addition I say, place the Board of Ordnance under the controul of the Commander in Chief, and the public service will be benefited, and many hundreds of thousands will be annually saved. I desire it to be understood, as not reflecting in any degree on the Master-General of the Ordnance (who is one of the most honorable men in his profession), or any other officer in that department, but I wish to see them, in the strictest sense of the word, made a part of the army; at present they have interests differing from the line, without advantage to the service, and greatly detrimental to the public purse; for I contend that the *poultry yard* of every Officer of the Ordnance, civil or military, (particularly the Royal Engineers), all over the united kingdom—and the islands and colonies thereunto belonging, costs the public more than does the barrack accommodation of any Field Officer of the line, in any part of his Majesty's extended dominions.—Why such distinctions should exist, under the same master, it is difficult to ascertain, but it is evident, that a Master-General of the Ordnance should not be a member of the cabinet, nor should any person, however dignified in character, have the means of purchasing his popularity at the expense of the public purse. Mr. Pitt was allowed to be the most profuse man that England ever saw, for it was he who inundated the country with Brigadier-Generals and Inspectors of Volunteers, an expense the country has happily got rid of, but the Staff of the Royal Engineers, which, I will venture to say, is a still more useless expense, *has been increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.*—I am,

PHILO-REGISTER.

London, 8th November, 1805.

THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT CRISIS.

SIR,—Amidst the eventful occurrences which astonish and confound the human faculties, which baffle the most sagacious conjecture, and whose stupendou reality outstrip the fictions of romances, a reflecting mind is involuntarily led to inquire into the causes of these extraordinary events,

The first question which obtrudes itself is, by what means the subjugation of Europe has been accomplished in a manner so effectually prompt and decisive?—To superficial observers, who reason from prejudice, it may appear that French troops excel their opponents in number, bravery, or discipline. This seems not to be the case, at least if we may credit the French accounts, and also the accounts said to be given by a Russian officer of the battle of Austerlitz, where each agree that the advantage of numbers was rather on the side of the Allies. The same thing likewise holds good respecting Prussia at the commencement of the present disastrous campaign; for, previous to the fatal battle of Auerstadt, our ears were incessantly dinned by the silly vauntings of the superlative appointment, discipline, and bravery of the Prussian troops, who were represented as burning with impatient ardour to avenge the cause of their beloved sovereign, and chastise the aggression of usurping tyranny.—Admitting this to be the case, how are we to account for the afflicting result? First; by the wary and provident policy of Buonaparté, who makes talents the criterion of confidence, who wisely adapts his means to his ends, and by providing against reverses, never trusts to the chapter of accidents, but, unbiassed by prejudice, calculates on contingencies; and, in spite of opposition, ensures success. Moreover, he attaches to his person the affection of the people; he inspires them with enthusiasm and they are devoted to his cause: while, on the contrary, the rigorous repulsive system of his adversaries disgust the feelings and alienate the affections of their subjects. What constitutes the vital essence of a true patriot is to them unknown; having no interest in the prosperity of their country, they view with indifference a change of masters, or rather, they consider any change as a chance of amendment;—hence an inert apathy paralyses their efforts, their devotion is listless, and their energies supine.—Thus circumstanced, need we wonder at the feeble resistance which the French army has experienced; they certainly are not better soldiers or braver men than the Austrians or Prussians, yet they are victorious, and the reason is obvious, because, however hateful the French system may appear, to English eyes, yet it is the acme of perfection in comparison with other systems.—These are facts which I defy the most venal to disprove, and my fervent wish is, that they may merit consideration from those who revel on the spoils of their country, and who have the shameless effrontery to require from industry the sacrifice of the common necessaries of life, to support their profligate unprincipled extravagance.—May they be duly impressed by passing events, and take timely example from the woeful experience of others.—The higher orders, in all countries, have every thing to dread from a revolution, their all being at stake; whereas the labouring multitude have little to fear from any change, as society cannot long exist in any shape without labour, therefore they have within themselves a never failing resource, which, even tumult and anarchy can neither annihilate or dispense with, while, on the contrary, the wealthy and voluptuous are enervated by luxury, and rendered incapable of useful exertion, their existence becomes miserable to themselves and obnoxious to society. To dilate on this subject would be an insult to plain reason, as the present forlorn condition of those unfortunate exiles who have found an asylum on our shores stands not in need of further illustration. — Indeed, the history of the world proves that mankind are influenced by their feelings; that they are not insensible of injuries, or ungrateful for benefits, and, however powerful the love of country may operate in the human breast, yet this noble principle may be extinguished by continued oppression on the part of those who rule.—It is evident that degeneracy and infatuation have accelerated the ruin of those nations where corruption or injustice prevail; therefore, in such cases, it is absurd to expect that the efforts of the people will be either vigorous or successful in their country's defence. Look at the state of our fertile and populous possessions in India; contemplate the imbecillity of Turkey and Spain; view the wretched degraded Portuguese, who exist by sufferance, and who, at this hour, could not repel an army of 10,000 determined invaders.—With these awful examples before us, when the virtue, talents, and energies of the people are peculiarly requisite to support the state, it especially behoves those who have so loudly exclaimed against existing abuses, to evince a disposition for a practical remedy, and unless there are speedy indications to accomplish this desirable end, it is useless to expect a zealous co-operation on the part of the people I do not mean to insinuate that the people of England are destitute of patriotism, far otherwise; I mean simply to declare, that the public confidence in the present administration is languid and low; because their actions do not accord with their former professions, and whatever parasitical sycophants may say on this subject, the reflecting part of the community are disgusted with the low de-

sive mummery so long and so artfully practised; they are not to be duped by specious pretences or florid harrangues; they are too well convinced of the fallacious display of our boasted prosperity; the onerous operation of fiscal exactions speak in a language too intelligible to be misunderstood; they feel the grievous weight of the oppressive and inquisitorial income tax; scarcely a week throughout the year are our houses exempt from the intruding visits of parochial or parliamentary collectors; sesses and taxes in some shape or other, are almost daily extorted from us, and yet with all this we are called upon to make farther sacrifices even to the privation of common necessaries.—How long this state of things is to continue, I pretend not to determine; one thing I will venture to aver, namely, that there is not a rational person in existence who entertains a doubt of our approximating dissolution if the present ruinous system is blindly and wilfully continued.—Without adverting to distant nations or times of yore, I earnestly beseech the attention of my countrymen to passing events; it is not an unreasonable request, and on this condition alone I claim your indulgence.—It is universally agreed, that our situation is perilous, and that we have a formidable enemy to contend with, but the modes of resistance are hitherto uncertain or undefined; various projects are broached yet nothing final adopted: but whatever may be the determination, "*it is the hearts of the citizens* which constitute the principal source of energy to the state"* and this alone must be our rallying point in the hour of danger. Bayonets may bristle like rushes on the river's brink, but unless the hearts of those who wield them are in unison with the cause for which they contend; unless there is some object to stimulate exertion and encourage their hopes, it is useless to expect a favourable issue.—Although I believe every human being has a strong predilection implanted by nature in favour of his native land; yet, the mere accident of birth on this, or on that spot of the creation, when divested of those blessings which form the ineffable endearments of social life, will not stimulate them to make efficient sacrifices in defence of their country. It is the reciprocity of interests in all classes; a self-evident demonstration of mutual advantages, which form the amiable connection of the social tie, and generates in the soul of man the glowing fervour of *amor patriæ*.—The Spaniard, and Hindoo, and Algerine, are, by birth, the peculiar sons of their respective soils as much as we are; but as they are destitute of those privileges which dignify human nature, and are debarred the natural enjoyment of common rights; it is a matter of indifference to them who rules, or who represents them. Wretched, indeed, is that country, where the numbing gripe of power hath rendered the condition of the multitude disconsolate and forlorn; where every ray of amelioration is extinguished, and every avenue to redress is closed: change alone, in such circumstances, affords the only ground of hope. Misery will leave no means untried to alleviate its poignancy; and misery invariably produces the same result, whether in the slave that tugs at the oar, or the squalid shade that pines in a garret.—Placemen and their adherents who wish to suppress facts, gravely ask, "what can we do at this juncture?" My answer is simple: correct abuses, reform your representation, retrench your expenses, practice economy, and thereby lessen the oppressive weight of taxes.—These objects call aloud for immediate adoption; the remedy is safe, your means are ample, if you have sufficient honesty for their timely application; shew the people the sincerity of your motives, and they will cheerfully second your views; give them an interest in your proceedings, and they will not make an ungrateful return; let your own example prove, that the prosperity of your native land is the dearest object of your care; and that you will be the first to risk your existence and property in the common cause. This is a duty you owe to the public; the public expect it; the times exact it, for a crisis is fast approaching: the fate of Britain, at this moment, depends on reform, peace, and economy.—Yours, &c.

Dec. 14, 1806. CAMBRICUS.

* Mr. Burke.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

AMERICAN STATES.—*President's Message, delivered to both Houses of Congress at the opening of the Session, at the City of Washington, on the 2d of Dec.* 1806.—*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,*

It would have given me, fellow-citizens, great satisfaction to announce, in the moment of your meeting, that the difficulties in our foreign relations, existing at the time of our last separation, had been amicably and justly terminated. I lost no time in taking those measures which were most likely to bring them to such a termination, by special missions, charged with such powers and instructions, as, in the event of failure, could

leave no imputation on either our moderation or forbearance. The delays which have since taken place in our negociations with the British government, appear to have proceeded from causes which do not forbid the expectation that, during the course of the session, I may be enabled to lay before you their final issue. What will be that of the negociations for settling our differences with Spain, nothing which has taken place, at the date of the last dispatches, enables us to pronounce. On the Western side of the Mississippi, she advanced in considerable force, and took post at the settlement of Bayon Pierre, on the Red River. This village was originally settled by France, was held by her as long as she held Louisiana, and was delivered to Spain only as a part of Louisiana. Being small, insulated, and distant, it was not observed at the moment of re-delivery to France and the United States, that she continued a guard of half a dozen men, which had been stationed there. A proposition, however, having been lately made by our commander in chief to assume the Sabine River as a temporary line of separation between the troops of the two nations, until the issue of our negociations shall be known, this had been referred by the Spanish Commandant to his superior, and, in the mean time he has withdrawn his force to the Western side of the Sabine River. The correspondence on this subject, now communicated, will exhibit, more particularly, the present state of things in that quarter.—The nature of that country requires indispensibly that an unusual proportion of the force employed there should be cavalry, or mounted infantry. In order, therefore, that the commanding officer might be enabled to act with effect, I had authorised him to call on the Governors of Orleans and Mississippi, for a corps of five hundred volunteer cavalry. The temporary arrangements he has proposed, may perhaps render this unnecessary. But I inform you, with great pleasure, of the promptitude with which the inhabitants of those territories have tendered their services in defence of their country. It has done honour to themselves, entitled them to the confidence of their fellow citizens in every part of the union, and must strengthen the general determination to protect them efficaciously, under all circumstances which may occur. Having received information, that in another part of the United States, a great number of private individuals were combining together, arming and organising themselves, contrary to law, to carry on a military expedition against the territories of Spain, I thought it necessary, by proclamation, as well as by special orders, to take measures for preventing and suppressing this enterprise, for seizing the vessels, arms, and other means provided for it, and for arresting and bringing to justice, the authors and abettors. It was due to that good faith which ought ever to be the rule of action in public, as well as in private transactions; it was due to good order, and regular government, that while the public force was acting strictly on the defensive, and merely to protect our citizens from aggression, the criminal attempts of private individuals, to decide for their country the question of peace or war, by commencing active and unauthorised hostilities, should be promptly and efficaciously suppressed. Whether it will be necessary to enlarge our regular force, will depend on the result of our negociations with Spain. But as it is uncertain when that result will be known, the provisional measures requisite for that, and to meet any pressure intervening to that quarter, will be a subject for your early consideration. The possession of both banks of the Mississippi, reducing to a single point the defence of that river, its waters, and the country adjacent, it becomes highly necessary to provide for that point a more adequate security. Some position above its mouth, commanding the passage of the river, should be rendered sufficiently strong to cover the armed vessels which may be stationed there for defence; and, in conjunction with them, to present an insuperable obstacle to any force attempting to pass. The approaches to the city of New Orleans, from the eastern quarter also, will require to be examined, and more effectually guarded. For the internal support of the country, the encouragement of a strong settlement on the western side of the Mississippi, within reach of New Orleans, will be worthy the consideration of the legislature. The gun boats, authorised by an act of the last session, are so advanced, that they will be ready for service in the ensuing spring. Circumstances permitted us to allow the time necessary for their more solid construction. As a much larger number will still be wanting to place our sea port towns and waters in that state of defence to which we are competent, and they entitled, a similar appropriation, for a further provision of them is recommended for the ensuing year. A further appropriation will also be necessary for repairing fortifications already established, and the erection of such other works as may have real effect in obstructing the approach of an enemy to our sea port towns, or their remaining before them. In a country whose constitution is derived from the will of the people,

directly expressed by their free suffrages, where the principal executive functionaries, and those of the legislature, are renewed by them at short periods, where, under the character of jurors, they exercise in person the greatest portion of the judiciary powers, where the laws are consequently so formed and administered as to bear with equal weight and favour on all, restraining no man in the pursuits of honest industry, and securing to every one the property which that acquires, it would not suppose that any safeguards could be needed against insurrection or enterprize, on the public peace or authority. The laws, however, aware that these should not be trusted to moral restraints only, have wisely provided punishments for these crimes, when committed. But would it not be salutary to give also the means of preventing their commission? Where an enterprize is meditated by private individuals against a foreign nation, in amity with the United States, powers of prevention, to a certain extent, are given by the laws. Would they not be as reasonable and useful, where the enterprize preparing is against the United States? While adverting to this branch of law, it is proper to observe, that in enterprizes meditated against foreign nations, the ordinary process of binding to the observance of the peace and good behaviour, could it be extended to acts to be done out of the jurisdiction of the United States, would be effectual in some cases where the offender is able to keep out of sight every indication of his purpose which could draw on him the exercise of the powers now given by law.—The states on the coast of Barbary seem generally disposed at present to respect peace and friendship. With Tunis alone some uncertainty remains. Persuaded that it is our interest to maintain our peace with them on equal terms, or not at all, I propose to send, in due time, a reinforcement to the Mediterranean, unless previous information shall shew it to be unnecessary.—We continue to receive proofs of the growing attachment of our Indian neighbours, and of their disposition to place all their interests under the patronage of the United States. These dispositions are inspired by their confidence in our justice, and in the sincere concern we feel for their welfare. And as long as we discharge these high and honourable functions with the integrity and good faith which alone can entitle us to their continuance, we may expect to reap the just reward of their peace and friendship.——The expedition of Messrs. Lewis and Clarke for exploring the river Missouri, and the best communication from that to the Pacific Ocean, has had all the success which could have been expected. They have traced the Missouri nearly to its source, descended the Columbia to the Pacific Ocean; ascertained with accuracy the geography of that interesting communication across our Continent; learned the character of the country, of its commerce and inhabitants: and it is but justice to say, that Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, and their brave companions, have, by this arduous service, deserved well of their country.——The attempt to explore the Red River, under the direction of Mr. Freeman, though conducted with a zeal and prudence meriting entire approbation, has not been equally successful. After proceeding up it about six hundred miles, nearly as far as the French settlements had extended, while the country was in their possession, our geographers were obliged to return, without completing their work.—— Very useful additions have also been made to our knowledge of the Mississippi, by Lieut. Pike, who has ascended it to its source, and whose journal and map, giving the details of his journey, will shortly be ready for communication to both Houses of Congress. Those of Messrs. Lowis, Clarke, and Freeman, will require further time to be digested and prepared. These important surveys, in addition to those before possessed, furnish materials for commencing an accurate map of the Mississippi and its western waters. Some principal rivers, however, remain still to be explored, towards which the authorisation of Congress, by moderate appropriations will be requisite.—I congratulate you fellow citizens, on the approach of the period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally, to withdraw the Citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights, which have been so long since continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country, have long been eager to proscribe. Although no law you may pass can take prohibitory effect till the first day of the year 1808, yet the intervening period is not too long to prevent, by timely notice, the expeditions which cannot be completed before that day.—The receipts of the Treasury, during the year ending on the 30th day of September last, have amounted to near fifteen millions of dollars; which have enabled us, after meeting the current demands, to pay two millions seven hundred thousand dollars of the American claims, in part of the price of Louisiana; to pay, of the funded debt, upwards of three millions of principal, and nearly four of interest; and in addition, to reimburse, in the course of the

present month, near two millions of five and a half per cent. stock. These payments and reimbursements of the funded debt, with those which had been made in the four years and a half preceding, will at the close of the present year, have extinguished upwards of twenty three millions of principal.——The duties composing the Mediterranean fund will cease, by law, at the end of the present session. Considering, however, that they are levied chiefly on luxuries, and that we have an impost on salt, a necessary of life, the free use of which otherwise, is so important, I recommend to your consideration the suppression of the duties on salt, and the continuation of the Mediterranean fund, instead thereof, for a short time; after which, that also will become unnecessary for any purpose now within contemplation. —When both of these branches of revenue shall, in this way, be relinquished, there will still, 'ere long be an accumulation of monies in the treasury, beyond the instalment of public debt, which we are permitted by contract to pay. They cannot, then, without a modification assented to by the public creditors, be applied to the extinguishment of this debt, and the complete liberation of our revenues, the most desirable of all objects. Nor, if our peace continues, will they be wanting for any other existing purpose. The question, therefore, now comes forward, to what other object shall these surplusses be appropriated, and the whole surplus of impost, after the entire discharge of the public debt, and during these intervals when the purposes of war shall not call for them? Shall we suppress the impost, and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures? On a few articles of more general and necessary use, the suppression, in due season, will doubtless be right; but the great mass of the articles on which impost is paid, are foreign luxuries, purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them. Their patriotism would certainly prefer its continuance, and application to the great purposes of the public education, roads, rivers, canals, and such other objects of public improvement, as it may be thought proper to add to the constitutional enumeration of federal powers. By these operations new channels of communication will be opened between the states; the lines of separation will disappear, their interests will be identified, and their union cemented by new and indissoluble ties. Education is here placed among the articles of public care, not that it would be proposed to take its ordinary branches out of the hands of private enterprise, which manages so much better all the concerns to which it is equal: but a public institution can alone supply those sciences, which, though rarely called for, are yet necessary to complete the circle, all the parts of which contribute to the improvement of the country, and some of them to its preservation. The subject is now proposed for the consideration of Congress, because, if approved, by the time the state of legislatures shall have deliberated on this extension of the federal trusts, and the laws shall have passed, and other arrangements made for their execution, the necessary funds will be on hand, and without employment. I suppose an amendment of the constitution, by consent of the states, necessary: because the objects now recommended are not among those enumerated in the constitution, and to which it permits the public monies to be applied.—The present consideration of a national establishment for education, particularly, is rendered proper by this circumstance also, that if Congress, approving the proposition, shall yet think it more eligible to found it on a donation of lands, they have it now in their power to endow it with those which will be among the earliest to produce the necessary income. This foundation would have the advantage of being independent on war, which may suspend other improvements, by requiring for its own purposes, the resources destined for them.— This, fellow citizens, is the state of the public interests at the present moment, and according to the information now possessed. But such is the situation of the nations of Europe, and such, too, the predicament in which we stand with some of them, that we cannot rely, with certainty on the present aspect of our affairs, that they may change from moment to moment, during the course of your session, or after you shall have separated. Our duty is, therefore, to act upon the things as they are, and to make a reasonable provision for whatever they may be. Were armies to be raised whenever a speck of war is visible in our horizon, we never should have been without them. Our resources would have been exhausted on dangers which have never happened, instead of being reserved for what is really to take place. A steady, perhaps a quickened pace in preparations for the defence of our sea port towns and waters, an early settlement of the most exposed and vulnerable parts of the country, a militia so organized, that its effective portions can be called to any point in the Union, or volunteers instead of them, to serve a sufficient time, are means which may always be ready, yet never preying upon our resources, until actually called into use.

They will maintain the public interests while a more permanent force shall be in a course of preparation. But much will depend on the promptitude with which these means can be brought into activity. If war be forced upon us, in spite of our long and vain appeals to the justice of nations, rapid and vigorous movements, in its outset, will go far towards securing us in its course and issue, and towards throwing its burdens on those who render necessary the resort from reason to force.—The result of our negociations, or such incidents in their course, as may enable us to infer their probable issue; such further movements also on our western frontier, as may shew whether war is to be pressed there, while negociation is protracted elsewhere, shall be communicated to you from time to time, as they become known to me; with whatever other information I possess, or may receive, which may aid your deliberations on the great national interests committed to your charge.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN TREATY.——*Letter transmitted from Lord Howick to Philip Sansom, Esq. Chairman of the Committee of American Merchants, and by him sent to Lloyd's, and the American Coffee-houses; dated Downing-street, Jan. 1, 1807.*

SIR;—I have the honour of acquainting you, for the information of the merchants concerned in the trade with America, that the treaty of amity, navigation, and commerce, between his Majesty and the United States, was yesterday signed by the commissioners respectively appointed for the purpose by the two governments. The treaty will be immediately transmitted to America; but, until the ratifications on both sides shall have been exchanged, it cannot be made public.——I have the honour to be, &c.—HOWICK.

NEUTRAL NATIONS.——*Order of Council relative to the Commerce of Neutral Nations, with the Ports of France.*

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 7th of January, 1807; Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council:——Whereas the French government has issued certain orders, which, in violation of the usages of war, purport to prohibit the commerce of all neutral nations with his Majesty's dominions; and also to prevent such nations from trading with any other country, in any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Majesty's dominions; and whereas the said governments has also taken upon itself to declare all his Majesty's dominions to be in a state of blockade, at a time when the fleets of France and her allies are themselves confined within their own ports, by the superior valour and discipline of the British navy; and whereas such attempts on the part of the enemy would give to his Majesty an unquestionable right of retaliation, and would warrant his Majesty in enforcing the same prohibition of all commerce with France, which that power vainly hopes to effect against the commerce of his Majesty's subjects, a prohibition which the superiority of his Majesty's naval forces might enable him to support, by actually investing the ports and coasts of the enemy, with numerous squadrons and cruisers, so as to make the entrance or approach thereto manifestly dangerous; and whereas his Majesty, though unwilling to follow the examples of his enemies, by proceeding to an extremity so distressing to all nations not engaged in the war, and carrying on their accustomed trade, yet feels himself bound, by a due regard to the just defence of the rights and interests of his people, not to suffer such measures to be taken by the enemy, without taking some steps, on his part, to restrain this violence, and to retort upon them the evils of their own injustice; his Majesty is thereupon pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another, both which ports shall belong to, or be in the possession of, France or her allies, or shall be so far under their controul, as that British vessels may not freely trade thereat; and the commanders of his Majesty's ships of war and privateers shall be, and are hereby instructed, to warn every neutral vessel coming from any such port, and destined to another such port to discontinue her voyage, and not to proceed to any such port; and any vessel, after being so warned, or any vessel coming from any such port, after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving information of this his Majesty's order, which shall be found proceeding to another such port, shall be captured and brought in, and, together with her cargo, shall be condemned as lawful prize. And his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, and the judges of the High Court of Admiralty, and Courts of Vice-Admiralty are to take the necessary measures herein as to them shall respectively appertain.

W. FAWKENER.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"Amongst individuals, wealth gives power, and power gives security; but, this is only because there is "another and greater power which secures the wealth; and, as there is no such power to superintend the "wealth of nations, the rich nation is no more secure than the poor nation; nay, it is much less secure, "being placed in a situation similar to that, in which a rich man would be without the protection of the "magistrate, presenting to the plunderer the strongest of temptations with the weakest of obstacles."—POLITICAL REGISTER, Vol. VI, page 612.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT, (continued from p. 82).—I. *American States.* II. *Buenos Ayres.* III. *Volunteers.* IV. *The Army Estimates.* V. *Lord Wellesley.*—I. In the House of Commons, on the 20th instant, some questions were asked of Lord Howick by a Sir Thomas Turton, I think they call him, whom the reader may have before heard of, relative to the American States. It seems, if one can form a guess at their intentions, to be the design of the OUSTED TREASURY CLERKS, whom the Morning Chronicle persists in calling an "Opposition," to set up a very loud cry against whatever terms this treaty may contain; but, the ground they are prepared to take, is, that we ought to have strictly adhered to what they call the rule of 1756, from which rule, be it remarked, they supported Pitt in deviating from in several instances. But, this fact will not, I allow, make any thing in justification of the ministers, if they have given up any of our *essential* rights. To allow, in the way of grant for a particular purpose, and upon equitable conditions, any neutral nation to trade with France, during war, or even to be the carrier of French or French colonial produce, may, however be politic. There is a passage in a pamphlet lately published, under, it is said, the sanction of a person high in office, laying down principles, upon which a permission, or grant, of this sort may possibly have been made. It is this; "1. The destruction of an enemy's trade is not to be desired in order to annihilate his national wealth. 2. By the individual prosperity of his subjects we ourselves gain, by their progress in riches we improve our own, and though his public revenue may be augmented by the increase of his public wealth, we must necessarily augment our own revenue by the encrease which our wealth receives from his. 3. It is his progress in arms not in arts that is formidable; and there cannot be a doubt that an expedient, which renders him richer and weaker, which augments the opulence of his people, and makes them harmless, which preserves their trade, but stunts the growth of their navy, is of all others the contrivance best suited to our interests. 4. *The surrender of the French commerce to the neutral nations is this expedient.*"—The Courier news-paper, which is the organ of the Ousted Clerks, cites this passage in confirmation of its apprehensions, that the ministers have made a disgraceful treaty with the American States; but, if they actually have made a treaty upon the great and enlightened principles expressed in the 3d sentence (I have numbered them for the sake of reference), though this principle may not be comprehensible to the Ousted Clerks, I shall entertain a hope, that they will never lose sight of that principle in any of their measures. Whether the expedient, described in the 4th sentence, would be efficacious as to the purpose in view, must depend much upon the circumstances of the case; and, without some explanation, to shew us, that *we*, as well as the enemy, are not rendered weak by the increase of our national wealth, we must, I think, regard the 2d sentence as militating against the argument contained in the third; for, it appears strange, first to say, that we shall grow rich by the increase of the enemy's national wealth, and then to say, that it will be good to suffer that wealth to increase, because it will enfeeble the enemy. The principle, however, laid down in the 3d sentence, I heartily agree to; and, it is not without some little pride, that I refer, as in my motto, to the letter to Pitt, a great part of which was occupied in an endeavour to prove and to illustrate the truth of that principle. Happy shall I be to find, that the ministers of England begin, at last, thus to think and to talk. After having, for so many, many years heard the shallow-brained Pitt and his still more shallow-brained followers, declaiming upon our "commercial greatness," our "inexhaustible resources," our "capital, credit, and commerce," as the sinews

of war, as the sure and certain means of triumph over our enemies, after having so long heard the master-declaimer ranting away upon the beggared state of the enemy, and exulting, in strains of inimitable bombast, at seeing him "on the verge, nay, in "the very gulph of bankruptcy;" after seeing Lords Castlereagh and Hawkesbury drawing out and arraying our custom-house accounts, the lists of our canals, turnpike roads and bills of enclosure, against the armies of France; after all this senseless and disgusting talk, it is really a comfort to read, from under the reputed sanction of men in power, "that we ought *not* to desire to "diminish the national wealth or revenues "of our enemy; and that, whatever ren-"ders him *rich* does also render him *weak*." It is really a comfort to one's heart to hear this; and especially if one could but rely, that the ministers would begin and resolutely continue to *act* upon the principle. I am in hopes, too, that the nation, taught by woeful experience, will now receive and cherish this important truth; and I flatter myself, that, upon this point, as upon most others, the Ousted Clerks will meet with the contempt which their party cavilling is so eminently calculated to excite.——II. Buenos Ayres also was a subject of inquiry, on the part of Sir Thomas Turton; and, indeed, it was quite prudent in the Ousted Clerks to leave questions of this sort to be put by any other body, who was fond enough of hearing himself speak; for they were cunning enough to have perceived, that Buenos Ayres, the capture of which the wise Mr. Canning wished to see a topic of congratulation in the King's speech, began to be a little out of date. *They* were not such fools as to thrust themselves forward in any more inquiries about it; for re-captured, or not re-captured, they had discovered, that the gold-finders had, somehow or other, fallen into a state of unpopularity. From the beginning I expressed my regret at the capture; because I felt a conviction, that, supposing the undertaking to prove finally successful, as a military expedition, yet, it must prove greatly injurious to England; that it must add to our taxes, and to the patronage and the power of the crown, already, in my opinion, far too great, while there was not, as far as I could see, a possibility of the capture's producing any good at all, much less enough to counterbalance these evils. Of course I, in the preceding sheet, expressed my satisfaction at the report of the re-capture, which report I am now very glad to find confirmed, except as far as relates to the captive of our troops and stores, especially the former, who will now, in all probability, have to remain a long while, penned up in a prison, in a country particularly unfavourable to them under such circumstances, and at the mercy of an enemy wantonly provoked against them, while their native land is, in part, *garrisoned by Hanoverians*. I trust, that the ministers will shew proper spirit with regard to the commanders of this expedition. The country demands it at their hands. How did Sir Home Popham and his associate know what the views of the government might be, with respect to Spain? He knew England was at war with that power; but, how did he know, that it was not the wish of the government to conciliate Spain as much as possible; or, at least, not to wound her with urgent necessity? From the opinions which the present ministers expressed at the time of the capture of the Spanish frigates, it is probable, that such were their wishes with regard to that power; and, shall the wishes of the government be thus baffled at pleasure, and for the gain of a greedy commander? But, as I observed in my last Number, if the plunder be suffered to remain in the hands of Sir Home Popham, nothing good can be done. The *Vase*, awarded him by the little government at Lloyd's, he may keep; nay, I would not grudge him a "heir loom" of their granting. A "heir-loom!" A "heir-"loom," granted by a club of stock-jobbers to be attached to an Earldom! What a scandalous mockery of that which has heretofore been held as one of the first acts of royalty! And yet, these same jobbers shall talk to you quite seriously about Buonaparte's degrading royalty. Let them, however; let them and the speculators in Birmingham and Manchester join in giving Sir Home Popham a heir-loom; but, let him not keep the plunder acquired at the expence of English taxes and English blood. This plunder, the public will recollect, was shipped home to the immaculate *Alexander Davison*, Sir Popham's banker, and the daily news-papers, with that base complaisance which they always shew towards those who are able and willing to pay them, announced to the well-dressed rabble that read them with delight, that "Mr. Davison's patriotic band, the St. "James's corps of *Loyal* British Vo-"lunteers, were marched out to meet and "to guard the treasure." Yes, these *Loyal* heroes, blythe with Davison's beer, were marched out to guard the treasure gained by the captivity, or the blood of their unfortunate countrymen! As far as *services* of this sort go, the volunteers will certainly prove a most efficient force. This feat of Sir Home Popham seems to be quite complete in all

its parts. The bare plunder was in character; but, it was sent home immediately; that object was put beyond the power of accident, and then, it is sent to Davison; and then Davison calls out his volunteer corps to guard it. Never was a piece better cast, or better kept up from the beginning to the end.—III. It is going a little out of the way, but I cannot help anticipating, in this place, the remarks that would present themselves upon Lord Castlereagh's eulogium (in the debate upon the army estimates, on the 21st instant) on the *disinterestedness* of the Volunteers. That *many* of them have been actuated by motives perfectly disinterested, I never either doubted, or expressed a doubt; and I am of the same opinion with regard to those who have taken a lead in raising such corps; but, as far as my *knowledge* goes, I speak with very few exceptions when I say, that the men of the volunteer corps have been actuated by motives far from disinterested, and that those who have raised such corps, have been dependents upon, or expectants of, the minister of the day. It was the same with the *car-subscription*, which I assisted in laughing down, though it had the unqualified approbation and encouragement of Pitt and that great, or chief, commander, the Duke of York. Upon that occasion a nest, nay, a whole rookery, of place-men, pensioners, and contractors, assembled at a tavern, and passed resolutions (in no very good English), proclaiming every man *disloyal*, who refused to contribute towards the project. Amongst the flock of *loyalists* were several harness-makers; and, as the deft Sir Brook (there is no occasion for his other name) only contracted with some of them for harness to draw the cars with, the rest took dudgeon thereat, and attacked Sir Brook most furiously in the news-papers; while the coach-masters, who subscribed to the project, took the same opportunity of subscribing, at the same place and time, a petition to parliament to lessen the tax upon coaches, as it pressed so hard upon "a meritorious and *loyal* part of the community." So much for their loyalty, and their *disinterestedness*, which, I imagine, will be found to be an humble imitation of the disinterestedness of Alexander Davison. When Davison raised his corps, his name, accompanied with an extolling of his liberality, his public-spirit, and his loyalty, appeared in the news-papers *every day*. The paragraphs were, I dare say, drawn up by himself, for they were illiterate and gross; and they were paid for at a guinea, or, in some of the papers, at half a guinea, perhaps, a piece. Any man, or any woman, no matter who or what, may purchase praise at the same price and at the same hands. Yet, this is the *press* we boast of, as the reformer of morals, the mirror of truth, the nurse of science and of virtue, and the check upon tyrants and public-robbers! Never was there so vile a traffic as that carried on by this press. A thousand thousand times better would it be that there should be no press at all existing. The trade of bawds and pimps has been decried; but, whether as to its intrinsic business, or as to its evil effects upon society, it is virgin innocence compared to the trade of the press, when practised as above described.—— Nor does the English *pencil* yield, in this respect, to the press. A large portrait of Davison has been exhibited at the print-shops in London, by the side of those of Mr. Fox, and Lord Nelson: but, on Monday last, when the Third Report had begun to be a subject of general conversation, it was *taken down*!— What shocking baseness is this! I do not believe that an equal to it is to be found in the history of any nation upon earth. This man has, I understand, been recently purchasing large estates in Northumberland; ten of our best painters are now employed by him to paint pictures at an enormous price for the furnishing of a gallery which he has a design of erecting, to be called "*the Davison Gallery!!*" He appears literally to roll in riches, to expend gold by handfulls, to wallow in luxuries of all sorts, while hundreds of thousands of the people of England, from whose property and labour his riches have been extorted, are, some of them, living in constant dread of the tax gatherer, and others wasting away for want of a sufficiency even of bread. And, *this is the state of things*, to preserve which, his friend, Mr. Sheridan, calls upon us, in his hours of jollity too, "to "sacrifice the necessaries of life!" Good God! How is it *possible*, that we can be worse served, or more cruelly insulted?— Not a word, however, of complaint do we hear, upon this subject, from those base and detestable daily news-papers with which the metropolis swarms. The money extorted from the country to fill Davison's coffers will also silence this press, which, I again and again repeat it, is the greatest curse that ever was inflicted upon a country. ——IV. *The Army Estimates* gave rise, on the 21st and 22d instant, to two debates. Upon the laying of documents like these before the House of Commons, before "the guardians of the public purse," what one would naturally look for, is, an examination into the necessity of granting so much money as they propose to the House to grant. One would expect to hear the members ob-

jects, if they objected to any thing, either to the amount of the force, or the sum. The occasion would naturally offer itself for members to shew, if they had it in their power, that the sum granted for the army, last year, was improperly expended; to point out how savings might be made; and to expose to the House any abuses which had come to their knowledge. Instead of any thing in this way; instead of any serious and earnest inquiries as to whether the Barrack and other abuses were corrected; instead of any objection to the enormous sums charged for the mere mustering of the soldiers; instead of any calculation to shew how small a portion, comparatively, is paid to the officer and the soldier; instead of any calculation to shew, that the hospital expenses are beyond all credibility of the necessity of the case; instead of any remarks to shew how dearly we are made to pay for the protection afforded us by the Generous Hanoverians; instead of any thing of this sort, we find that there were about fourteen hours spent in debates upon the relative merits of Mr. Pitt's and Mr. Windham's military plans; that some score or two of jests were cracked, and some three or four score of stories told; and this is called *defeating* the army estimates! As to Mr. Windham's plan, it appears to have done but little in the way of *raising men*, and that I always expected from it; but, while it has been, even in this way, better than the plan of Mr. Pitt, it has done no harm; it has given the country no trouble and vexation; and it has, at any rate, put an end to the trouble and vexation which the other plan so abundantly gave. There are, however, certain parts of it which have done great good. It has added to the means of subsisting in those soldiers, who were *already pensioners*, and a great part of whom were also street beggars, or were in some parish workhouse; and it has taken from the colonel, or commanding officer for the time being the power of preventing any man, who has served a certain time, from having a pension. This was a part of the plan which Lord Castlereagh complained of, but it is a part, I am confident, which every just and considerate man will highly approve of. All men are liable to prejudice and caprice; and now that we have so many colonels (to say nothing of a regiment being often left to the command even of a captain), is it not monstrously uncharitable to suppose it possible, that two or three out of the number, may be either tyrants or fools; and, in such case, would it not be cruel to the last degree, to leave it in their power to send the worn-out soldier starving to his grave!—During the time of service his power over the soldier is almost absolute. He can punish almost at his pleasure. He can shut against him, by his sole will, the door of promotion; he can, in like manner, always imprison him; for an irreverent look or gesture he can cause him to be flogged; and will my Lord of Castlereagh, will this gentle and smooth Lord, in this land of melting humanity, where schools of reform and retreats for prostitutes are daily rising up; will he pretend, that it is a *fault* in Mr. Windham's plan, that it considers a number of years of military service as a proof that the person serving has a claim to future protection from his country; or, will he say, that discipline cannot be preserved by the terrors and the taste of the lash, without thereunto adding the power of starving the soldier after he is no longer able to serve? But, while Mr. Windham must, I think, be regarded, by all but tyrants, as being completely triumphant in this argument, is he not aware that it applies, with equal force, to the case of the *officers* of the army, who are now, he must very well know, liable to be cashiered, at any moment, without a trial; and even without cause assigned, *by the sole will of the King*, and that, too, *without any responsibility* in the ministers or in any body else? I shall be told, perhaps, that it is a species of blasphemy to admit, even by way of hypothesis, that the King should act tyrannically or capriciously towards any of his subjects, and particularly towards a veteran officer. I am aware, also, that the same will be said with respect to the present Commander in Chief; and, as I am by no means ambitious of adding to the titles of jacobin and leveller (so liberally bestowed on me) that of blasphemer, I shall not suppose such a thing even *possible*. But, nothing prevents me from supposing, that some king, hereafter to be born, may be a tyrant, an unjust, a vindictive, and capricious tyrant, who will stretch his power to the utmost, and, in such a case (for Mr. Windham's plan is formed for futurity), where would be the security of the officers of the army, especially if such a king were to select for his Commander in Chief a man resembling himself in these respects, thereunto adding cowardice so rank and profligacy so notorious, as to make him regard every brave and virtuous man as a living libel upon himself, and accordingly, a proper object of his unbridled vengeance? There is, moreover, another point of view, in which I would wish Mr. Windham, as the friend, which I know him to be, of the real liberties of his country, to view the power of

which I am speaking; and that is in its *political* effects, especially while officers of the army are allowed to be members of the House of Commons. I shall have no objection to their being members of that House, after it be proved to me, that they can attend their duty there without neglecting their military duty; but, when this proof has been furnished me, I shall still ask, how they can be regarded as *independent* men, so long as the king has the absolute power of cashiering, that is to say, *ruining* them, in fortune or fame, and perhaps both, without a trial, and without cause assigned? I am not to be told, that there are no military and naval officers in the present House of Commons, who are not independent men; and I want not to be reminded, that it is quite absurd to suppose, that the present king or his apparent successor, would ever cashier an officer, or what is called *take his regiment from him*, merely because he had voted on the wrong side; but, the plan is for security, and as Mr. Windham looks deep into time, I am astonished that he should not have thought of some check to this possible, though improbable, abuse of power; and, after much reflection upon the subject, I can in no way account for the omission; but, in supposing, that Mr. Windham, never having known, or heard of a naval or military officer's giving his vote from the hope of promotion or from the fear of being cashiered or laid upon the shelf, and never having known, or heard of, any officer's having been so treated in consequence of giving his vote against the minister of the day, did not, even by accident, think of any such check as that which the reader will perceive I have in contemplation, and which is no other than similar to that which he has with so much justice and humanity, provided for the soldier, namely, security against utter ruin, except in cases of guilt, proved upon trial. — Upon the *additional expense* of Mr. Windham's plan, Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Perceval have, at different times, expatiated largely, insomuch, that a hasty observer would almost forget that they had been followers of the squandering Pitt, the patron of the Trotters, the Delanceys, the Davisons, and thousands of their like, and would take them for most rigid "guardians of the public purse." But, while we hear them thus swelling out the expense attendant on the addition made to the pensioner's allowance, to the pay of veteran soldiers, and the miserable pittance, hardly worth naming, doled out to the officers of the infantry, while those of the cavalry are left to purchase their new wallets and furrs and whiskers upon their old pay; while we hear them so loudly declaiming against this "enormous" expense, not a word do we hear from them about the expense of those snug sinecures, called barrack-masterships; not a word about the ten thousand pounds a year sinecure to the Apothecary-General; not a word about the three thousand pounds a year to the younger Sheridan as paymaster at *home*, while he is receiving pay as a captain of a foot regiment which is *abroad* upon hard duty; not a word about Mr. Huskisson's six hundred pounds a year for being a something or other to the army in Ceylon; not a word about the endless train of commissaries and contractors, who, with the money raised in taxes, are purchasing the estates of those whom those taxes have ruined; not a word about the expense of the office of Commander in Chief and its staff. No: there is no coming this way without rubbing, somewhere or other, against a friend or a relation: yet it is *here*, it is in the branches where little or no duty is performed for the pay, that the saving of money might be made. Into these, had I been a member of parliament, would I have dived. I would have set myself seriously about the inquiry. I would have shewn what was thus expended. I would have proved that it was in no wise conducive to the public good; but, that, on the contrary, while it added to the pecuniary burdens of the people, it added also to the means of depriving them of their political and civil liberties. This would I have done; and I would not have been diverted from my purpose by a few snips of Latin, nor by the old thread-bare stories about a crook-backed poet and priest's maid, which I had heard my old comrades, round the guard-room fire, repeat a hundred times from the jests of Joe Miller.——V. Lord Wellesley. On the 20th instant Lord Viscount Folkestone brought forward, in the House of Commons, his promised motion relative to the Oude papers, that is to say, that the papers, which were before printed, upon the motion of Mr. Paull, respecting Lord Wellesley's conduct towards the Nabob and province of Oude, but which papers had been annulled by the dissolution of parliament, should be again printed. Lord Howick did not repeat the arguments, which he made use of, when Lord Folkestone gave notice of his intended motion; but, as minister and with all the air of an official defender of Lord Wellesley, he rose to question Lord Folkestone as to the *time* and *manner* of his future proceedings, and asked him whether he intended to bring forward all the charges that Mr. Paull has brought forward? In this

questioning Lord Howick was joined by *Sir John Anstruther*, of whom we will speak more particularly by-and-by; and this latter seemed very anxious to ascertain the precise time, and mode of proceeding of Lord Folkestone, whose answer was, in substance, this; that he pledged himself to bring forward no charge, except upon the subject of Lord Wellesley's conduct in Oude, which was the only part of his conduct that he had, as yet, fully made up his mind upon; that, with respect to the money charge, he certainly did not mean to bring that forward; that, as to the question of the Carnatic, he should leave that to the *Right Honourable* the Treasurer of the Navy, who had called for the proofs upon that subject in 1802, and who had solemnly pledged himself to the House and to the country to bring forward and prosecute a charge thereon. This, after two intervening speakers, brought up Mr. Sheridan, who, in the paper of his bosom friend and brother place-man Mr. Perry of the Morning Chronicle, is reported to have said: "that the motion had his approbation, and he hoped that the noble mover would not consider his having declined to notice the allusion which he had thought proper to make to him as the effect of any disrespectful inattention. The noble lord, in announcing his conditional notice, had expressed his hopes that the original mover of these papers would succeed in his petition—[No, said Lord Folkestone; I stated that such was the hope of Mr. Paull]. Oh, that he had such hopes (added Mr. Sheridan) was extremely probable. He was, no doubt, a very active canvasser and sanguine politician, but he must excuse me (said Mr. S) if I decline to sympathize in his hopes. *(a laugh)*. But as to the noble lord, he announced his resolution to pursue a different course from that followed by his hon. friend. Then of course he disapproved of his hon. friend's mode of proceeding. It was rather surprising that the noble lord did not, in the course of the last, or the preceding sessions, advise his hon. friend to abandon that mode. It was not quite so friendly not to have given the hint. But a word or two as to the pledge to which the noble lord had alluded. If that noble lord had been present, he might have heard him, two or three times, state distinctly, in that house, the reasons which produced the delay complained of, and also the grounds upon which he thought proper to decline bringing forward this question. He, however, utterly denied that he had ever forfeited the slightest pledge on this business. He denied any man even to catch him tripping. All that he ever said, and the grounds upon which he acted, he was ready to repeat again, and upon that repetition would confidently rest for the justification of his conduct. Whenever that conduct was fairly represented and clearly understood, he could have no fear of censure. He was now prepared to declare, that if *any other person*, whoever that person might be, should bring forward this question, he would most distinctly pledge himself to give that person his most zealous, sincere, and strenuous assistance—to exert as much of his humble ability in favour of the motion, as if it were actually brought forward by himself."——What *truth* there is in the speech, as thus published by the place-hunter Perry, we shall see presently; but we must first give the reply of Lord Folkestone, who did not, in spite of Mr. Sheridan's positive assertions, seem to have been shaken in his opinion.—His lordship replied, that he would not enter into a controversy with the *Right Honourable* Gentleman upon the subject of his former pledges. But he recollected very accurately that the right hon. gent. did promise to bring this question of the Carnatic before the house. As to the grounds upon which he was induced to abandon that question, he really was not apprised of them. He had heard something of the right hon. gent's unwillingness to excite unpleasant feelings among his colleagues in office—that is, in plain English, *that he was not willing to lose his place.* The noble lord was, however, glad to hear the right hon. gent.'s pledge this evening. For his strenuous and sincere assistance, wherever he would be strenuous and sincere, would be a most important acquisition indeed. The noble lord repelled the idea that he was the substitute of Mr. Paull or any man; he was acting from a sense of duty, and even the friends of lord Wellesley ought to be obliged to him for the course he was about to take, as it would afford them an opportunity of vindicating his character—and the character of their country also, which was stained by the acts imputed to him; if these imputations should prove to be unjust, he declared that he should feel highly gratified, for he had no personal prejudice whatever against lord Wellesley. As to the course he meant to pursue, it would be open to any other member to propose a different course, if he thought fit, and this course

"would not at all interfere with those who "wished to go the length of impeachment." ——Upon this the *Right Honourable* Sheridan is reported to have risen again, and to have observed *with some warmth*, "that no "doubt the noble lord wished to have his "public conduct ascribed to proper motives, "and if he expected to have credit given "him for such motives, he would not be so "forward to impute improper motives to "others. *(Hear, hear!)* With regard to "the motive which the noble lord had "thought proper to attribute to him, he "would ask that noble lord to state in what "part of his public conduct he had ever "seen any thing to justify the imputation "he had attempted to fix upon him, to "shew that he would be induced to aban-"don his principles from a love of place; or "to sustain against him any charge of incon-"sistency. If the noble lord had had a cor-"rect recollection of the proceedings of that "house, the noble lord would have known "that he did, two years before the present "ministry came into place, state the "grounds upon which he was induced to "decline bringing forward this question re-"respecting the Carnatic, at the same "time, pledging himself to support any "person who should bring it forward."—— It was the place-hunting crew in the stranger's gallery, doubtless, that exclaimed "*hear! hear!*" upon this occasion; for, was there ever an argument more fallacious, than that, if you impute improper motives to others, upon proof however clear, you yourself must be suspected of acting upon similar motives? Yes: it must have been the crew of the daily press, in the gallery, that cried "*hear! hear!*" at an argument like this. But, as to the *fact*; the simple fact of Mr. Sheridan's forfeiting his pledge with respect to the Carnatic. I can count a *score*, at least, of other pledges, which he has forfeited to the public. Upon the question of the Irish Catholicks, or Parliamentary Reform, of the Pension List, of the India Bill, of the Sedition Bills; and upon many, many other questions, I will produce his pledges to the people, to the people from whom he stole that unmerited popularity, of which I had the honour in assisting to deprive him. But, for the present, let us content ourselves with the pledge upon the question of the Carnatic; a question, which he took up in the spring of 1802. He was, even then, playing some selfish game about it; for he put off his motion for papers so often, and upon pretences so unsatisfactory, that, at last, Mr. Nicholl, gave notice, that if Mr. Sheridan delayed any longer to take up the matter, he would take it up. Thus pushed, and having, probably, failed in some object to be obtained by his forbearance, down he came, burning with a patriot flame and melting with humanity; and, towards the close of a speech, in which he seriously attacked Mr. Nicholl for presuming to entertain a suspicion of his motives, and in which he justly described the transactions in the Carnatic as the most tyrannical and abominable that the world had ever heard of, he made his pledge in the following words: "I shall be satisfied if ministers (the Addingtons) will take up the "matter, in such a way as to bring it to a "full and fair investigation; but, if they do "not, I PLEDGE *myself to take it up in "such a way*, that, if the government of India has been guilty of the inordinate acts "now charged upon them, the British nation, at least, shall be rescued from the "suspicion of giving countenance to acts *so "flagrant and atrocious*." Whereupon he moved for papers, which papers he very quietly suffered to lie unproduced until *the very last day* of the session of 1803, having, as the public will not fail to recollect, been coquetting with the Addington's, and sometimes sitting upon the Treasury Bench, during the interval. He says now, that he formally gave up the inquiry two years before he came into place. I recollect nothing of this; and, the only giving up of this question by him, that I believe ever was publicly made, was on the 22d of April last, in the words: "I retain my former sentiments "respecting the transactions in the Carna-"tic; but, I have expressed, in confidence, "to the hon. gent. (Mr. Francis), the im-"propriety of introducing any subject, *that "would have a tendency to divide his Ma-"jesty's ministers*, at this *important crisis*. "A time *may come*, perhaps, when the sub-"ject may be taken up with *advantage*; "but, I do not think, that the present mo-"ment is a favourable one."——Is this *breaking a pledge*, honest reader, or is it not? As to his having said, two years before, that he would not take up the question; first, I do not believe the fact; and, secondly, if the fact be true, all that he gains by it is, that he broke his pledge two years sooner than we thought of; and, instead of breaking it for the sake of *keeping* a place, broke it for the sake of getting a place to keep. At any rate the motive imputed to him by Lord Folkestone will, to every impartial man, appear to be the real motive, however it may be attempted to be disguised.——Mr. Wellesley Pole took occasion to compliment Lord Folkestone upon

the delicacy, with which he had introduced the subject, and to draw a contrast disadvantageous to the conduct of Mr. Paull; the manliness of which must be much admired, when we consider that he never threw out any imputations against Mr. Paull, when the latter was present to answer him. He now charges Mr. Paull with *malevolence*. "It has been amply *proved*," that that gentleman's conduct could not be fairly ascribed to any improper motive; and, let it be observed, that, when both were in the House, Mr. Paull has, over and over again, called upon this Mr. Wellesley to show that any ground, for a contrary suspicion existed; and never has the latter been able to answer such call. ——Mr. Wellesley Pole now assents, that the charges against his relation of rapine, robbery, and murder, are wholly unsupported by proof, but, when the charge and the evidence were lying upon the table of the House, Lord Archibald Hamilton declared, that those charges were substantiated by the proof adduced. And, if this declaration was correct, will a mere resolution of disapprobation, on the part of the House, be adequate to the charges and proofs, upon which it will be founded? Will it "rescue," to use the words of Mr. Sheridan's pledge, "the British nation from the suspicion of "giving countenance to such acts?"—— As to the contrast between the *language* of Lord Folkestone and that of Mr. Paull, at the introduction of the question, I appeal to the report of the debate (see Parl. Deb. April 22, 1805), whether Mr. Paull's language was not full as moderate as that of Lord Folkestone, not forgetting the important circumstance, that his conduct received the unqualified approbation of Mr. Windham and the Prince of Wales. The situation of Lord Folkestone is very different *now* from what Mr. Paull's was, at any stage of the proceedings. His lordship is to get papers *unopposed*; whereas Mr. Paull had to fight, men by inch, for papers; and, in this contest, it was absolutely necessary, that he should insist upon the *criminality* of the acts, to prove which to the House these papers were wanted, and it was equally necessary for him to use such language as could alone convey an adequate idea of those acts. ——Mr. Whitbread is pleased to compliment my Lord Folkestone for having brought forward the question, and to say, that the country is indebted to him for it. In these sentiments no one joins with more cordiality than I do; but, when Mr. Whitbread was thanking his Lordship for having so nobly embarked in this "important and "arduous undertaking," I would, had I been in the House, have asked him, whether the undertaking was more important *now* than it was when *Mr. Paull* embarked in it; and, I would have asked him, when, at what period, in what single instance, *he* ever lent his assistance to Mr. Paull, ever gave him the smallest encouragement to proceed, ever once said that the undertaking was of any importance at all, ever paid Mr. Paull a single compliment upon the many proofs of his integrity and perseverance, until, at the Westminster election, he found it convenient so to do, in order to recover some little matter of his lost popularity. It was at Westminster, it was at the hustings of Covent Garden, whither, observe, too, he was brought by Mr. Paull, that Samuel Whitbread was taught the *importance* of the proceedings against Lord Wellesley; and, he may rest assured, that the people, who were his teachers upon that occasion, will not be satisfied by a mere resolution of disapprobation upon the Oude charge only, without obtaining even a *sight* of the money charge, showing how millions upon millions of English taxes have been expended in India, and how far we owe our oppressions at home to that expenditure. From the merit of my Lord Folkestone, whom I have always considered as one of the soundest men, both in head and in heart, that this kingdom affords I am, I trust, one of the last to endeavour to detract, but, I am sure, his lordship's justice will make him set very little value upon any compliment paid him at the expence of Mr. Paull, had it not been for whose exertions, for whose integrity and perseverance, assailed as they were from all quarters, his lordship and the public would, to this hour, have been in almost total darkness as to the deeds of Lord Wellesley, who would, in all probability, have been, at this moment, a leading member of the cabinet. We owe to Mr. Paull, not only a knowledge, and now a thorough knowledge, of the conduct of Lord Wellesley, but also of the conduct of the East India Company, and of those complicated concerns (before involved in mystery), through the means of which this suffering country has long been deprived of the fruit of its labour; insomuch, that, when we are now called upon for taxes to support the East India Company, we know how to reason, we know what answer to give; we know how to judge of the conduct and the motives of our rulers. For all this, and for much more, we are indebted to Mr. Paull, towards whom I, for my part, entertain my full share of public gratitude; and, it is not an indiscreet expression, uttered, or written, in a moment of haste or of

warmth, that will ever create in me a lukewarmness as to any public enterprise in which he may be engaged ——There is a Sir John Anstruther, who appears, from the report of the debate upon Lord Follestone's motion, to have been extremely zealous in the cause of Lord Wellesley. This gentleman has lately returned from being Chief Justice of India, where he had a salary of £7,000 a year, and, after having resided at Calcutta seven years upon this salary, he has, upon his retirement, had a pension of £3,000. a year settled upon him for life by the East India Company, which pension, as well as the former salary, we, the people of England, have paid, and shall continue to pay. This gentleman was one of the *bailors of the prosecution against Mr. Hastings!* He has, I understand, been lately appointed by Lord Grenville, *judge* of the causes that come before the Privy Council, to which is affixed a salary of £1,500. a year; and, I have heard, that this place is to be made a *patent* one for him: that is to say, we are to have the honour to pay him this salary for his life certain! Who would not, for such a purpose, give up, at Mr. Sheridan's call, "the necessaries of life?" What base dog is there, who would grudge to mortgage his last acre, or sell the shirt off his back rather than leave this salary unpaid?

CONTINENTAL WAR. —— I have this morning been reading some dozen columns of foreign intelligence, and some half dozen of newspaper comments thereon; and the conclusion, in my mind, is, that the reports communicated to the ministers, and published by them, on Saturday last, respecting the battles in Poland, are *totally false*; and, that the French accounts of the operations in that country are *substantially true*. "If we de-"ceive ourselves the truth is not in us," and, surely, never were there poor wretches, who deceived themselves so grossly as we of this newspaper nation have done for these eighteen months past. Seventeen times have we (not *I*, however) believed the Emperor Napoleon to be completely overthrown; twice have we believed that he himself was mortally wounded; and once, that his army were dead with the dysentery! His men are like Mr. Bays's: they rise up and fight after they are dead. I cautioned Mr. Perry against placing any very great reliance upon his favourite ally, the dysentery; for, I was apprehensive, that it would not, in a French army, operate as it did in the Brunswicker's army in Champagne. I perceive, however, through all the exultation of the Morning Chronicle, a consciousness that the government news is false. I see the sense and reason of Mr. Spankie endeavouring to break through the cloud of his partner's stupidity. I see the difficulty that the former is in to know how he shall bring himself off. He is beginning to muster his thoughts and to marshal his arguments for the purpose of securing a decent retreat. Hence it is, that we hear him say, "whether the government news be true or not, "the French have suffered severe losses, "there can be *no doubt* of that." Yes, there can, Sir, and *I* entertain that doubt. I do not see any probability of their having suffered any loss at all; and, what is more, I do not see any prospect of their suffering a loss, or of their career being stopped by any thing but the elements. It is impossible for us to know what the intentions of Napoleon are; but, my opinion is, that, if he has a design upon Russia, the French standards will be flying at St. Petersburgh before May-day. Such are *my* fears, notwithstanding all the flowry prospects, which the newspapers present.

My VIth Letter to the Electors of Westminster was ready; but, the two following letters, upon important subjects, now under the consideration of parliament, compel me to put off the publication of it for another week.

MILITARY FORCE.

(Concluded from p. 126)

Had the French been at liberty to employ any considerable part of their regular force against these insurgents, they would have been very soon subdued. As to what M. S. states about the Romans having no army in pay till after the siege of Veii, it proves nothing at all. The Roman troops, I believe, until the siege of Veii returned home during the winter, but except during that interval they were constantly in the field, and more inured to the hardships and perils of war than the troops with whom they had to contend, and, consequently, they vanquished them. M. S. remarks, that the Continent has been ruined in despight of standing armies. But what inference does he mean to draw from this? Not surely that the continental powers would have made a more successful struggle, if they had been defended by a more irregular rout of force. This is such a blind perversion of history, that he who seriously resorts to it appears to me to be quite beyond the reach of argument. Does it follow, that because one regular army beats another regular army, that, therefore, it would have been successfully opposed by an irregular force. It would, one should imagine, be more conformable, both to sound

logic and to common sense, to argue *a fortiori* against irregular troops. As to pensions and sinecure places, I am not aware that there is any sort of connection between that subject, and the propriety of raising and maintaining a regular force. That there may be too many pensions and sinecure places I can readily believe; but, at the same time, I do not see that any great reformation will be produced in this respect, until a reformation take place in the selfish principles of human nature. There are not, I suppose, more sinecure places, nor are they more unworthily bestowed at present, than at any former period; and, although the great majority of mankind are always ready to practise every sort of fawning servility for a place, it does not follow that all those who accept of places are of that description. There are, indeed, in all parties a sort of underlings, who consider attachment to party as a sort of sordid speculation, which brings them in possession of emolument and influence when their party is in power; and it is in the fond hope of those halcyon days, that they patiently suffer a proscription from power and profit, until a revolution in the state shall happen favourable to their wishes. Against these sort of people you need not rail. Even if you were to prevail so far as to awaken them from their golden slumber, they would only reply to you in the words of the Jew

Unless you rail the seal from off the bond
You do but waste your wind.

B.——*Jan.* 9, 1807.

SUGAR TRADE.

Sir,——In my last letter (p. 21) I made it appear, not only that the money returns from Sugar estates for a long time past had not kept pace with those derived from any other employment of our capital and industry, but, that what little success had taken place within the last 30 years in the price of sugar, was greatly insufficient to defray the addition to the *direct* charges alone affecting the article which had been incurred during the former period. On this head, therefore, I shall not give you much further trouble. I will, however, remind you, that the mere customs on sugar have been augmented more than four-fold since the commencement of the American war. They were then 6s. 8d. they are now 27s. per cwt. In the last session of parliament a contingent addition of 3s. per cwt. (making the aggregate 30s.) was enacted, to take place in case the average price of the commodity should be 50s. per cwt. This tax, indeed, has not yet operated, Buonaparte's measures for the exclusion of British sugar from the Continent having kept the average price of that article far enough below 50s. per cwt. The present price is about 37s. Thus this intended tax (which as I recollect was taken as likely to produce an annual revenue of 300,000l.) has not hitherto yielded one single farthing to the Exchequer. I do indeed, hope from the considerate justice of the present administration, that the act for imposing it will be repealed; for, in addition to its actual inefficiency, it is demonstrably of the most oppressive and cruel tendency. A crop of sugar, more than almost any other produce of the south, is liable to be damaged by unfavourable seasons; *modò sol nimius, modò corripit imber.* A very wet or a very dry season (calamities the frequency and intensity of which in tropical climates can scarcely be imagined by those, who have not witnessed them) will take off more than nine-tenths from the expected produce of a field of sugar canes. By the fundamental law of God and nature, all other cultivators of the earth are enabled, when the quantity of their crops is diminished, to derive some alleviation of their distress from an enhanced price. This is the ordinance of our bounteous Creator, always dealing out his chastisements with mercy, and tempering his very curses. This is that beneficent course of things which we call *nature*, in all cases consistent with the will, and conducive to the purposes of that Great Being, by whose wisdom it was decreed, and by whose power it is upheld. This corrective dispensation in the case of the sugar grower, Mr. Pitt thought fit to thwart; and with the unfeeling, undistinguishing rapacity of a financier, he so diminished the drawbacks on the exportation of British plantation sugar, (thereby at the same time giving our rivals an advantage in every foreign market) and, consequently, so impeded the sale of it in years of failing crops, that the unhappy planter is effectually precluded from the possibility of obtaining that increase of price, which alone could afford him any—it would at best be a very inadequate—compensation, for the diminution in quantity of the produce of his land. Now, it is manifest, that the tendency of the 3s. contingent duty which I have mentioned, precisely the same, so far as the sugar planter is concerned, with that of the wicked diminution of the drawbacks effected by Mr. Pitt. Its tendency plainly is to keep the price of sugar below that point, to which without this unnatural and cruel interference it would rise, in alleviation of the calamity of a deficient crop. So far as the consumers are affected, the operation of this tax (if it ever

should operate) would be not less unreasonable; though the oppression being diffused among so much more numerous a body, would not be so severely felt by the individuals composing it. Sugar is now in this country a necessary of comfortable life. To all the consumers of it in a time of scarcity, the language of the 3s. contingent duty would be this, "By an unfavourable season, the quantity of sugar produced this year is so much less than usual, that (notwithstanding our foolish and wicked interference to obstruct the natural course of things) the price of it is arrived at an uncommon height. This being the case, seeing that you are already incommoded by the inevitable dearness of this necessary of life, we, your governors will interpose again; and since sugar is already so dear as to prevent your easily enjoying the use of it so amply as you might desire, we will impose on it a new duty, in order to make the purchase of it still more costly and difficult." On this subject it is scarcely needless to say more. I will only repeat my hope, that the considerate justice of the present administration, will forthwith expunge this 3s. duty from the statute book, where it stands at present unprofitable as a source of revenue, impotent of all good, and operative only as the legitimate cause of constant apprehension and inexpressible discontent. It cannot escape the observation of our financiers, and it should on no account escape their recollection, that in the present times they are most particularly bound to secure to all persons of property a sufficient income from their possessions. In 1797, Mr. Burke computed (third letter to a member of parliament, p. 95), that a full third of the expenditure of people of property went in taxes direct and indirect. The amount of the taxes imposed since that time, is (exclusive of the tax on property) considerably more than half the amount of those which existed before. I will, however, take them at only the half of that amount. And upon this low supposition, the aggregate will be according to Mr. Burke's computation 10s. in the pound, to which must be added 2s. for the property tax; and it will be seen, that of every 20s. added to the income of West Indian proprietors, (who are proverbial for a liberal, not to say profuse expenditure) 12s. is returned by them to the Exchequer in the form of taxes, without noticing the farther augmentation of the revenue, brought about by the increased incomes and expenditure of those other numerous classes, which the expenses of the West Indian proprietors contribute to enrich. Considerations of this sort, I should think would have their weight to prevent our legislature from grudging to our West Indian proprietors at this time even an ample income, if they could obtain it from their possessions. Any thing of that sort is, however, completely out of the present question. So different is their condition, that, as I proved in my former letter, and, as indeed, seems to be generally felt and acknowledged, unless some new opening be effected for the consumption of their produce, the owners of the West Indian sugar estates must in a very short time be absolutely ruined. I desire to be understood literally, when I affirm that *they must be absolutely ruined*.—It seems to be agreed, that justice, as well as policy, demands the adoption of some measures to avert this ruin: I shall, therefore, not stop to describe the extent of it, or the horrible consequences which would accompany it; but will immediately proceed to suggest some modes of prevention.—1. In the first place, the old drawback (what is called a *bounty* in the case of *refined* sugar, is notoriously in substance nothing more than a drawback) upon sugar should be restored, such as it stood before Mr. Pitt meddled with it. This would produce two good effects; it would promote that just principle, on which I have already insisted, of alleviating by increased price the calamity of short crops; and it would also, by preventing the interruption of our intercourse with foreign markets for sugars (to which Mr. Pitt's alteration of the drawback system gave rise), prevent the establishment of new connections with our rivals, which new connections when once established it may be impossible to dissolve, though they might so easily have been prevented.——2. So long as Buonaparté continues to prohibit the admission of our colonial staples into the countries under his domination or influence, we should likewise prohibit the admission into our own dominions of all brandies and other spirits, the produce of France, Spain, Holland, Italy, or any other country directly or indirectly under his rule. We can certainly do without those foreign spirits. Our own rums and spirits distilled from corn and sugar, together with the brandies of Portugal, would abundantly supply the greatest demand for spirits that we can ever know. And it should never for one moment be out of our recollection, that, as on the one hand the preferable use of spirits produced in our own colonies, and brought from thence in our own shipping, tends to enrich our own subjects, and promotes in a high degree a most valuable nursery of our seamen, the instrument of our naval greatness; so on the other, every sixpence which

is paid for the purchase of the brandies of France, Spain, and Italy, or the gin of Holland, gives employment and encouragement to the shipping of foreign nations, and contributes in one way or other to the support of those armies, by which Buonaparté has made himself master of the better part of Europe; and by which, as his ultimate object, to crown his work of conquest and of ruin, he hopes to effect the overthrow of this our empire: of which object he never does, and never will lose sight.——3. A permanent addition should be made to the duties on all *foreign spirits*. (By this denomination, I of course mean spirits the growth of foreign nations, and the property of foreigners, as contradistinguished from home made spirits, our own rums, the produce of our own countries, the property of our own subjects). The old protecting duties, so called, because they were designed to protect our rums from the too advantageous competition of foreign spirits, were altered by Mr. Pitt's commercial treaty with France in 1786, under which French brandies, which had previously been subject to a duty of something more than 9s. 6½ a gallon, were admitted into this country upon paying a duty of 7s. a gallon. All the duties on spirits have since been altered, and experience has incontrovertibly proved, that the present rates are not sufficiently favourable to rum, to compensate for the various disadvantages incident to that article, which, being brought from so much greater a distance, pays a much higher freight and insurance, suffers much more by leakage in the voyage, and evaporation from the climate, and which, moreover, requires for its production a much greater capital, and causes a much greater loss of interest on that capital, than the foreign brandies or gin of Europe. What I have here stated is most strictly true in time of peace. In time of war, the disadvantages of rum are much aggravated. It is made at much greater expence, and it is subjected to much more than double the peace cost of freight and insurance; none of which extraordinary expences affect brandy or gin, which are brought to us not in our own ships, but in those of neutral powers. And, accordingly, it has repeatedly happened during the present war, that the selling price here of a puncheon of rum, made in our West Indies at a great expence, has actually been less than the cost of the cask, shipment, freight, insurance, duty, and charges of landing, warehousing, and sale; so that it would have been well for the planter, if after incurring the expense of distillation, and all previous charges, he had lost his rum by fire, or had himself caused it to be thrown into the drain of his still-house. Let us suppose a parallel case to occur to the landed produce of England; let us suppose that by the unlimited introduction of foreign corn raised in a country where taxes were very light, rent low, labour cheap, and where no tithes or poor's rate existed, the price of grain were to become so small in this kingdom as not to defray the mere cost of conveyance from the place of its growth (*Bagshot heath* for instance) to market; and the market toll imposed upon the sale of it. I shall be thankful to Mr. Baker to inform me, how in such a state of things farmers would pay their rents, landlords the interest upon their mortgages, or either of them their taxes to government.——4. As the preferable use of our own rums instead of foreign spirits, should in the case of individuals be promoted by *protecting duties*, (that is by subjecting foreign spirits to such higher duties than those paid by our own rums, as would somewhat more than countervail the greater cost of distilling the latter, and bringing them to market) so in the dealings of government (I have in my thought more particularly the Victualling Office purchases for supply of the navy) the use of rums should receive equal encouragement. Now, as all spirits supplied to the Victualling Office are exempted from duty, the natural mode of affording this encouragement seems to be, that the office should never purchase foreign spirits, unless the price of our own rums exceeded the price of such foreign spirits by a difference greater than the excess of the protecting duties. This is precisely what economical victualling offices would do (supposing the articles of equal goodness, and about this, I presume, there does not exist any question) if they dealt for the articles, as other people deal for them, subject to their respective duties: and, surely, the mere circumstance that government, to avoid the needless operations of receiving customs and excise with one hand, and paying the amount of them with the other, receives these articles duty free, can make no difference in the reason and justice of the cases. It will be said, that under the proposed practice, government would pay to the planter for rums, a greater price than that for which brandies might be had. This is most undoubtedly true; and the same thing would be as undoubtedly true, if an individual should buy a gallon of rum, and a gallon of brandy (subject to the different duties) for the same price. It is the natural consequence of our colonial system and navigation laws. The English subject who happens to

have possessions in our West Indian islands, is compelled to bring the produce of those possessions to the English market, and in English ships. This condition was made for the benefit of the public revenue, of factors, and others residing in England; and above all, for the benefit of the national navy: and most highly has it benefited all these. In return for this so beneficial condition, prohibitions as to some foreign articles, and protecting duties as to others, were established, in order to ensure to the Englishman having West Indian possessions, a sale for his produce in the English market, to which he was compelled to bring that produce. If the system be right as applied to every individual Englishman who purchases spirits, I humbly conceive it cannot be wrong when applied to government, purchasing spirits on account of the aggregate body of Englishmen, and for their use or benefit. I believe that, in fact, until after the commercial treaty of 1786, rum alone was the spirit of the navy. But, however that may have been, to refuse to apply to the government purchases of spirits, the principle on which the protecting duties were founded, is in fact, to compel the English sugar-planter to send his rums in English vessels, under a monopoly freight, to the English market, and at the same time to prevent the sale of them, when he has so sent them thither, on such terms as would put him on a footing with the foreign producers of other spirits.

——X. X.——*Jan.* 12, 1807.

(To be continued)

SLAVE TRADE.

SIR,——It is highly necessary at this crisis, to address you upon the subject of the abolition of the Slave Trade, before parliament shall have proceeded to pass a final determination respecting that most important measure. As to the origin of the Slave Trade, it is superfluous on the present occasion to do any thing more than briefly to state, that it was established by royal charter and proclamations, and for a great number of years from time to time sanctioned, protected, and encouraged by divers acts of the British legislature, which have confirmed the West India colonists in the belief, and most perfect assurance and confidence, that they should continue to obtain supplies of labourers from Africa, and they have been induced to invest their fortunes in the British West India colonies, by the unshaken and full conviction that assurances solemnly pledged to them would not be violated. If the West India proprietors should be able to show that they cannot cultivate their properties without having recourse to Africa for labourers; if they have the strongest reasons for dreading that the abolition of the Slave Trade will strike a deadly blow at the very existence of their fortune, and, nay, even involve the British colonies in the West Indies and their inhabitants in one common scene of ruin, desolation, and destruction; surely, it may then be confidently affirmed, that to persevere in the accomplishment of such a scheme, is a plain dereliction of all the principles of justice, and an attempt to promote the purposes of humanity to the sons of Africa, at the expense of an immense sacrifice of the lives of British subjects, and of British property. The parliamentary documents and recent publications, which have appeared upon the subject of the West India trade, have most clearly and satisfactorily established, that this country derives great commercial advantages in various ways from her trade with those colonies, and that they are the most valuable appendages of the empire. If any stroke should sever from Britain that branch of commerce, can the ingenuity of any one suggest to the nation any mode of upholding its prosperity, after it shall have sustained so severe a loss?——It is peculiarly my business in this address, to call your attention to the consequences that must result from an abolition of the Slave Trade, which are particularly alarming to the colonists of the extensive island of Jamaica. Authentic reports and returns have shown that the cultivation of coffee has most rapidly increased in that colony in the last seven or eight years. A considerable number of coffee estates, which are still only infant settlements, cannot be cultivated with any prospect of advantage, without obtaining considerable supplies of labourers. An abolition will compel those coffee planters to sell their negroes immediately, and their lands will be of no value to them. Let me point out another attendant [illegible]. The colony will also lose the benefit of their services in the various capacities of jurors, magistrates, and militia men ready to defend it against both an internal and external enemy; for, after they shall have been compelled to abandon their plantations, it cannot be expected that they will remain in a country, which will afford them no opportunities of improving their fortunes. Their negroes hitherto accustomed to reside in those parts of the island adapted to the cultivation of coffee, where a mild and temperate climate prevails, and to be employed in light and easy work, will in many instances be removed to a warmer climate, and will be engaged in the more laborious employment of cultiva-

ting the soil for the production of canes. They will, in short, be taken away from their habitations, and their gardens, and from other comforts endeared to them by habit. Allow me to present to your view with the utmost earnestness and anxiety, the disastrous and fatal consequences that must follow, if the measure of the abolition be adopted, from a diminution of the white population: consequences of which no one doubts, who is at all acquainted with the local circumstances of Jamaica. The business of West India estates is conducted by white persons, who reside upon them, and who are at present induced to seek their fortunes in that part of the world. The ground work of their fortunes is laid, whenever they have acquired as much money, as will enable them to purchase a few negroes. They continue to add to the number by their future savings, and their credit, and ultimately become settlers by purchasing lands. The white population of the colony is constantly kept up by such means, and a power exists, which is indispensably necessary for preserving due subordination, and for affording the only effectual mode of counterbalancing the negro population. After an abolition shall have been accomplished, no method of acquiring a fortune will present itself to persons in that line of life, and no adequate inducement can be held out to tempt the description of white persons, who have hitherto emigrated to our colonies to adventure thither in future. It will be impracticable to find white persons of good education and decent manners, disposed to reside in the West Indies; for, the offer even of augmented salaries, if the proprietors could afford to give them, will not induce them to hazard their lives in that unfavourable climate. It is painful in the extreme to contemplate the situation of Jamaica, which would then be left a prey to the schemes of the negroes, unrestrained by the presence of those, to whom they have been hitherto accustomed to pay respect and deference. Without appealing to the powers of the imagination we may learn from the sad experience of the disasters in St. Domingo, the fate of a colony, in which the black power reigns predominant, and uncontrouled.—Much has been said by the supporters of abolition, with the view of proving the ability of Jamaica to keep up its present stock of negroes without fresh importations. It may be proper to observe that, independently of any loss, which may be supposed to happen among the negroes newly imported, there is a great decrease of the negro population, which is in a great measure attributable to the disproportion of the sexes, to promiscuous connections, and to other causes, over which no human care can exercise any controul. There are maladies peculiar to the climate of the West Indies, which are prevalent at all times, and reduce in despite of all medical aid and the utmost attention of the proprietors, an efficient labourer into a state of helplessness and decrepitude, and death often closes the scene. A disease also exists, which cuts off a great proportion of very young children within a few days after their births. Other disorders producing considerable mortality frequently happen among the negroes, and multitudes of them have perished by famine arising from hurricanes, and have fallen victims to sickness brought on by a scanty and unwholesome diet, which is one of the consequences attendant upon that calamity. I am aware that other circumstances which attach no blame to the proprietors, may be brought forward as contributing to account for the decrease of the negro population, and which have been dwelt on by intelligent writers upon this subject. Experience upon the whole has proved in opposition to fallacious theory, that the stock of negroes cannot be kept up without supplies of labourers from Africa. I have to ask, if it shall be impracticable from any of these causes to maintain a stock of negroes adequate to the purposes of cultivation, what is to become of the unfortunate planter after an abolition shall be passed? He can no where obtain the number of negroes required to supply the losses which have happened among his labourers, and ruin soon stares him in the face. His crops are rapidly diminished from year to year, and he beholds the miserable prospect of debt fast accumulating without possessing the power by his exertions to avert a total overthrow of all his fortune. It is only proposed to give an outline here of this miserable case, but nothing could be more easy than to fill it up with a detail of particulars. Many properties are known to be incumbered by mortgages, and it is equally notorious that the mortgagees of such properties have remained in possession of them for a great length of time past. If the Slave Trade should be abolished, those estates when restored to their owners would be delivered to them in a state incapable of yielding any advantage to them. The number of negroes attached to those properties will be exhausted through a long lapse of years from natural causes, during which time no additions to the stock have been made by purchase; for the creditors who may be desirous only of accomplishing payment of their demands by

the crops, and who possess neither the power nor the inclination to increase their demands by purchasing negroes, will surrender the estates, in want of the indispensable means of future cultivation. Infants during a long minority will be exposed in numerous instances to the same consequences. In this rapid sketch I shall only glance at another circumstance, which may be apprehended from an abolition, and which it is most distressing to contemplate. A want of labourers will be urgently felt by the planters in general, and a supply will be sought for with avidity, as the only means of averting impending ruin. It will be impossible to prevent effectually a clandestine introduction of them. Such a mode of procuring negroes in the event of an abolition, may occasionally be resorted to under some difficulties.—At present, whilst a planter knows that he can at any time procure the number of negroes required for the use of his plantation, he takes care providently to make a suitable preparation for receiving at home the new labourers, whom he is desirous of obtaining. Before he proceeds to purchase them, he provides food, cloathing, and lodging for them. He carries them to his property, and they are properly taken care of. Hereafter, if he shall be forced when stimulated by the irresistible desire of struggling against imminent destruction, to have recourse to clandestine purchases, he will be anxious not to forego any opportunity of procuring labourers, which may present itself, and apprehensive that if he should postpone the buying of them, his object might altogether be defeated, he will purchase them, when he is not prepared to afford them proper necessaries and comforts. I need not dwell on the miserable scenes which must then ensue.—It now remains for me to call your attention to another circumstance, which it is most painful to dwell on, and which is a source of great and well founded dread to the colonists. It is certain that an abolition will be considered by the negroes as connected with the prospect of an emancipation. Even the most unlettered and untutored mind is capable of discerning, that the legislature, which has proceeded to declare that no person shall hereafter be brought to the British colonies in a state of slavery, has been influenced in a great degree to adopt the measure from an abhorrence of slavery; and that much of what has been advanced upon the subject has gone the length of reprobating the existence of slavery in any shape, or under any modification whatever. It will appear to the negroes employed in the service of the planters, that the supporters of abolition have done them no service by stopping there, and that on the contrary, the scheme is fraught with injustice to them. The doctrine, which condemns the trade, by which negroes are imported into the West Indies in a state of slavery, cannot be true to its own principle, except it advances one step further, and seeks to annihilate all slavery: for, if the importation of a slave be condemnable, is not according to the same train of reasoning the keeping of a negro, who is already imported, and his offspring in a state of slavery, liable at least to equal severity of reprehension? I conceive that no one is bold enough to contend that emancipation ought to be made a part of the general plan; and, indeed, I have the authority of the name of Mr. Pitt, for saying that such a measure would be absolute insanity. It is apprehended on very substantial grounds, that the abolishing of this trade may dispose the minds of the colonial negroes to assert at their own time, and according to their own will and pleasure, their pretensions to emancipation; they may urge that the power, which has put a final period to the slave trade, would have proceeded at once to emancipate them, had it not been for the opposition of their masters; they may declare that the leading abolitionists have expressed their unwillingness to tolerate for a moment any description of slavery, and that they have refrained from urging that consideration upon the attention of parliament, either from a sense that the fit time for proposing it had not arrived, or from a conviction that to interfere to that extent would be assuming an improper exercise of power over concerns of private property. Is it to be expected, that the labourers in the British West India colonies, will patiently and with due submission wait, until they shall become qualified in the opinion of some of the abolitionists to receive the gift of freedom through their means; or, until according to the wild and fanciful notions of others, the amelioration of their condition will gradually produce their emancipation from the free will of their masters? It is to be dreaded, that the negroes, sensible that they possess a great superiority of numbers, and that their constitutions and habits of life render them able to contend with manifest advantage in countries abounding in fastnesses, and peculiarly favourable to their mode of warfare, will bring forward at no distant day, after the abolition shall be passed, their claims to freedom, and defy all that can be done against them by the combined efforts of a diminished white population, and of any proportion of regular military force, which

can be employed in endeavouring to quell their revolt. Their minds will be discontented by the hardships produced by the abolition, for they will soon observe with pain and vexation, that their owners debarred of the usual opportunities of obtaining fellow labourers to assist them in their occupations, will be compelled to augment their work with the view of postponing as long as they can, impending ruin. This awful crisis will come, when in consequence of the abolition, the white population of the colonies has been considerably lessened, and when the negroes looking around them in a country almost destitute of white inhabitants, will see no force capable of affording any effectual opposition to their schemes. Desolation may then rear its head unmolested, and the British colonies, but, more especially, the extensive island of Jamaica at such a tremendous time, could expect no relief from any number of military troops, whose efforts would be unavailing in attempting to contend against a baneful climate, and the thousands upon thousands of their opponents inured to the situation, in which they had chosen to act, and deriving a most powerful auxiliary in the nature of the country. From these considerations I am led to conclude, that the abolition of the slave trade would occasion diminished commerce, diminished revenue, and diminished navigation; and in the end sap and totally remove the great corner stone of British prosperity, by the accomplishment of the total overthrow and destruction of her colonies.——Mentor.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

RECAPTURE OF BUENOS AYRES. *From the London Gazette, Downing-street, January 27, 1807.*

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been received by the right hon. W. Windham, one of his majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from Lieut. Col. Backhouse, commanding a detachment of his majesty's land forces, in the River de la Plata:

Royal Charlotte (Transport), off Monte Video, Oct. 18, 1806.—Sir, Understanding that a vessel is to sail immediately for England, I do myself the honour to transmit to you a copy of a letter, addressed to Lieut. Gen. Sir D. Baird, in obedience to whose orders I sailed on the 29th Aug. last, with 1st batt. 47th reg. for the purpose of joining Major Gen. Beresford, in South America.

"Royal Charlotte (Transport), off Monte Video, Oct. 13, 1806.—Sir, I have the honour to acquaint your excellency, that, on my arrival here, I had the mortification to find the city of Buenos Ayres recaptured, and that Major Gen. Beresford, with the forces under his command (after a most able and gallant defence), had been made prisoners of war, so far back as the 12th of Aug. last. Having arrived last night, I am not, at this moment, sufficiently acquainted with the particulars, to enable me to detail them, though I presume due and full information of this unfortunate and important event, must have been transmitted to you soon after its occurence. You are aware, Sir, that the command of his majesty's land forces, at present in this River, devolves upon me; with which, in co-operation with the squadron under Sir Home Popham, it is my intention to occupy a favourable position, until a reinforcement shall arrive, or I may be honoured with your further instructions; and trust that, by an early opportunity, I shall be able to afford you a satisfactory report of my arrangements and operations in carrying your designs into execution. And am, &c.

The immediate departure of the ship for England, and the situation in which I find myself unexpectedly placed, prevent any further communication than what is contained in the preceding letter. I have the honour to be, &c. T. J. Backhouse, Col. commanding 47th reg.

Copy of a Dispatch from Lieut. Col. Backhouse, to the Right Hon. W. Windham, dated Maldonado, on the River de Plata, 31st Oct. 1806.

Sir, In my letter of the 13th instant, I had the honour to transmit a copy of my letter, of the same date, to His Ex. Lt. Gen. Sir D. Baird, apprizing him of my arrival in the River Plata, and of my intention to occupy a position on shore, to await his further orders. I, in consequence, immediately reconnoitred, from one of the frigates, which carried me sufficiently close in shore for the purpose; the works of the place, and the positions and defences, in the vicinity of Monte Video, from which I formed, as the most eligible mode of attack, the idea of being able to carry the town and citadel by assault, on the south face edging on the water, in co-operation with the ships of the squadron, under Commodore Sir Home Popham, which were to silence the batteries on that face, so as to enable the troops to land and enter. *To be continued.*

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 6.] LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

"Unelbow'd by a Flat'rer, Pimp, or Play'r."——POPE.

TO THE
FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS
OF THE
CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER VI.

GENTLEMEN;

To the letter, which I now have the honour to address to you, upon the subject promised in my last (p. 66), I have chosen for my motto a verse from a writer, who, to profundity of thought and brilliancy of genius united virtue incorruptible; and who, though the reflection is painful, is almost the only poet, ancient or modern, who never prostituted his pen to the flattering of princes or ministers, and whose memory, for that sole reason, has been basely calumniated by benefice-hunting, or pensioned, critics. In the wise and just mind of this our celebrated countryman, you see, gentlemen, in what degree of estimation play-actors stood. What, then, would this writer, who was so indignant at seeing such persons admitted to any share of familiarity with men of rank; what would he have said; where would even his eloquence have found terms adequate to the expressing of that indignation, that shame for his country, which he must have felt at seeing the play-actors of Westminster assuming a sort of corporate and political capacity; standing forward in a body to join the body of the nobility and that of the clergy; with them co-operating to stifle your voice; and, finally, inviting, in the manner of other corporate bodies, a member of parliament to a feast, given by them in celebration of his and their political triumph?

Upon the meanness of Mr. Sheridan's accepting of a feast at such hands I shall say nothing; and the only use I shall make of the fact, that this drunken feast was given upon a Sunday, is, to draw your attention, for a moment, to the professions upon which these and others of our enemies ground their claim of preference to us. We are, by them, represented as men who wish to destroy all order, regular government, and religion; and this they have the audacity to urge against us in the face of all their profligacy, public and private, political and moral. While they are violating every law, human and divine; while their example is an encouragement to those who are already wicked, and is sowing the seeds of wickedness in minds hitherto free from guilt; while they are, to use the words of Churchill, "daring damn-"nation face to face," they have the unbearable insolence to accuse us of a desire to overturn "every thing honourable and sa-"cred." And, gentlemen, we should always bear in mind, that, as against us, there has been a cordial union between the profligate and the hypocrite; and that, while the latter has been even bribing and suborning in order to obtain the means of punishing the petty vicious, he has been giving his voice, heard in an oath before God, for the purpose of rendering triumphant great and notorious vice. The truth is, however, that this combination is by no means unnatural. The hypocrite and the profligate, though pursuing different courses, have, in all political matters, the same purpose in view, namely, to live upon the fruit of the labour of the people; and, therefore, against us they naturally combine.

Our enemies, enemies with whom we must remain at war until we have trampled them under our feet; those enemies, in answer to all our complaints, briefly refer us to *the law*. Well, then, that law which has afforded such ample protection to them; that law which makes Richard Brinsley Sheridan "Right Honourable;" that law which compels us to pay, out of the fruit of our labour, more than ten thousand pounds a year to the elder and the younger Sheridan, while the former openly declares, that he is ready to assist in making us yield up "even the "necessaries of life;" that same law, or code of laws, denominate play-actors, *vagabonds*; and, shall we be called *illiberal*? Shall we, by cant like this, calculated for the sole purpose of silencing the voice of truth; shall we, by this despicable cant, be deterred from appealing, in our defence, to that law which our enemies never fail to plead against us? In such society, in the midst of a drunken feast, and upon the Sabbath day, to prevent the *people* from profaning which so many severe laws have been passed, and which laws are now so rigidly executed; such was, you will agree with me, Gentlemen, a very suitable occasion for the Sheridans to boast

of their *high-blood*. And, here, before I proceed to any remarks upon these disgusting boasts, I beg leave to remind you of certain expressions in the last Election Letter of the elder Sheridan. In that letter he says: "as to Mr. Cobbett, believe me, there can "be no use in continuing to detect and ex-"pose the gross and *scurrilous* untruths, "which his *nature*, his *habits*, and his "cause, compel him to deal in." To you, Gentlemen, it is unnecessary for me to say, that, as far, at least, as related to the cause, in which we were engaged, falsehood was not needed, and that, in fact, I had recourse to none; and, while I leave you to determine, whether my "*nature* and *habits*" compel me to deal in falsehood, I trust you will indulge me for a few minutes while I expose the pretensions to superiority in nature and in habits, put forward by this "*Right Honourable*" Gentleman. He told the play-actors, who, by-the-by, were amongst the very lowest even of that tribe, that he had *royal* blood flowing in his veins: "that he has," said Munden, in a whisper to Matthews, "for the only time I ever saw "his father he was *king of Denmark*." Munden was right so far; but, I by no means pretend to say, that, considering how numerous, according to all account, the kings of Ireland formerly were, the Sheridans may not have been descended, in one way or another from some of them. You shall never meet with an Irish soldier, who cannot very easily trace his birth downwards from a royal house; but, because it is possible; because there is some old story going, that the Sheridan's ancestors were, in old time, at the head of some little band of bog-trotting savages, shall we seriously be told, that the present Sheridans are of royal descent? When king Bull-Dog, or King Corn-Planter, from the back woods of America, come down to the Atlantic cities and strut along the streets, their heads decorated with feathers and a dozen or two of tawny painted subjects trailing at their heels, stopping at now and then a door to beg a bit of bread, their self-important airs are the subject of universal ridicule; yet, there is in their conduct nothing half so ridiculous and contemptible as this boast of the Sheridans, surrounded by their mimic crew at the Theatre Coffee-house. If, as I once before observed, there be any calling lower than all other callings; if there be any one beyond all comparison the most degrading, it is surely that, wherein the operator, for the purpose of obtaining food and raiment, exhibits his person, displays his limbs, and strains his voice, for the amusement of the spectators, to whose occasional, and often capricious, hissings and peltings it is a part of his profession to submit with a smile and a bow. These, however, appear to have been the very circumstances, which served to cement the Sheridans and the play-actors. Sympathy is generally much more powerful than simple compassion; and, though the hissings and peltings, which the elder Sheridan had endured, during the election, were calculated to excite compassion in bosoms not trained and disciplined to the entertaining of that feeling, yet, I much question, whether the feast of the play-actors would ever have taken place, had not the hosts, each of whom would run into a river or a fire at the hiss of a gander or the sight of an orange-peel, felt, from the bottom of their hearts, that the cause of Mr. Sheridan was their own.——To return to the boast of royal blood: from what ancestors Mr. Sheridan's father might have sprung I shall leave to be discovered by those, who, like Mr. Chalmers, delight in painful and useless searches into obscurity; nor, as I will freely confess, should I be at all surprized, if the inquiry, heartily undertaken by some such laborious person, were to lead to a discovery, that our hero actually is descended from some sovereign, whose dominion bore a resemblance to that of a king of the Gipseys. But, in the mean while, you, Gentlemen, as well as I, have before you this simple and undeniable fact, *that Mr. Sheridan's father was a play-actor*; a play-actor, too, not like the Kembles, whose rare endowments and whose excellent characters serve to screen from universal contempt a profession, the followers of which hate and envy them in return; not a play-actor of this description; but a play-actor of the lowest, of the very lowest cast, of a cast not less low, and that is saying much, than any one of the hosts of the dinner, given in honour of his son. Whence his mother sprang it would be useless to attempt to ascertain; but, when Mr. Sheridan, the accomplished, the liberal, the "gentlemanly," the high-blooded Mr. Sheridan, in a public letter, sent to be published by him from all the daily presses, thinks it decorous to assert, that my *nature* and my *habits* compel me to deal in vulgar falsehoods, I am sure, gentlemen, that you will not think the question misplaced, if I ask him, whether my habits, contracted in tending of birds and the driving of plough, were more likely to engender or confirm a base disposition, than were his habits, when, with a—"walk in Ladies and Gentlemen," —he stood at the door and received the six-pences, at his father's recitations in Marlbo-

rough-street.——So much for the high-blood of the elder Sheridan. Now for that of the son, who, at the time that he was receiving nearly four thousand pounds a year as Captain of a regiment serving abroad, and as Muster Master General of Ireland (a person having been placed upon the pension list, at twelve hundred pounds a year, to make way for him in this latter capacity), was, as you will remember, a principal actor in those scandalous scenes, which, on the part of our enemies, were exhibited during the election at Westminster; and who, at a public dinner, made a speech (if such it ought to be called), in which he represented the candidate of our choice as being of origin so low and base, as "that he (the "younger Sheridan) should raise him in "the estimation of society by kicking him "out of it," now for the high-blood of this man. His father *we know*; and, as to his mother, it is a fact pretty generally known; at least, it is a fact which is undeniably true, that she was the daughter of a *Fiddler* at Bath, which fiddler actually got his bread by fiddling, and by the teaching of others to fiddle and dance, and which daughter got her living by singing for hire. Both father and daughter were, we will, for argument's sake, suppose, upon a footing in point of morality, with the parents of Mr. Paull; but, Gentlemen, without presuming to dictate, especially in matters of taste, to other persons, I must take the liberty of saying, that if it shall please God to give me life to choose for my children, the boys shall be journeymen tailors rather than master fiddlers, and the girls use their hands for hire all their lives long, rather than their throats for one single hour, though the wages of that hour were a fortune surpassing the sums, which the Sheridans united now annually draw from the labour of the people. ——Here, Gentlemen, I should dismiss the loathsome topic of high-blood, had not the elder Sheridan, at this same play-actors' dinner, repeated his boast relative to his "no-"ble" associates, Mr. Berkeley Craven, Mr. Lincoln Stanhope, Lord Petersham (who sneaked away at my approach through one half of the streets in the parishes of St. Margaret and St. John), Lord Barrymore, and the *Reverend* Mr. Barry. To attempt a scrutinizing inquiry into the ORIGIN of these gentlemen would be indecorous indeed; but, as to their pretensions to superiority over us, as public men, we will take the liberty to say a few words. What was uttered verbally, it would be impossible to record correctly; but, let the several publications, on both sides, be examined, and there is, I am persuaded, no impartial man, who will not say, that the supporters of Mr. Sheridan were formed by nature, or by habit, to be *ruled by us*, who supported Mr. Paull; and, Gentlemen, though they happen to be upheld by a state of things calculated to favour them, I hope there are none amongst us so base as to believe, that it is, from that fact to be concluded, that they are our superiors. The whole of their proceedings, the whole of their publications, whether in committees, or by individuals, bespoke the barren, the mean, and venal mind. Not one address, not one hand-bill, not one single sentence, did there appear, upon this side, which could, even by possibility, excite, in the breast of a *free* man, a feeling favourable to their views. From the beginning to the end of the contest, they discovered, in all they said and in all they wrote, a total want of foresight and of talent, an inherent, an hereditary, and incorrigible stupidity. Of their writings I will put upon record one sample, which, while it will serve to enable men to judge of the literary abilities of our high-blooded opponents, may also serve as no very unsatisfactory answer to Dr. Knox, who pretends, that an acquaintance with the "learn-"ed languages" is absolutely necessary to the rightly understanding of our own. The paper, which I am about to cite is one taken, almost promiscuously, from amongst hundreds. It consists of certain resolutions, signed at a meeting in St. James's parish, "the *honourable*" Lincoln Stanhope in the chair, and is worded as follows:——"RE-"SOLVED UNANIMOUSLY, That the Right "Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan "has uniformly conducted himself in par-"liament, during twenty-six years, in a "manner *as to deserve* well of his country, "—that he has proved himself to be a man "independent and full of integrity,—that "he has always acted up to those *principles* "which he has invariably professed, *namely*, "*A Friend to his King and Country*; *A* "*Friend to the Constitution, and Liberties* "*of the People*.—Under the impression of "these sentiments this meeting do now pass "a vote of thanks to the Right Honourable "Richard Brinsley Sheridan, for his patrio-"tic conduct on all occasions; and do here-"by pledge themselves *to support him*, in "order *to assist him* in carrying his election, "jointly with Sir Samuel Hood.——RE-"SOLVED UNANIMOUSLY, that the thanks of "the committee be voted to the Honourable "Lincoln Stanhope, for his *able* conduct in "the chair, and his particular attention to "the interest of Mr. Sheridan ——(Signed) "LINCOLN STANHOPE."—— As to the [illegible]

timents expressed, and facts stated, here, all the world knows the former to be hypocritical and the latter false. But it is the want of talent, the incomparable stupidity, exhibited in this writing, for his *able* conduct in having drawn up which this Lincoln Stanhope is thanked, and which resolution of thanks he himself signs, that I wished to point out. Talk of *tailors*, indeed! I much question if there be a tailor in the city of Westminster, where there are, probably, ten thousand tailors, who would not draw up a resolution more correctly, and more in a scholar-like manner, than this is drawn up. Verily, it is not for a man like this to despise tailors; for, to their ingenuity, he evidently owes much more, in the way of being made a gentleman, than to father, mother, and preceptor united. Stripped of what the tailor has contributed, he instantly sinks, in the scale of animated nature, to a place beneath that of the rat. Yet, I will warrant you, gentlemen, that this Lincoln Stanhope had had his time at the University; that he has swaggered about for years in a black gown and conjuring cap; and, it would not be very marvellous, if some clerical teacher of the "learned languages" had had a benefice bestowed upon him as a reward for having superintended the culture of this precious scion of nobility. Nay; let them writhe! It was from *their* hand that the first stone was flung; and, I confidently trust, that, from *our hand* will go the last.—I shall be told, that *all* the nobility are not like the open supporters of the Sheridans. Certainly not; God forbid they should! But, I cannot help remembering, that, while many of them combined against us, *not one* of them voted on our side; and I was told, that even that famous Liberty man, Lord * *, gave a hundred pounds to the Sheridan subscription. So much the better, perhaps; we have nothing to thank them for. They did us no good, and all the harm they were able. We owe them nothing. To the Sheridans they gave their votes and their money; and to the Sheridans let them, if need should be, look for sacrifices. For my part, I shall never forget their conduct upon that occasion; and I trust, Gentlemen, that there are very few of you, who will not, upon all future occasions, bear it in mind.

The Sheridans took the opportunity afforded them by the play-actor's dinner to advert to an occurrence, which took place in the year 1803, relative to a *challenge*, which the younger Sheridan said he sent me. The elder Sheridan first told his respectable hosts, that his son would soon put me down; hereupon the son rose and said, that, in consequence of a brutal attack, which I had made upon his father, he went to my house, with a cane, intending to "*thrash*" me; but, finding that I was not at home, he "afterwards thought it best to offer me a "pistol, and wrote to me for the purpose; "but that this valiant Mr. Cobbett gave "for answer, that he never fought duels." Gentlemen, here are two falshoods. He never dared to come to my house; and he never wrote me a challenge. I had, if I recollect well, two notes from him, complaining of the attack, as he called it, upon his father; and, I remember, that, in answer to the last, I concluded by saying, that I supposed, that, now he was become a soldier, it would be of service to him to acquire some little reputation for bravery; and that, therefore, in order to embolden him to send me a challenge, I would tell him beforehand, that I never fought duels. *After* this the hero sent me a note, which, I suppose, he has kept as a copy of the challenge! But, Gentlemen, though this document may be very valuable as an heir-loom in the royal family of Sheridan, I submit to you how far it can, with propriety, be considered as a challenge. As to the insinuation, that I kept out of his sight, nothing can be more false. I gave particular directions, that, if he came, he should be shown up to me immediately; and I had armed myself with nothing but a horse-whip, with which, had he been saucy, I was resolved to belabour him as long as my arm would have held out; I was resolved to send him back to Bond-street in a worse plight than ever soldier descended from the halberts.——But, Gentlemen, I must not pass over the curious cause of this pretended challenge. It was, he says, a brutal attack made by me upon his father. So, you see, supposing him to have spoken the truth (and that is never a supposition to be hastily adopted), his father, the offended party, was for fighting me by proxy; and, with a degree of paternal tenderness truly worthy of the royal house of Sheridan, fixed upon his only son as a substitute; or, supposing the father to have guessed at the sort of combat that would ensue, it was serving the son as Hudibras would have served his Squire, shifted the flogging to his shoulders from his own. What, too, was this "*brutal* attack" upon the elder Sheridan? I have often had accusations of this kind preferred against me, and so will every man that dares to speak wholesome truths with respect to the people of high-blood, who appear to think, that, to their other privileges, they add that of being screened from all just satire. But, let the whole of my Register be examined,

and, if there be one single expression, to which the charge of brutality can properly be applied, I will instantly burn every copy of the work. It is not the language; it is not the manner; it is the *matter* that offends. I speak the *truth* of such persons; I speak in a way that enables every reader clearly to understand me; those readers are numerous, and the impression I make on them is lasting. This it is that gives offence; and, be assured, Gentlemen, that the cry of *violence*, and *coarseness*, and *brutality*, set up against me, is the pitiful resource of wounded folly or guilt. We need go no further, for an instance of this, than to the "attack," of which the younger Sheridan complained, as having been made upon his father. That "attack" was, in fact, a *defence* of myself, against an attack made by the elder Sheridan upon me, in the House of Commons, a place where it was impossible that I should answer him; and, it was made too, at a time, when he well knew, that the ministry wanted the sanction of the public to the means which they were plotting to silence me. For this manly and generous species of attack I took ample vengeance in ten letters, addressed to my assailant, and which letters gave him a blow that he never recovered, and that did, in fact, prepare the way for that complete justice, which the people of Westminster at last rendered him at the hustings of Covent Garden. It was in the sixth of these letters, which will be found in Vol. IV. page 577, that the younger Sheridan descried the "brutal attack." I beg leave, Gentlemen, to refer you to that letter; and, if you find in it one indecorous phrase; if you find in it any thing but fair and decent censure of censurable conduct, I will be content to be placed, even by you, whose good opinion I so highly prize, upon a level with the Sheridans; nay, with the younger Sheridan alone, which would, in my estimation, be by far the worst situation of the two.

For hireling singers and play-actors and farce-makers to assemble together, and not to make singing part of the entertainment, would be wonderful indeed; but, these people, during the boozing-match, of which we are speaking, not content with a base contempt of the day, upon which they chose to hold it, actually sang, with their hireling voices, the CXVth Psalm, which as you will recollect, begins thus: "Not unto us, O Lord, not "unto us, but unto thy name give the "praise, for thy loving mercy and thy "truth's sake;" applying this to the triumph of the Sheridans over us, which triumph was, as it will very soon be proved to all the world, obtained by the basest and most detestable of means. After this Psalm followed a toast from the elder Sheridan: "Our "*Old Friends*," whereupon, as the newspapers informed us, there were loud and reiterated *peals of laughter*. One of our poets, in his description of a hardened profligate, winds up a climax with saying, that he sang "bawdy songs to a psalm tune." But, the Sheridans and their companions have surpassed even this. They sing the psalm itself, and couple with it an allusion never publicly made; never made even in a private company, though in hours of the most unbridled mirth, except amongst those who have recourse to filthiness for lack of wit, or amongst blackguards in grain. Yet, the Sheridans were supported by all the most famous *saints* of the day, several of whom came from a great distance to vote for him. But, as I said before, they being place-men and pensioners, his cause was their cause; and, upon the same ground, they would, I verily believe, have voted for the devil himself.—The sagacious Mr. Homan, anticipating the probable effect of a commentary upon the play actor's dinner, told you, that this was a *private* dinner, and that, therefore, I had no right to comment upon it. So was the famous dinner at Bushy Park; but, accounts of both *were published in the daily papers*, and upon whatever they publish I will comment, if I think it necessary, and have time and room sufficient for the purpose. The singing of the psalm and the toast therewith coupled, came to my knowledge through the newspapers; and, as to the anecdote about Munden and Matthews, I state it as it got abroad, as other anecdotes are stated. It is, too, perfectly in character for the Sheridans to make a complaint of this sort, after having published private letters, letters altogether private, to serve a political purpose, while, at the same time, they suppressed the answers to those letters, which answers proved, that they understood the letters to have a meaning very different from that which they endeavoured to make the public believe they had. This is perfectly in character on the part of men, who, while they set all principle, all decency, public and private, at defiance; who, while they, in their conduct towards others, plead an exemption from all rules, whether of religion, law, or of good manners, claim for themselves the guardianship of all these, and, moreover, exact an observance, towards them, of delicacy so refined as to make it impossible that any one should pronounce their names unaccompanied with applause. I know not

how you feel upon this score, Gentlemen, but, to me, these insolent pretensions are infinitely more offensive than are their extortions upon our purse. What, in the name of justice and of reason, is there that should screen these sons of play-actors and of fiddlers from the lash of satire? They, who, as far as the wit of the elder and the witless impedence of the younger have been able to carry them, have spared nobody and nothing, whether high or low! It is hardly possible to name a person, or thing, of any note, that has not, at some time or other, been the object of their contemptuous ribbaldry. And, now, forsooth, when, in their turn, they become the objects of satire, they would fain interpose an all-sheltering delicacy.

Here, Gentlemen, I should conclude; but, there is one part of the scandalous scene, which I must not suffer to go off without observation. We are told, in the *news-papers*, observe, that, about eleven o'clock, Lord Barrymore and his companions arrived; whereupon the elder Sheridan arose and addressed the company a second time, observing amongst other things, that, if the juvenile nobility of France had been like his noble friends who had just entered the room, the revolution in that country would never have taken place; which opinion he and Mr. Whitbread took occasion to express two or three times during the election. Whether this proceeded from a consciousness of the similarity, and from a wish to prevent the drawing of a comparison, between the French nobility and these the most prominent supporters of Mr. Sheridan, I shall not pretend to say; but, I defy Messrs Whitbread and Sheridan to shew, that, at any time, the nobility of France were engaged in scenes of profligacy so degrading as that which has been the subject of these remarks. That, as far as it has tended to chastise the profligacy and insolence of the nobility, the French revolution is to be regarded as a good, you and I may readily allow; but, considering the connections of Mr. Sheridan, it must, I think, be agreed, that the doctrine, as coming from him, would seem to argue, that he has as little of discretion as of principle.

Merely to have added a little to the exposure of Mr. Sheridan and his partizans would be of little use. The main purpose of these remarks is to strengthen and confirm you in those sentiments and principles, which were conspicuous amongst you at the recent election. The times are at hand, when, notwithstanding the flowery prospects that are held out to us, it will require the utmost exertions of *real* patriotism to preserve us from becoming the slaves of France; and, aware that the opinions of others may have more weight than my own, I will leave you to gather what a real patriot is, by describing, to you what he is not, in the maxims of one of the wisest and best men this country ever produced, Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne.—"It is impossible an epicure should be a patriot. "It is impossible, that a man who cheats at "cards, or cogs the dice should be a patriot. "It is impossible, that a man, who is false "to his friends and neighbours should be "true to the public. Every knave is a "thorough knave; and a thorough knave "is a knave throughout. A sot, a beast, "benumbed by excess, is good for nothing, "much less to make a patriot of. A fop, "or man of pleasure, makes but a scurvy "patriot. I have no opinion of your "bumper patriots. Gamesters, rakes, bullies, stock-jobbers. Alas! what patriots!" —Such are the men that we are to shun. As often as we confide in them, so often shall we be deceived and betrayed. All their professions and their pledges are made for the purpose of obtaining from us that suffrage which will enable them to obtain the power of robbing us of the means wherewith to gratify their base propensities. In another contest it will behove you to be more than ever upon your guard against seduction of every species. The good sense and public-spirit, which you so fully discovered at the last election, have set our enemies upon the alert. To stifle *your* voice is now their great object; because, they clearly perceive, that, from you, either of freedom or slavery, the whole nation will, finally, take the example. In the hands of the free and independent electors of Westminster is deposited the political destiny of England, and in the firm belief, that you will ever be faithful to your trust,

I remain,
Gentlemen,
Your sincere friend,
And most obedient Servant,
30th Jan. 1807. WM. COBBETT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.—(continued from p. 177).—I. *Finance Plan.* II. *Lord Wellesley.* III. *Davison.*—I. The Finance Plan, opened to the House of Commons, on Thursday, the 29th day of last month, and of which plan an out-line, as published by the ministers, will be found in a subsequent page of this sheet, has given universal satisfaction to the country. To give an opi-

nion of such a plan, accompanied with reasons in detail, would, with the scanty materials as yet before me, be presumptious in the highest degree; but, as in the case of a risque from instant death, we do not stop to inquire how long the patient shall live; so, in this case, there requires no reflection previous to the bestowing of our praise upon a plan, which, whatever it may finally produce, delivers us, at once, from the apprehensions of those additional burthens, which *must* have speedily caused a destruction of the government. If I, for my part, have, with more earnestness than most other men, insisted on the evils attendant upon the system of taxation; if I have, even to the wearying of my readers, repeated the assertion, that it *must stop*, or that a general disinclination to resist the enemy would be the unavoidable consequence; if I have, in spite of being denominated a jacobin and a leveller, in spite of abuse from the hirelings of the press, from the bar, and, by something broader than insinuation, from the Parliament itself, positively asserted, that the war might be carried on without new taxes; if I have, in this way, been distinguished above most other men, I may, surely, be expected to take my full share of the general satisfaction at a plan, in which the ministers solemnly, and in terms the most unequivocal, pledge themselves to us, *that there shall be no new taxes for three years next ensuing*; that we shall enjoy three years, three whole years, without any further undermining of our liberties by taking our property from us; three blessed years, without beholding the hideous face of a new-created, gaunt and hungry tax-gatherer.——Upon the *reasoning* of the plan; upon the *opinions* expressed here and there, in the description of it; upon its *efficacy* as to what is called the "redeeming" of the debt; I shall, at present, say nothing; but, I beg leave to be understood as expressing my approbation of no part of it, except that which provides for the absolute prevention of new taxes for three years to come; which is, indeed, the only interesting part of the measure; and, for this part, I thank the ministers, individually and collectively, from the bottom of my heart.——I was morally certain, that new taxes sufficient to pay the interest of this year's loan, *could* not have been raised. All the sources were completely exhausted. What was laid on in one way had, for three years past, been falling off in another way; and, if the nominal amount was increased, the value of money diminished in nearly the same proportion; there being no positive addition except in vexation and slavery. The insolence of office, on the one side, and the hatred on the other side, cannot now be increased; and, they will naturally diminish; because, by this measure, the government has convinced the nation, that they regard taxation as an evil.——It will make the ministry popular; and so it ought. It will confirm their hold against the intrigues of the secret cabinet; and, what is really to be regarded as a great blessing, it will extinguish, not merely by snuffing out, but, as it were in a horse-pond, the little court-fed faction of the Roses and the Cannings and the Castlereaghs and the Percevals, whom the Morning Chronicle, I hope, will no longer call "an Opposition."——To this plan, there wants nothing added but a rigorous squeezing of peculators, a reduction of places and pensions, an impartial taxing, without any exception, the property in the funds, and an abolition of pluralities in the church, to make me say, "now, Napoleon, "England sets thee at defiance." Only let the ministers proceed in the good work they have begun, and they will stand in need of no mercenaries, political or military; and all the Swiss and Hanoverians and others that we have to maintain, at such an enormous expense, they may safely send away.——As to the persons, who have, immediately or remotely assisted in the forming of this excellent plan, or in causing its adoption, numerous conjectures and some reports are afloat; but, I have not perceived, that either Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Paull, or myself, has been even guessed at as having had a hand in the meritorious work; yet, I am more than half persuaded to believe, that, if there had been no election at Westminster, and if Sir Francis had made no speeches, and I had written no Registers, it would not, at least so soon, have been discovered, that new taxes were no longer necessary. Nor will I be so unjust as to withhold from Mr. Sheridan his probable share of the merit; for, assuredly, his declaration, that he was ready to assist in taking from us "even the neces-"saries of life," for the purpose of carrying on the war, was, together with the effects which the keeping of it constantly before the public naturally produced, extremely well calculated to make the ministers look about them. To be sure, the minister's plan discovers Mr. Sheridan's knowledge in matters of political œconomy in rather a disadvantageous light; but, the qualities of the heart are always to be considered before those of the head; and, if the "Right Honourable" Gentleman has not been called upon to give his vote for taking from us "the necessaries of life," there are very

few of us, I imagine, that will not readily accept the will for the deed.——When, however, good has been effected, it would be foolish to quarrel about the agents. It is little matter who forced the subject upon the attention of the ministers; or whom they employed in the calculations. In their hands alone was the power of adoption or rejection; and, to them alone, with all my heart, let the merit belong. For my part, I again declare, with perfect sincerity, that, individually and collectively, I thank them from the bottom of my heart; and, I must be permitted to say, that if I am not, in this feeling, joined by my countrymen in general, they are the most unreasonable, capricious, and ungrateful beings upon the face of the earth. ——II. Lord Wellesley's conduct in the Carnatic is to become, at last, a subject of parliamentary inquiry. Sir Thomas Turton, who, I was afraid, had enlisted himself under the Cannings, has given notice of a motion for papers. These papers, the public will recollect, were before printed upon the motion of Mr. Sheridan, who, as it will also be recollected, abandoned the cause in the manner detailed in my preceding sheet. The papers cost *thirteen hundred pounds* in the printing; and the expense is now to be incurred again, because it is a new parliament, the first expence being one of the many sums, which Mr. Sheridan's *patriotism* has cost those who were weak enough to be the dupes of it.——That Sir Thomas Turton will steadily pursue the inquiry, I anxiously hope; for this is one of the foreign transactions, in which our character and our interest are deeply involved. If he does steadily pursue it, he will have the support, or good wishes, of all honest men; and, if he should, contrary to our hopes and expectations, drop it without quite sufficient cause assigned, he must expect to meet with their reproach.——III. Lord Archibald Hamilton gave notice, some days ago, of a motion upon the subject of *Davison;* but, he has been induced not to make the motion by an intimation from the ministers, that measures were to be taken *immediately* to make that contractor disgorge; and, if a statement in the ministerial papers be true, such measures are actually taking. We shall see what is done; but, unless the money be demanded and obtained *immediately*, I hope some member of parliament will be found to make a motion upon the subject. Certainly much has been gained within these three years. Who, in the days of the squandering and stifling Pitt, would have imagined, that such inquiries as these would ever become fashionable! Those days, when every man who dared to utter a breath against corruption and public-robbery, when every man who dared to let his groans be heard, was called a jacobin, and was marked out for vengeance, through the means of secret imprisonment; those days of tyranny and of terror are gone, never, I trust, to return; but, it behoves us never, for one moment, to relax in our endeavours, to crush for ever the minions of that remorseless persecutor. As to his *monument*, I will warrant that, except the expense, that will do us no harm; and, besides, the stones are certainly worth something.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——What can I say upon this subject? In my next, I intend to put *upon record* the lies of a week, published in the London daily news papers, to describe the folly and baseness of the proprietors or editors of which is a task that I will not undertake, because it would be impossible, even if I could borrow the eloquence of Dryden or of Otway, that any description should not fall far short of the reality. There is, however, one thing, which I can do, and which I never yet have done; and that is, to expose, in detail, the venality of this press. To show how the proprietors sell their paragraphs of praise, and what sums they receive for hush-money. Not a word has any one of them yet said about *Davison*, though, as the indignant public will recollect, many of them published whole sides against Lord Melville, pending the proceedings against him.—— What assurance; what impenetrable impudence must they be furnished with to enable them to look the public in the face, after all the falshoods and fooleries of the last fifteen days! This at once stupid and prostituted press (the *names* of the *proprietors* of which shall be published one of these days); this it is, that is the great cause of public error, and of peculation too. No matter how villainous a man's deeds, if he can find money to pay of is press. It is an honour beyond almost any other to be an object of the combined hatred of its proprietors, as I flatter myself I am.——As to the affairs in Poland, they stand just as described in the French bulletins; and, as to what is likely to happen, I retain my opinion, as given in my last sheet, page 177.

" LEARNED LANGUAGES."——Two letters upon this subject will be found below. I have numbered them for convenience of reference, No. 3 contains not one argument that I myself could not demolish in three minutes; but, until some " learned " man has answered No. 4, it will be useless,

I imagine, for the cap-and-gown men to go any further. I have two more letters for next week, upon the subject.

FINANCE PLAN,

As described in an official paper, published by the ministers.

The new plan of finance has, for its object, to provide the means of maintaining the honour and independence of the British empire, during the necessary continuance of the war; without perceptibly increasing the burthens of the country, and with manifest benefit to the interests of the public creditor.—The proposed measure is grounded on the flourishing state of the permanent revenue; on the great produce of the war taxes; on the high and accumulating amount of the sinking fund; and on some inferior aids to be derived from revenues set free by annuities originally granted for a term of years, and now expiring. These circumstances, so favourable to the introduction and maintenance of a new system, are justly to be attributed to the wise, provident, and spirited exertions, which have had the concurrent support of parliament and of the people, during the whole eventful period of the last twenty years.—The plan is adapted to meet a scale of expenditure nearly equal to that of the year 1806; and it assumes, that during the war, the annual produce of the permanent and temporary revenues will continue equal to the produce of the same year 1806. It is understood, that any further or unforeseen charge, or any deficiency of revenue, shall be separately and specially provided for.—Keeping these premises in view, it is proposed, that the war loans for the years 1807, 1808, and 1809, shall be twelve millions annually; for the year 1810, fourteen millions; and for each of the ten following years, sixteen millions.—Those several loans, amounting for the fourteen years to 210 millions, are to be made a charge on the war taxes, which are estimated to produce 21 millions annually.—The charge thus thrown on the war taxes is meant to be at the rent of 10 per cent. on each loan. Every such loan will therefore pledge so much of the war taxes as will be equal to meet this charge; —that is, a loan of 12 millions will pledge £1,200,000 of the war taxes. And in each year, if the war should be continued, a further portion of the war taxes will, in the same manner, be pledged. And consequently, at the end of fourteen years, if the war should last so long, 21 millions, the whole produce of the war taxes, would be pledged for the total of the loans, which would at that time, have amounted to 210 millions.—The ten per cent. charge thus accompanying each loan, will be applied to pay the interest of the loan, and to form a sinking fund, which sinking fund will evidently be more than five per cent. on such of the several loans as shall be obtained at a less rate of interest than five per cent.—It is well known, that a five per cent. sinking fund, accumulating at compound interest, will redeem any sum of capital debt in fourteen years. Consequently, the several portions of the war taxes, proposed to be pledged for the several loans above-mentioned, will have redeemed their respective loans, and be successively liberated in periods of fourteen years from the date of each such loan. The portions of war taxes thus liberated, may, if the war should still be prolonged, become applicable in a revolving series, and may be again pledged for new loans.—It is, however, shewn by the printed calculations and tables, that, whatever may be the continuance of the operation of the property tax, will not be payable beyond the period for which it is now granted by the 46 Geo. 3. ch. 65, but will, in every case, be in force only during the war, and until the sixth day of April next after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, and no longer.—It is next to be observed, that the charge for the interest and sinking fund of the proposed loans, being taken from the annual produce of the war taxes, a deficiency equal to that charge will be created in the amount of the temporary revenue applicable to the war expenditure.—Supplementary loans will be requisite to make good that deficiency.—Those supplementary loans must increase in proportion to the increasing deficiency, if the war should be continued, but will never amount, even in a period of twenty years war from the present time, to more than five millions in any year, beyond the amount to which the sinking fund of that year will have been raised by this plan.—It is proposed that the supplementary loans shall be formed on the established system of a sinking fund of one per cent. on the nominal capital.—The charge so created will be provided for, during the first three years, by the expiring annuities; and during that period the country will have the great benefit of an exemption from all additional burthens. A new spring may thus be given to the energy of our commerce: at all events it will obtain a security from the increased pressures which it must otherwise experience.—From 1810, and for the six following years, a charge must be provided for, amounting on the average of those seven

years to not more than £293,000 annually: a sum in itself so small, in comparison with the great additions which have necessarily been made to the taxes in each year, for the last fourteen years, that it can scarcely be felt, and cannot create any difficulty as to the means of providing for it:—But even this comparatively small amount may probably be much diminished by the increasing produce of the actual revenues, and by regulations for their further improvement.—And thus provision is made, on the scale of actual expenditure, for ten years of war, if it should be necessary, without any additional taxes, except to the inconsiderable amount above stated. At the close of that period, taking the three per cents. at 60, and reducing the whole of the public debts at that rate to a money capital, the combined amount of the public debts will be £387,360,000, and the combined amount of the several sinking funds then existing will be £22,720,000; whereas the present amount of the whole public debt taken on the same scale of calculation is £352,793,000, and the present amount of the sinking fund is no more than £8,335.000.—If the war should still be continued beyond the ten years thus provided for, it is proposed to take in aid of the public burthens certain excesses to accrue from the present sinking fund. That fund, which Mr. Pitt (the great author of a system that will immortalize his name) originally proposed to limit to four millions annually, will, with the very large additions derived to it from this new plan, have accumulated in 1817 to so large an amount as 24 millions sterling. In the application of such a sum, neither the true principles of Mr. Pitt's system, nor any just view of the real interests of the public, or even of the stockholder himself, can be considered as any longer opposing an obstacle to the means of obtaining at such a moment some aid in alleviation of the burthens and necessities of the country. But it is not proposed in any case to apply to the charge of new loans a larger portion of the sinking fund than such as will always leave an amount of sinking fund equal to the interest payable on such part of the present debt as shall remain unredeemed. Nor is it meant that this or any other operation of finance shall ever prevent the redemption of a sum equal to the present debt in as short a period as that in which it would have been redeemed, if this new plan had not been brought forwards. Nor will the final redemption of any supplementary loans be postponed beyond the period of 45 years prescribed by the act of 1792 for the extinction of all future loans. While each of the annual war loans will be successively redeemed in 14 years from the date of its creation, so long as war shall continue; and whenever peace shall come, will be redeemed always within a period far short of the 45 years required by the above-mentioned Act.—In the result therefore of the whole measure, there will not be imposed any new taxes for the first three years from this time. New taxes of less than £300,000, on an average of seven years from 1810 to 1816, both inclusive, are all that will be necessary, in order to procure for the country the full benefit and advantages of the plan here described; which will continue for twenty years; during the last ten of which again no new taxes whatever will be required.—It appears, therefore, that Parliament will be enabled to provide for the prolonged expenditure of a necessary war, without violating any right or interest whatever, and without imposing further burthens on the country, except to a small and limited amount: and these purposes will be attained with benefit to the public creditor, and in strict conformity both to the wise principles on which the Sinking Fund was established, and to the several Acts of Parliament by which it has been regulated.—It is admitted that if the war should be prolonged, certain portions of the war taxes, with the exception of the Property tax, will be more or less pledged for periods, in no case exceeding fourteen years. How far some parts of those taxes are of a description to remain in force after the war; and what may be the provision to be made hereafter for a peace establishment, probably much larger than in former periods of peace; are considerations which at present need not be anticipated.—It is reasonable to assume, that the means and resources which can now maintain the prolonged expenditure of an extensive war, will be invigorated and increased by the return of peace, and will then be found amply sufficient for the exigencies of the public service. Those exigencies must at all events be comparatively small, whatever may still be the troubled and precarious circumstances of Europe.—Undoubtedly there prevails in the country a disposition to make any farther sacrifices that the safety, independence, and honour of the nation may require; but it would be an abuse of that disposition, to apply it to unnecessary and overstrained exertions. And it must not pass unobserved, that in the supposition of a continued war, if the loans for the annual expenditure should be raised according to the system hitherto pursued, permanent taxes must be imposed, amounting in the period assumed, to 13 millions additional

revenue. Such an addition would add heavily to the public burthens, and would be more felt after the return of peace than a temporary continuance of the war taxes. In the mean time, and amidst the other evils of war, the country would be subjected to the accumulated pressure of all the old revenues, and of the war taxes, and of new permanent taxes.—The means of effectuating a plan of such immense importance, arise partly from the extent to which the system of the Sinking Fund has already been carried in pursuance of the intentions of its author; and partly from the great exertions made by Parliament, during the war, to raise the war taxes to their present very large amount. It now appears that the strong measure adopted in the last session, by which all the war taxes, and particularly the Property tax, were so much augmented, was a step taken not merely with a view to provide for present necessities, but in order to lay the foundation of a system which should be adequate to the full exigencies of this unexpected crisis, and should combine the two apparently irreconciliable objects, of relieving the Public from all future pressure of taxation, and of exhibiting to the enemy resources by which we may defy his implacable hostility to whatever period it may be prolonged.—To have done this is certainly a recompence for many sacrifices and privations. This is a consideration which will enable the country to submit with chearfulness to its present burthens, knowing that although they may be continued in part, for a limited time, they will be now no further increased.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 3.

N. B. *The letters from different persons, upon this subject, will be* NUMBERED *for the sake of easy reference. The letter, in page* 118, *is considered as No.* 1, *and that, in p.* 119, *as No.* 2.

SIR,——I am sorry to see, in your Register of the 10th inst. that you are disposed to turn your attention from political subjects, in which you are no doubt qualified to instruct and amuse your readers, to others of a literary nature, in which you are not so competent to do either. The use of the words "*uti possidetis*" in the late debate on the negociation for peace, have to be sure thrown you into a most hideous rage; (though you, I think, on your own principles have least occasion to quarrel with them, inasmuch, as you allow they may be easily enough understood by the stupidest wretch upon earth), and from this you are led into a bitter phillippic against classical erudition in general, with which, by the way, the words have nothing to do, they being as you tell us a "relick of the mummery of monkery," which "mummery" it was the effect of classical erudition to abolish. Nor will any "pedagogue or pedant" be easily inclined to compare you to the fox in the fable, inasmuch as *he* was conscious of the loss he had sustained, but *your* want of learning, though obvious enough to others, is not equally so to yourself: an overweening confidence in what you do possess, has blinded you to the value of attainments, which you do not: and, indeed, from the subject and manner of your late challenge to the two Universities, I am almost induced to join in an opinion which I heard suggested a short time ago, that the warmth of your feelings, and the insolence of success, were operating a gradual derangement of your intellects.—The two Universities may probably never hear of your appeal to them, and it is still less likely that they should attend to it; but, I think it not difficult for one, who knows but little of either of them, to disprove as much of your assertion respecting the inutility of the Greek and Latin languages, in a general plan of education, as has any thing of sense or meaning in it: I say, "as much as has any thing of sense or meaning in it;" for, as to your objection to their being called "learned," that can only be a cavil about words; they are not called so exclusively, they are as often termed "the dead, or the ancient languages," and more usually described as I have done them above, by appellations taken from the country where they were spoken; and when you have shewn the world a more proper term than any or all of these, the world may, if it please adopt your improvement; but, it will be without any the slightest alteration in the intrinsic value of the learning and knowledge, their respective authors possess.—— "Learning," you say, "consists in the possession of knowledge, and in the capacity of communicating that knowledge to others:" And did the Greek and Roman writers "possess the knowledge, or were they without the faculty of communicating it to others," in apposite perspicuous and elegant language? If neither of these suppositions be true, the inference which you draw, viz. that the "learned languages operate as a bar to real learning," has no relation whatever to your premises, that "learning consists in the possession of knowledge, and in the faculty of communicating it."—But, if you really presume to say, that the ancients have written nothing, which it is not waste of

time for us to know, I shall not upbraid you with the trite adage, "that no one ever despised learning, but those who had it not;" because, I still think you do not deserve such a reproof; but, I will venture to say, that no man who ever wrote on any subject so much as you have done on that of politics, has been known to entertain a similar opinion; and, further, that you will find some difficulty in persuading mankind to sacrifice their faith in all authors, both ancient and modern, both foreign and domestic, at the shrine of your assurance. The most instructive of the Roman poets has enjoined his countrymen to take Greek patterns of fine writing into their hands, and to study them by night and by day;

Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ. Hor.

And, there can be no doubt, but that the same advice is at present applicable both to Greeks and Romans. What was it that drew Europe from the sink of barbarism in which it had been plunged for so many ages, but the discovery of ancient manuscripts; the dispersion, and study of them? Every author who has treated of this subject, either professedly or incidentally, has ascribed the present improved state of society to this primary cause. I am aware that the authority of great names does not weigh much with one, who is but little acquainted with the merits of their possessors; and quotations are superfluous, where they would be endless. I shall just, however, mention to you, that you will have to contend with Hume, Gibbon, Robertson, Mosheim, Voltaire, Burnett, and the living author Roscoe. Neither do I mean to say, that a child of the 19th century will not grow up somewhat more enlightened, without the study of ancient literature, than one of the 14th; it will no doubt partake of the general diffusion of knowledge around it. But it comes into the world with no new faculties; it has no new senses. What has enlarged its mind, and increased its stock of ideas five hundred years ago, will do the same now. A man of eminence in literature, cannot at his decease place his posterity upon the summit to which he has climbed: if he could, it would be unnecessary to tread the same ground over again, his children might go on ascending from the point where their father left them. But, no; every individual must tread the steep for himself; some may mount faster indeed, and some slower, but each must mount for himself. Aristotle told Alexander, there was no *royal* way of acquiring knowledge; and, I doubt much whether you can shew us any *vulgar* one. A ready child will find no material obstruction to his acquisition of knowledge, in the merely learning any language in which knowledge may be contained. A slow one will attain to great learning in no way. Those in the intermediate stages will acquire each his proportionate degree of improvement; but, be assured that none can hope to slip out of the tried and beaten path, and arrive first at the goal.—So much as to the general plan of education; and now as to the effects resulting from it. "As far as my observation will enable me to speak, what are called the learned languages operate as a bar to real learning." No sentence was, I believe, ever more preposterously dogmatical, more gravely ridiculous: nor, will I believe, for the honour of your understanding, that you ever made any observation on the subject till the moment you were writing the words. For, in reality, this notable sentence, this Pythagorean aphorism, this "ipse dixit." —Nay, don't start at the expression; there is the same reason for your being in amity with it, which you gave for quarrelling with other two harmless Latin words; "they may be understood by the stupidest wretch on earth, they may be taught a bullfinch, a tom-tit, &c." After all, I say, your only meaning can be, that the easiest way to acquire learning is, to neglect a part of it!!!—Indeed, the matter may be easily enough ascertained, whether "the learned languages operate as a bar to real learning," by a reference to history and fact. There have been at all times since the revival of letters, men of classical erudition, and men of no classical erudition; which have done most in the cause of science? Take for example the beginning of last century; the men of classical learning were, Steele, Addison, Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, &c. Their earliest productions were translations from those languages, which you, by way of derision, and I, out of respect, call learned; every page of their more mature writings teems with recommendations of the study, or transfusions of the spirit of ancient authors. These are the men who with the avenues "to real learning" barred, as you suppose, against them, whose time and labour had been employed, as you tell us, in a manner "worse than uselessly;" these are they, who have instructed and entertained mankind for the last century, and will probably continue to do so till the end of the world. Now, what were your friends of the same period doing, who had no such "bar operating in their way to *real* learning?" There might probably be then about seven millions of such in this kingdom; of these seven millions, one million might be able to read and write; an hundred thousand capable of wri-

ting their native language correctly: a twentieth part of these, to acquire "real learning" without the obstruction of the ancient languages; what have these five thousand men done in the cause of literature compared with their five cotemporaries mentioned above? Nay, if there were but five hundred of them, or only fifty in the whole kingdom, what "knowledge did they possess?" How and where "have they communicated it to others?" How has the world benefited by their attainments? Some such men there must have been, except you mean to maintain that there were no men of natural parts and leisure to improve them, but those whom I have mentioned above, and that those were such misled creatures, that they immediately began to clog the talents God had given them by an application to such learning as was "worse than useless." Where then are the works of their rivals, who were free from this clog and obstruction? What are their opinions? Refer me to their writings.——The same observations will apply to every other period, both of British and Europeah history. I shall just as a farther proof select one more, where probably at first sight, the comparison may appear more favourable to your opinions; I mean the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The men of classical erudition in her time were, Sidney, Raleigh, Hooker, "Bacon," &c. Will any man in his senses deny to these illustrious persons, the "possession of knowledge, and the faculty of communicating it to others?" Yet not only all of them were excellently versed in the "learned languages," but the three latter could not have moved one step in their respective walks of science, without the most extensive knowledge of them. Opposed to these, and to many more, whom I could mention, you may perhaps be inclined to place Shakespeare. But, there are many reasons why he can be of no service to your cause; for, in the first instance, your position is, that the "learned languages operate as a bar to real *learning*." Now, of Shakespeare it is allowed on all hands, that whatever he did, was by dint of genius only; Johnson calls it "intuition;" so that where learning is the subject he is quite out of the question. Hume considers him as "a person without any instruction, either from the world or from books" (vol. vi appendix) and Dryden describes him as "too lofty to need being raised by the stilts of learning," or something to that effect. But even were this not the case; and supposing him to have derived great advantages from the study of whatever English authors might exist in his day; yet what such a genius can do forms no general rule for a "general plan of education" or of any thing else: Corelli, I believe it was, could play an air on the violin with all the strings loose, yet few musical professors would recommend the want of pegs and rosin on that account.——In this manner I might go on, and shew that all the knowledge which the world possesses, (except perhaps in some of the mere mechanic arts, and the phœnomena of nature) has sprung from the same source, from men of great talents, cultivated by learning of every kind, but more especially, classical. One advantage derived from the study of ancient literature, is so appropriate to the nature of your employment, that I am tempted to give it you in the words of the enlightened author; "In England the love of freedom, "which unless checked, flourishes extremely in all liberal natures, acquired new "force, and was regulated by more enlarged views, suitably to that cultivated "understanding, which became every day "more common among men of birth and "education. A familiar acquaintance with "the precious remains of antiquity excited "in every generous breast a passion for a "limited constitution, and begat an emulation of those manly virtues, which the "Greek and Roman authors, by such animating examples, as well as pathetic expressions, recommend to us." Hume, vol. vi. ch. 45.)—You have made a reference to Milton in the column following these your remarks on education. Have you never heard of his reading the ancient authors "till his mind was full fraught?" Of his employing his daughters in the same task? Of his warming his imagination from them before he sat down to compose? From you he might have learned that such labours were "useless;" that his time was "worse than misspent in them;" in short, that "learning was not *real* learning," if it was not written in plain English.——It will be some testimony of the esteem in which I hold your talents, if I venture to recommend the application of them; confine your remarks to the Jenkinsons and Roses of the present time, and have nothing to do with the Platos and Xenophons of antiquity: you have shewn that you can express with energy the feelings which are excited in ingenuous breasts by the passing occurrences of the day, and that ought to satisfy you. Thucydides and Tacitus were men of generous natures, they have bequeathed their gathered stores as an eternal inheritance to posterity, while the **** and **** are sucking the blood of the present generation; the former

would enrich the world after their decease, the latter are plundering their country during their lives. Lest I should appear to pay an undue respect to classical literature, an exclusive deference to ancient authors, I shall conclude with Petrarch's recommendation of books in general; it is taken to avoid the pedantry of a "learned language," from the Abbé de Sade's life of that elegant Poet, and great restorer of letters. But the biographer was not aware that Petrarch had himself borrowed the ideas from his English friend Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham. "Ce "sont des gens de *tous les pais,* et de tous "*les siècles* distingués à la guerre, dans la "robe, et dans les lettres; aisés à vivre, "toujours à mes ordres; je les fais venir "quand je veux, et je les renvoye de même: "ils n'ont jamais d'humeur, et repondent à "toutes mes questions."——P. F.——*Jan.* 20, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 4.

"In pride, in reasoning pride, our error lies."

SIR,—As you have avowed the intention of deferring until Lady-Day, the arguments you have to adduce, to prove that the "learned languages" are an useless branch of education; I shall take the opportunity in the interim, of skirmishing a little with your learned competitor from the university of Oxford, if that gentleman will condescend to listen to any thing such a Tyro as myself can have to offer upon the subject. I know, Mr. Cobbett, that mine is an hazardous enterprise, and I should certainly not enter the lists, were I not emboldened with the hope, that as you will be a spectator, you will ensure fair play, and that when I am fallen, you will kindly interpose your invulnerable armour to prevent me from being completely annihilated. However, Sir, to act with all due prudence, I here humbly implore the literati (I believe the university gentlemen so denominate themselves), that when I am vanquished (for fear your timely interference, Mr. Cobbett, should be prevented by any unforeseen occurrence), that they will allow me a short respite, just long enough to see your promised arguments, and then I shall give up my literary ghost with chearfulness and satisfaction. I have one other favour to beg of that *illumined phalanx*, namely, that they will have the goodness not to discipline themselves in the use of those books, they call Greek and Latin Lexicons; as a friend of mine informs me, that if they batter and bruise me with hard uncouth words, as they are a species of cabalistic weapons with which I am entirely unacquainted, I shall stand no chance whatever alone, and that such will be the prejudice against me, that not one learned man will be found, however slender his purse, who can be bribed to assist me: I therefore, here publicly declare, that, as I shall use only such words as are to be met with in the Dictionary of our old friend Dr. Johnson, I expect to be dealt with in a like liberal, civil, and gentlemanly manner. I shall now take my ground, Mr. Cobbett, by enquiring into the meaning, or definition (the university term), of a couple of words or so, which I think it will be very material should be well understood before we grow too warm in this learned combat. First, then, I ask, what is meant by the word LEARNING? Because I observe, it is frequently said, that some men learn vice, some virtue; and I have even heard it said, that some men learn nothing at all: now these are plainly contrary species of learning, differing materially both in quantity and quality. But the learning that will come under our observation will have attached to it, I apprehend, the same sense we mean when speaking of "learned men;" and which I shall define, until I see a better interpretation, to be wisdom; just as if we were to say, a man was wise, instead of learned; and I am fortified in this definition, because I take the word learning to be the *scholar's modest* substitution for wisdom: he would blush to say barefacedly he was a wise man, but he does not hesitate to say he is a learned one; and to have learnt any thing less than wisdom, would be rather, I presume, a subject of censure than of praise; so that I take learning in the *university sense of the word, clearly to mean wisdom.* I shall next beg to consider the word wisdom; and that I shall define, until I hear something more satisfactory, to be in a religious sense, a knowledge of the duty we owe to God, and in a moral one, the duty we owe to ourselves and to society; and any thing having a complexion contrary to this, I submit, with deference, is not entitled to the appellation of wisdom. ——Assuming, therefore, that these definitions are correct, I mean to lay down this position, viz. that the man who has *ten* distinct moral ideas, and has only one word applicable to, and by which he can express the meaning of each idea, is *ten* times as wise, as the man who possesses but one distinct idea, but who has ten words to express it in. I draw, therefore, this inference; that if I, John Bull, ignorant of all outlandish tongues, have, either by converse with my brother John Bulls, or by reading of their productions, or by both methods, ac-

quired any given number of ideas upon any one given science, whether religion, ethics, physics, or any other, that although I should employ myself *twenty* years in the study, and absolutely attain to the knowledge of ten different languages, that I shall not then be one jot wiser upon either of those sciences than I was before, unless I shall have *added* to the number or stock of those ideas with which I was previously familiar; by which I mean to be understood, that wisdom consists in ideas and not in words, which are mere vehicles or mental travelling-chaises, by which the idea or conception of one man is conveyed to the understanding of another: so that the knowledge of various languages is only useful in proportion as it affords us those ideas, *which by the mere knowledge of our own language we could not obtain.* Now, then, Mr. Cobbett, I come to close combat with the late Oxford Collegiate, and I think he must be worsted, unless he can defend himself by producing, which I defy him to do, some one idea that he has acquired from his acquaintance with the LEARNED LANGUAGES, that was not *previously to be found* in some one of the works of John Bull, either original or a translation, printed in our own invaluable, but ill-fated language, to depreciate the sublimity, beauty, and harmony whereof, there has been a conspiracy in this country for many centuries, and will continue to be so, I am afraid, so long as those two receptacles for learned-insanes, called the universities, are suffered to remain. I challenge then, I say, the Oxonian to give us any one such new idea, either the discovery of *himself* or *any of his associates*, within the last twenty years; and, if he cannot satisfactorily answer this challenge, I leave it to the impartial among us to say, to what a straightened condition the university hero is reduced—Should he, however, by any very lucky hit, by any fortuitous circumstance, inform us of one solitary novelty, I shall then leave it to you, Mr. Cobbett, *gravely* to sit in judgment, *if you can*, and putting the *important* discovery in one scale, and the myriad of hours which the myriad of scholars have devoted to the study of the *learned languages* in the other, to tell us, whether the discovery be a compensation or not for the anxiety, loss of health, labour, and time, which these learned persons have experienced in the course of that period; at the same time bearing in mind, the immense BOUNTIES which have been given, from time to time, within these twenty years, for soldiers, sailors, and ship-carpenters, the greater part of which expense might have been saved, had the literati of the two universities followed either of those useful occupations.

Lincoln's Inn, Jan. 21, 1807. W. F. S.

SUGAR TRADE.

(*Continued from page* 185.)

5. The use of Sugar and Molasses should be permitted in our distilleries in Great Britain. A proposition to this effect is now under consideration in the House of Commons, where Mr. Baker is represented to have expressed an apprehension, that the landed interest might be hurt by a cheapness in the price of corn, in consequence of such permission. I have already stated, that such an apprehension is altogether groundless; but, as the tenderest regard is due to the landed interest, and, as I consider the suggestions of the member for Staffordshire to be entitled to considerable respect, I will proceed more at length to establish what I have asserted on this head. I must, however, by the way, observe on the summary proof of the astonishingly rapid depreciation in the exchangeable value of money, afforded by this single instance. During 10 years ending 1780, the average price of the quartern-loaf was 7d. During the next 10 years it was 7½. (see Reg. vol. vi. p. 239, vol. vii. p. 307.) In the beginning of 1807, the same loaf sells for 1s. 1½d.; and at the same time an intelligent member of parliament is fearful, and in the House of Commons expresses his fear, that the landed interest should suffer by the cheapness of corn. Sir, I do not assert that corn is too dear, or that it is likely to be too dear: but, I do assert, and every man of common sense and common fairness will immediately admit the truth of the assertion, that while the price of bread has thus increased, and while, as is most notorious, the price of all other necessaries, and the wages of labour, and the money returns on every other sort of real capital have likewise increased, it is most monstrous that the Englishmen who have possessions in our West Indies should alone be reduced, and reduced not by natural causes, but by the measures of government, to the necessity of selling the produce which they raise, for a less money price even than it yielded five and twenty years ago. But, I am now to shew, that the use of British sugar and molasses in the British distilleries, need not excite any alarm, that British corn would become too cheap. The price of *British corn* depends on the parliamentary regulations respecting the importation of *foreign corn*. It is well known, that in this country we have not for several years past produced enough of corn

for the food of our own people, and of the beasts employed in the tillage of our land, and to furnish meat; and there is very little doubt, that the deficiency is yearly increasing; for, though the quantity of corn raised may be augmented by new inclosures, and an improved system of agriculture, yet there is abundant reason to convince us, that the demand for corn is still more augmented, by reason of our increasing population. Now, in such a state of things it is plain, that if there were no importation of foreign grain, our corn would sell at a *monopoly price*; that is, the highest price which the producer should require, and the consumer should be able to pay: for the latter must buy corn, or he must starve; and without importation there would not be in the market so much as he wants. He would therefore be completely at the mercy of the producer. To prevent this evil, and the famine which would attend it, the importation of corn from abroad is permitted; but, still (in adherence to those benign principles, which are uniformly acted upon in favour of all classes of Englishmen, except those who have property in our West Indian islands) this importation is restricted by *protecting duties*; by means of which the price of corn can never fall below that point, at which it is supposed to yield to the producer sufficient return; for, in case of its depending to that point, prohibiting duties would immediately attach upon the importation of foreign grain, by the operation of which duties, no corn could be brought to our markets but that which had been raised at home: and as the whole quantity of this is known to be insufficient to supply the demand, the price must immediately rise. At present the corn trade is regulated by the statute of the 44th of the King, under which wheat can never be sold for less than 63s. or barley for less than 31s. 6d. the quarter; seeing that, whenever the prices fall below these points, prohibitory duties attach upon importation. From our colonies in North America indeed, corn might be imported without those duties till the price of wheat is below 53s. and that of barley below 26s. the quarter; but, these colonies have in ordinary years quite enough to do to find themselves; and, in the best seasons our supply from them is so extremely frivolous, that it has no effect on the market; and this distinction in their favour is, in truth, utterly unworthy of notice, except in so far as it furnishes a very striking additional proof of the care, with which the most minute interests of all other persons connected however slightly with England are watched over and protracted, while those alone of Englishmen possessing property in our West Indian islands, have of late years been in some cases systematically sacrificed, and in others most grossly neglected. Mr. Baker's alarm presupposes that spirits can be obtained from sugar and molasses at less cost, than from corn; for, otherwise there would be no danger that an ounce of either of the former articles would be substituted in the distilleries in place of the latter. It is also acknowledged, that if our stills did not consume one single bushel of grain, we should yet be obliged to import corn from abroad, to supply a sufficiency of food; and, consequently, that the whole quantity of corn which we distil is purchased from foreigners. Now, why are we to continue thus paying annually to foreign nations a high price for the materials for distillation, when we can obtain for a lower price equally good ingredients, the property of our own subjects, raised on our own land? I can indeed, conceive, that a very timid and jealous landholder might argue this. "I admit that the whole quantity of corn distilled in England is bought from foreigners, and that our own sugar and molasses would give us the same quantity of equally good spirits on better terms; but, notwithstanding this, if we ceased to distil corn, our demand for corn in the foreign markets would be lessened, and the price of foreign corn would also fall; so that, perhaps, foreigners might be able to afford to introduce their corn into this country, even after paying those high duties, which in the present circumstances amount to a prohibition, and if so we must be undersold." To this the answer is short and simple; the present high duties are twenty-four shillings and threepence the quarter on wheat, and twenty-two shillings on barley. Whether any foreign wheat and barley could after payment of such duties be sold in this country for less than 63s. and 31s. 6d respectively, the quarter, I submit must to persons more masters of the subject than I pretend to be. But, let the objection have the utmost force, that can be demanded for it. I have already fully proved, that as long as we do not grow corn enough to supply ourselves with food, government has the power by *protracting duties* to prevent its price from falling to any point above which it may be thought right to keep it.

To be continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 7.] LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

" They divided the nation (of Ireland) into two distinct bodies, without common interest, sympathy, or " connection. One of these bodies was to possess all the franchises, all the property, all the education; " the other was to be composed of the drawers of water, and the cutters of turf for them. Are we to be " astonished, when, by the efforts of so much violence in conquest, and so much policy in regulation, con- " tinued without intermission for near a hundred years, we had reduced them to a mob; that, whenever " they came to act at all, many of them would act exactly like a mob, without temper, without measure, " or foresight? Surely, it might be just now a matter of temperate discussion, whether you ought not to " apply a remedy to the *real cause* of the evil."——BURKE, Vol. VI. p. 364.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.——(*Continued from page* 208.)—I. *Sir Christopher Hawkins.* II. *Neutral Commerce.* III. *Slave Trade.* IV. *Hampshire Petition.*——1. In the House of Commons, on the 4th instant, " Mr. Atkyns Wright, Chairman " of the Penryn Election Committee, re- " ported, that Sir Christopher Hawkins, " was not duly elected, and ought not to " have been returned for the said Borough, " and that Harry Swann, Esq. and John " Trevanion, Esq. ought to have been re- " turned; and that none of the petitions " were frivolous nor vexatious. The De- " puty Clerk of the Crown was ordered to " attend the House to-morrow to amend " the said returns. Mr. Wright made a " special report from the Committee, that " Sir C. Hawkins, by himself and his " agents, was guilty of *bribery* and *corrup- " tion*, and that John Stona the elder, James " Edgcombe, and the *Reverend* Robert Dil- " lon were parties to the said bribery and " corruption." This Sir C. Hawkins has been long famous; and, it is said, that, for many years last past, he has been labouring, in the same way that their lordships of Carrington and Rendlesham laboured to obtain *a peerage*. What a pity, that the labours of so many years should be marred in a moment! I cannot say, that this discovery and the probable consequence of it, with respect to poor Sir Christopher, give me any pleasure. I think it, indeed, calculated to do harm, rather than good, because it may lead weak persons to conclude, that this " bribery and corruption", as they are *coarsely* called, are quite common at elections; that no small part of the " faithful " Commons" procure themselves to be returned by such means; and, it may lead saucy inquirers to ask, how the members for Old Sarum, for St. Mawes, or Newtown, or any other member of some three hundred of the boroughs are returned. So that, in fact, the principal effect of such discoveries is to furnish a handle to Jacobins and Levellers to carp at our invaluable constitution, to call aloud for reform in one way or another, and to compel the loyal subjects of his Majesty to take places and pensions, whereby to be enabled to defend our Gracious Sovereign and our Holy Religion against the attacks of the said Jacobins and Levellers. And, against this fearful evil, what is the good we obtain? Why, the mighty good, is, the seating of Harry Swann, whom the election men emphatically call, *Lawyer* Swann, instead of Sir Christopher Hawkins! I am really sorry to see any election petitions at all; and still more sorry to see them succeed; for, I am certain that such success tends to the keeping up of a most mischievous deception. The whole thing had better go on just as it is going. I do not like to see any interruption to its progress, at least in this petty way. We are all of us getting very fast into a correct opinion upon every matter relating to the organization of the House of Commons. *Events*, past, passing, and coming on, are great teachers, and will not fail to make us all perceive the real source of our burthens and calamities. The day is not far distant, when it will be out of the power of Sir Christopher Hawkins, or any such man, to blind the eyes, or restrain the indignation of the injured and insulted people of England, who will not for ever be held in such terror as not to dare to speak the truth in plain terms.——II. NEUTRAL COMMERCE, as regulated by the last order in council, became the subject of a long debate in the House of Commons, on Wednesday, the 4th instant, in consequence of a motion, made by Mr. Perceval, for the laying of that order officially before the House, with a view, on his part, to shew, that it did not go far enough, and that the forbearance manifested in it towards neutrals, was unwise, and was, indeed, degrading to the country. The motion, after

several long speeches, was *not put to the vote*, and. that, too, while the mover insisted, that no sound argument against its production had been advanced; nor can I, for my part, see any other reason why the latter did not divide the House upon the question, except that he was conscious, that he should be left in a minority so small as to render his party ridiculous amongst those, who have no other way of estimating the merits of a question, than that of counting the noses of the voters.——As to the propriety of issuing such an order of council, that question must be determined upon principles of policy, none of which principles appeared, from the report of the debate, to be at all comprehensible to Mr. Perceval, who seemed to have lost sight of every thing but *revenge*; instant revenge, by all the means in our power; instant injury to the enemy, without the least consideration as to the consequences with regard to ourselves. This was happily enough illustrated by Lord Howick in his comparison of the man and the monkey; but, his lordship, in the conclusion of his speech, had recourse again, if the report speak truth, to one of the old Pitt arguments for silencing his opponents, an argument totally unworthy of any man of an upright mind. This was it.—Ministers have issued the order in council; to find fault with the order in council, or to call for it with a view to censure it, is to find fault with ministers, or at least, to express a doubt of their wisdom or integrity; if you entertain a doubt of this wisdom or integrity, you must entertain a doubt, whether they be fit to fill their present situation; and, therefore, instead of this motion, instead of attacking them thus, by a side wind, you should move, at once, for an address to the king, praying him to turn out the ministers. This argument is a sweeper. It applies to all times and all circumstances. It was the argument with which Pitt a thousand times silenced the voice of his opponents. If there had been a *really* independent member in the House, who would have said, "with all my heart: I will "move such an address; but, my Lord, let "us first agree, that, before we divide, "every placeman and pensioner shall withdraw." If there had been such a man, so to speak, my Lord Howick would not have had much of a triumph.——

III. The bill for ABOLISHING THE SLAVE TRADE passed, in the House of Lords, or, at least, its passing was decided on, on Thursday the 5th instant, by a majority of 136 against 90. So successful is the cause of "humanity" when the ministers choose to take it up!——For my part, I think, that this law will produce great and various mischief, and very little good of any sort. I am convinced, that the Slave Trade, by removing some of the Africans to the islands of America, bettered their condition. That they were better off in America than in Africa; and, of course, that there was no inhumanity in the Trade itself, generally speaking. But, it is now quite useless to give opinions upon the subject; and all that remains for us to do, is, to express our hope, that the principles, upon which this act has been framed, with regard to the Blacks, may not be forgetten, when men are treating of matters relating to the Whites of foreign countries, who are not, at any rate, less worthy of the cares of humanity, on account of the colour of their skin. In the newspaper report of the debate, upon this occasion, Lord Grenville is stated to have said, that, having shewn to a *British House of Peers* that humanity was wounded by the Slave Trade, he was sure he might safely rely upon *their* decision against it; forgetting, probably, that all that he attempted to shew, had been shewn to a British House of Peers twenty years ago, and at many periods subsequent to that time. But, his Lordship is reported further to have said, in the form of a question: "What right do we derive from any "human institution, or any divine ordi"nance, to deprive the nations of Africa, "by force, of the means of *labouring for* "*their own advantage*, and to compel them "to labour for *our profit*?" As no one answered this question, my Lord, I will; and, my answer is this: that the human institution, from which the slave-dealer and planter derive this right, is of exactly the same sort, as that, whence your Lordship derives your right to be, at one and the same time, First Lord of the Treasury and Auditor of the Exchequer; of exactly the same sort, as that, whence your Lordship derives your right to receive the salary of the former as well as of the latter office, while, as to the former, you are even exempted from the labour of putting your name to the Exchequer Bills; and that is, my Lord, *the law*; acts of parliament, of which there are many to sanction the Slave-Trade, and, in consequence of which acts, thousands of British subjects have deposited their fortunes in West-India property. As to any divine ordinance, sanctioning this trade, there is none, that I know of, which can be adduced, except by implication; nor, is it very extraordinary, I presume, that, in the history of the Children of Israel, we should not be able to find any special provision for the govern-

ment of the West-India Islands; but, my Lord, while I acknowledge, that there is no divine ordinance directly and specially sanctioning this traffic; while I admit this fact, I must reject the inference; for, I might, and I would were it not for the dread of being thought "coarse," defy the ingenuity and profundity of your Lordship, to discover, or to deduce, even after the manner of Lord Peter in the Tale of a Tub, an authority, from Holy Writ, for the holding of the two offices above-mentioned.——To the latter part of your Lordship's question I have no answer; for, I am decidedly of opinion, that, whether men are of black or white skin, it is abominably wicked to deprive the many of the means of labouring *for their own advantage*, and to compel them *to labour for the profit of the few*. And, my Lord, such is my way of thinking upon this subject, that the oppression is, in my estimation, precisely the same in point of guilt, whether the oppressed party go by the name of pauper, or that of slave. I attach, my Lord, very little importance to mere words; and to me, it signifies little by what name or title the execrable oppressor be known. Nor, my Lord, am I to be at all amused with the talk of freedom, heard from the mouths of some foreign tyrants, as the devil is said to quote scripture more glibly than a field-preacher; I look at the man and his condition; and, if I find, that he labours solely for the profit of others; that the fruit of his labour is drawn away, whether by a visible or invisible hand; that, from the very nature of the state of things, it is impossible, generally speaking, that he should ever possess any thing worthy of the name of property; that he has nothing upon the face of the earth but his miseries that he can call his own; that his dress is rags; that his food is barely sufficient to preserve life; that he dares not open his lips, lest his words should give pain to the pride of his oppressors; that for him to speak truth is an offence that exposes him to severe bodily punishment; that, in short, he is suffered to exist, even in this state of misery, for the sole purpose of enabling his oppressors to wallow in luxury, to revel in debauchery, to set at defiance all laws, whether human or divine: if I find this to be his state, my Lord, whatever be the place of his abode or the colour of his skin, by whatever name, whether of lash, staff, or bayonet, the instrument be called that keeps him in subjection, and by whatever appellation his oppressors may choose to distinguish themselves, still I call him *a slave*; and still I wish and still I pray for his deliverance from their greedy and merciless grasp.——There is another proposition, too, in which I have the good fortune to concur most heartily with your Lordship, who is reported to have said, that, as men became free, they would feel an interest in the defence of their country; that they would feel grateful towards the government, and loyal towards the king. Nothing can be more consonant to reason, especially if the men, thus becoming free, *are capable of distinguishing between freedom and slavery*; for, as your lordship very wisely inferred, it is preposterous, to the last degree, to suppose, that slaves, answering to the portrait above drawn, should feel any interest at all in the fate of the soil, which they are compelled to cultivate for the sole benefit of others; and, that they should, for the preservation of a state of things, in which they feel such grievous oppressions, voluntarily risk that life, which is all they have to preserve. The oppressors of such a people, no matter by what titles designated, have, though excessively stupid, sometimes, in all other respects, generally been too cunning to suppose, that their slaves would not gladly embrace *any change* that might offer itself, from whatever quarter proceeding, well knowing, that no change could possibly be for the worse. Hence it is, that, as in the case of the old government of France, they have, while they made much talk of the bravery and loyalty of their people, upon whose fidelity and love they affected to place implicit reliance, taken care to have a strong body of foreign troops in the heart of their country. Yet, as in the instance I have referred to, this precaution has, in the end, always proved useless; and has indeed, only served to hasten the downfall of the profligate oppressors. So that, I, upon this point, agree with you most cordially, my Lord, that for a country to have a secure defence against a powerful enemy, the great mass of the people must *feel* that the state of things is worth preserving; and, that, in short, for a people to venture their lives, or to make any voluntary sacrifices at all, in defence of their country, they must be well convinced, that a change of masters would make their state worse than it now is.——

IV. The Hampshire Petition is, at last, before the House of Commons, it having been presented, on the 6th instant by Mr. Ashton Smith. The nature of this petition has been before described. It complains of undue influence having been made use of, by persons in office, in order to procure the return of Messrs. Thistlethwaite and Herbert; and, though the ministers, well backed as they are, appear to have put a bold face

upon the matter, they did seem to be somewhat sore. The petition on the motion of Mr. Smith was to be taken into consideration on the 13th; and the matter will, probably, have been disposed of before this sheet reaches the public eye. It is not difficult to foretell the result, as far as the proceedings of the House will go; but the discussion will do good. It will convey to the people, in the form of parliamentary debates, facts, which, though every well-informed man in Hampshire is acquainted with them, no man in the kingdom would dare to state, in print, as coming from himself. We shall have one more little exposure; and though we have had a great many already, another cannot possibly do any harm, and it may do some good. The circumstance of Mr. Rose's name being amongst those of the petitioners against ministers for using undue influence, has excited some surprise; and, I think, not without reason. Had he, indeed, himself ever been, when he was in Mr. Freemantle's situation, in the habit of being the agent of undue influence, one might have accounted for his now coming forward, upon the philosophy of the maxim, than an old poacher makes the best of game-keepers; but as all the world knows, how scrupulous he was upon all such points; how rigidly he adhered to those pure principles of his great patron, which procured for the said patron the surname of *heaven-born*, one really is at some little loss to guess at the cause of his having been *selected* as a leader in an enterprize of this sort. The fact is, I believe, that he has not been selected; but has stepped forth of his own free will, being thereunto moved by the mortification, which he must have naturally felt, at seeing his principality of Hampshire, where I had, for some eighteen months, the honour to be numbered amongst his subjects, pass for ever from under his paternal sway. —— Whatever may have been the cause of this petition, as far as the motives of the petitioners are concerned, that the petition is a proper one, no impartial person will, I should think, attempt to deny; and, in Hampshire, at least, it is well known, that there are many independent and worthy men amongst the petitioners.——As to the unsuccessful candidates, of Mr. Chute's conduct I shall speak fully, when occasion shall serve, to the freeholders of Hampshire; but, to Sir Henry Mildmay the country is, unquestionably, much indebted. His conduct, from the beginning to the end was frank and honourable; and, it was to him that the county was indebted for *the election itself*.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——It was my intention to have given, in this sheet, extracts from the daily newspapers, shewing the progress of the belligerent lie, with which the senseless metropolis was amused and agitated during the eight days that ended on the 1st of this month; but, though I am still of opinion that it would be useful to put these samples of news-paper veracity and wisdom upon record, I have not the room, without excluding the excellent Letter upon the State of Ireland, to which my motto applies, and which, when it has been read, I am sure all my correspondents, whose productions are kept back, will readily excuse the delay.—— I cannot, however, refrain from stating the substance of this long-lived and hard-dying lie.——When I was a boy, we used, in order to draw off the harriers from the trail of a hare that we had set down as our own private property, get to her [illegible] early in the morning, and drag a red-herring, tied to a string, four or five miles over hedges and ditches, across fields and through coppices, till we got to a point, whence we were pretty sure the hunters would not return to the spot where they had thrown off; and, though I would, by no means, be understood, as comparing the editors and proprietors of the London daily press to animals half so sagacious and so faithful as hounds, I cannot help thinking, that, in the case to which we are referring, they must have been misled, at first, by some political deceiver. It was on Saturday, the 24th of January, that the Morning Chronicle, the leader of the pack, came, all at once, athwart the drag. Scarcely had his well-known voice reached the ears of his wide ranging brethren, when they, knowing him to be, of late, held in high esteem by the huntsman at Whitehall, joined in the jovial cry, while, from Downing-street to St. James's and from St James's to the 'Change, there burst forth one universal hark-forward, and every fool you met shook you by the hand, and laughingly told you, that the French had been defeated by the Russians with the loss of 40,000 men, all their baggage and artillery, with ten generals made prisoners, and Buonaparté mortally wounded. In this way the chace continued until the next day about noon, when the French Bulletins, down to the 48th in number, and in date so low as the 3d of January, three days later than the date of the battles, arrived; and, as they spoke of no battle, after that of the 26th of December, which the newspapers had acknowledged was in favour of the French, the pack seemed rather to slacken in the pursuit, What they wanted in pace, however, they amply made up for in tongue, and having, by Monday

morning, had time to turn their wind, the cry was revived, and, though in tones somewhat less expressive of eagerness, it was, I think, rather louder than before. On Tuesday, however, the scent evidently began to grow cold. Part of the pack gave tongue only here and there upon a favourable spot; and the Morning Chronicle, who had led off in such stile on the first day, began to run mute, and were it not for the fear of being thought *coarse*, I would say, that he seemed to keep up with the pack only from dread of the Whipper-in; and, on Wednesday, though the puppies still kept on with as much glee and noise as ever, he not only ran mute, but turned short about, and in spite of the terrors of the whip, began to hunt heel. But, on Thursday, after a tedious fault, and when only now-and-then a disregarded yelp was to be heard, the whole pack, as if their mouths had been opened by one and the same wire, set up a full and most melodious cry, upon the arrival of sundry letters from various ports in the Baltic, Holland, France, and elsewhere, all perfectly concurring in the important facts, that the French had been defeated, with the loss of 80,000 men, 80 pieces of artillery, and that they were retreating through the Prussian states with the utmost precipitation, greatly dreading the Austrians, who, under the Archduke Charles, were pushing on to cut off their retreat, "thus exhibiting to "insulted Europe the reverses and the speedily approaching fall of the scourge of the "human race;" insomuch, that, on Friday, "Notwithstanding the solemnity of "the day, it being the anniversary of the "death of the *blessed Martyr*" (I quote nearly word for word) "the Change was "as much crouded as if it had not been a "holyday; and people seemed absolutely "beside themselves with joy, the news of "the defeat of the French coming together "with the promulgation of the Finance "Plan appearing to have overpowered the "feelings of a grateful and loyal people." Alas! it was a mere transitory effect of the political red-herring; for, on the Saturday, the scent became as cold as a stone; and, on the Monday, the Morning Chronicle solemnly assured its readers, that the little bulletin, which *it had published itself* under the name of Lord Howick, never had been promulgated by, or received the sanction *of*, his Majesty's Ministers! Some miserable attempts have been made, and are yet making, to ward off the charge of wilful falsehood, or of unparalleled folly, so justly alleged against the daily newspapers; but, the *whole* of their statements upon this subject, without the least exception, are now fully proved to have been false; and, to one or the other of the charges they must plead guilty. And yet it is to this press; to the at once silly and venal wretches that conduct and that own this press, that we are to look for facts and opinions! Is it any wonder, that, under such teachers, the nation is kept in such profound ignorance as to its situation and its interests? If a thousand of the most crafty villains that the world ever beheld, had been shut up for one half of their lives to devise the means of keeping a nation in darkness, at the same time that it should think itself the most enlightened in the world, it is impossible that they should have discovered any thing more effectual for the purpose, than the London daily press, aided by the more solemn hirelings of the Magazines and Reviews.——As to the real situation of the armies, it is not, perhaps, easy to come at an account of it. From every thing that I have seen, however, I am of opinion, that the Russian Emperor does not feel very confident, that a French army will not be seen at St. Petersburgh, during the next summer. His proclamation for a levy of irregular troops; his talk about *defending* the empire; his appeal to the *patriotism* of his people; all seem to argue, that he is greatly afraid the war will reach his own frontier—The Russian account of "*the victory*," as it is called, clearly shews, that the French were victorious on the 20th of December.

"DELICATE INVESTIGATION."——So! all's well again! I have too great an affection for the liberty of person, as well as liberty of the press, to speak of the conduct of any body, as connected with this subject, except the editor of the Morning Post; but, of *his* conduct I will speak; and all the world shall never hush up the subject, as long as I am able to publish this work; for, I will take care to keep it alive by observations made once a quarter, or so; and, upon the anniversary of the day, when Sir John Douglas and his Lady were publicly threatened with death for having given certain evidence, I will repeat in substance, all the Morning Post has published upon the investigation, "the *delicate* investigation!" Not a word do we now hear against Sir John and Lady Douglas. It would seem that we were in a dream, when we heard those dreadful denunciations against the witnesses, who, as we were told, had been *suborned* to give evidence in this case. All is now innocence! and, really, one would suppose, that no investigation at all, of any sort, had ever taken place. All that we now hear, is; "that her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales is to attend the next Drawing Room, by the

express desire of his Majesty." And, *why not* attend it? Why not? Why wait for the express desire of the king? What does the Morning Post mean to insinuate by a notification of this kind? *When*, indeed, the next Drawing Room is to be held, the Morning Post has not thought proper to inform us; and, as a profound philosopher like him knows very well, many things may happen before the next Drawing Room is held.——This much for the present. Next week the subject shall be revived.

Sir Francis Burdett's Dinner.——On the 5th instant, a dinner was given to Sir Francis Burdett at the Crown and Anchor Rooms, to which 1500 people sat down. A dinner, some would say, has nothing to do with politics; but, this dinner has much to do with politics; and, the next time the editors of the bribed press are talking about the insignificance of Sir F. Burdett, I would beg of them to name any other man now in this kingdom, or that has, of late years, lived in this kingdom, who could find 1500 people voluntarily to give half a guinea each for the sake of dining with him. During the last election these hirelings affected to regard him as a simpleton, led, like a child, by others, and having, within himself, no resources, either of talent or of influence. Now, they call him the *Grand Lama*, exhibited, once in a while, for the purpose of keeping his party alive. Never mind: whether called "Lama" or "Goose," if he keep steadily onward, invariably acting upon the principles which he inculcated from the hustings at Brentford, he will see his enemies and the enemies of his country completely under his feet.—His speech, at this dinner, like all his other speeches, was excellent; though, as to the *Finance Plan*, he would seem, from the report of his speech, not to entertain exactly the same sentiments with me. That he is perfectly right as to its ultimate *intended* effect, I agree; but, I think, he is mistaken as to what will be its *real* effect in that respect; and, I am persuaded, that, when he has taken time to reflect, he will find reason to agree with me, that, never, as long as he shall live, will any minister, however bold and however backed, *attempt to impose a new tax*. What the plan will *finally* produce must be a matter of speculation. But, the stop put to taxation is a good without alloy. The tyranny of the taxing system cannot be increased; and the faster its corruptions increase, the sooner will they come to an end.——The perpetuating of the war-taxes is nothing, in my opinion, against the plan; for, as I always said, so I always believed, that *none* of those taxes would ever have been repealed, unless, indeed, we could have supposed it likely for Napoleon to be overthrown. That new taxes were talked of in the king's speech I know; and, I shall, upon a future occasion, mark the inconsistency; that, at the beginning of the war, a promise was made to take off all the war taxes at peace, I know very well; and, I am aware, that the present splendid boast may be merely the forerunner of some enormous grant out of the public money. But, *there are to be no new taxes for three years to come*. We are explicitly told, that new taxes are not necessary. And to this promise and this declaration we will hold the ministers. In a word, the plan will, in my opinion, hasten the great and happy event, which I have been so long praying for; and for this, as well as for the stopping of the progress of taxation, I heartily thank the ministers.——The charges of Sir Francis against the present ministers, of having broken their faith with the people, are all undeniably true; and, if there be any fault in his censure, upon this score, it is that of too much mildness; for, in speaking of their apostacy, it is impossible to be too severe.——The *toast* has been a subject of carping with the hired press; but it is the toast given by the Duke of Norfolk, *now* Lord Lieutenant of the county of Sussex, who is also now again of the king's privy council.——The omission to drink the health of the king was a mere matter of *taste*. The company did not choose to do it; and, they seemed to be guilty of hypocrisy. The king's health is full as good as if it had been drunk at the Crown and Anchor; nor is it any better for being regularly given at every dinner of place-men, pensioners, tax gatherers, and hired writers. It may be given, or not, as the feelings of the parties may dictate; but to make it a rule to give it, whatever may be the sentiments of the company, is the most effectual way of rendering it contemptible.

Ordnance Office.——In my next I propose to publish a letter, which I have received, in answer to a former correspondent, who recommended the abolishing of the Master-Generalship of the Ordnance, and the placing of that department under the Duke of York; but, in the meanwhile, I cannot help just observing, that I confidently hope, I shall be regarded as the very last man in the kingdom to back such a recommendation.

"Learned Languages."——I have received large packets upon this subject. My correspondent, who called himself "a late member of Queen's College, Oxford," and who dated his letter from the Temple, now

tells me, that he is so far satisfied with my explanation; that the difference between us is *now* so small, as to induce him to *decline taking any part in the contest.* But, I beg leave to inform him, that he has again misunderstood me; and that, by the words "*general education*," I do not mean, as he would appear to suppose, "*the education of mankind in general*;" but, the education of *gentlemen* in general, and of persons of the learned professions in general. I must not, if I can help it, suffer this late member of Queen's College to withdraw from the contest; and, therefore, I will restate my propositions, and endeavour so to express myself as to leave no ground for excuse, on the score of misapprehension. 1. *That the Latin and Greek languages are improperly called the* LEARNED *languages.* 2. *That the teaching of those languages to persons who are to become statesmen, legislators, lawyers, physicians, or priests, is worse than useless.* To misunderstood my meaning now would, I think, require a head to have been at least 20 years in stuffing with *words*; and, therefore, if that of the late member of Queen's College does really contain any ideas, let me hope, that this re-statement of my propositions will draw them forth.

SIR JOHN ANSTRUTHER.——In page 177, I stated, upon authority which I thought good, some facts respecting this gentleman; but, from the letter, which will be found below, it appears, that this information was not good, the facts being, almost the whole of them, grossly incorrect, and, some of them totally unfounded, proceeding from nothing better than mere rumour. Here, however, we have an instance of the harmlessness, and even of the benefit of the press, as long as it is perfectly free from corruption. The facts were not true, and many persons will have imbibed, from them, a false opinion of Sir J. Anstruther; but, the same channel being open to the contradiction, all the inconvenience which the statement produces to the misrepresented party, is, the trouble of making that contradiction; and, for this trouble he is amply paid by the opportunity, which the occasion affords him of doing away, in the most effectual manner, even the *rumours* which were afloat against him.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A MR. JOHN BONE, who dates his letters from the "*Office of Tranquillity*," having made a public complaint against me, in the Courier newspaper, for not having inserted a letter of his, sent me for publication, and for not having answered an application from him for the return of the said letter, I beg leave to remind my correspondents, and my readers in general, of the notifications which I gave, long ago, to correspondents, and which were as follow: 1. That I always read, as soon as possible, and with as much attention as I was master of, every communication with which I was favoured. 2. That I never did in my life, and that I never would, charge, or accept of, any thing for the insertion of any communication. 3. That, while I by no means pretended to set myself up as a critic, I must of necessity exercise my judgment, with respect to the time of insertion, and also with respect to the merits and utility of the performance. 4. That every paper transmitted to me for insertion in the Register, must be regarded as my own property from the moment it was received. And, 5. That it was impossible for me to answer the letters of correspondents; and, that no answer would, in future, be given——I expressed my hope, that no arrogance would be ascribed to me in laying down these rules; I shewed, I think clearly, that an observance of them was absolutely necessary; and, that my reasons were generally thought good, may be inferred from the fact, that, since they were given, the only subject of regret with me, as to this department of my work, has been, that I have, for want of room, been so frequently compelled to defer the insertion of valuable productions.——Such being, then, the *conditions*, upon which I received the letter of Mr. John Bone, I may safely leave the public to judge of the justice of his complaint. But, notwithstanding such conditions, I should have answered his private letter, in which he requested his public paper to be returned, had not that letter appeared to me to savour more of a command than of a request.——I have read his paper, and whatever my opinion may be of its merits, the subject it treats of being of vast importance, it shall be inserted; but, as to the *time when*, that must be left for me to judge of. The subject is, the *Poor-Laws*; and, it will, I think, appear to be one, which though of fearful magnitude, can very well admit of delay in the discussion. It is true, that I inserted a letter, on the other side, early in October; but, of late, there has not been room for so long a letter as Mr. Bone's without excluding matter of more immediate interest.

SIR JOHN ANSTRUTHER.

SIR,—In 20 lines of your last Register (page 177), you have, I hope unintentionally, inserted 8 gross errors in *fact*, with regard to the gentleman, who, with a flippant affectation, ill suited to a man of sense and

of talent, which I esteem you to be, you denominate *a Sir J. Anstruther*.—You have stated his salary "as C. Justice of India" to have been "£7,000 a year;" a reference to the charter of the supreme court at Calcutta (I believe the 13th Geo. 3d), will shew you that in this first assertion you were mistaken or misinformed.—You have said, that after a residence of 7 years in Calcutta, he has "upon his retirement a pension of "£3,000 from the Company:" in the first place, his pension is not near so much, and, in the next, though it is paid out of the Indian revenues, he does not derive it from the Company, nor hold it at their pleasure, but under an Act of the legislature, 37 Geo. 3d. The Company can neither grant nor withhold the Judges' pensions.—You have asserted that Sir J. A. has "lately been ap-"pointed *Judge* of the causes that come be-"fore the Privy Council;" he certainly has been sworn a Privy Counsellor, and therefore, *ex vi termini*, may be called a *Judge* of the causes coming before that tribunal; but he has *not* been appointed a *Judge*, any more, or otherwise, than any Privy Counsellor who has been sworn these 20 years; if he had, or could have been so appointed, I think much public benefit would have been derived from his legal knowledge; but more particularly, from his intimate acquaintance with the subjects of colonial litigation; hearing appeals from colonial courts forming no inconsiderable part of the business of the Privy Council.—You also say, that to this "office, a salary of £1,500 a year "is affixed;" now I assure you, and a little enquiry will convince you of the fact, that he does not receive *one shilling* for his attendance or aid at the Privy Council, and that by the 6th of Anne, neither he, nor any other Privy Counsellor sitting as he does in Parliament, could receive any remuneration for such newly created office had it in fact been created. On this subject I have only to notice another mistake, arising out of the last; if he does not receive *any* salary or remuneration, what you have heard, and now assert, about the place being made a *patent* one, and that we shall have to pay his salary for life, must be as unfounded as every other part of the statement.—This profound ignorance of all the facts already noticed, may account for your calling the gentleman to whom they relate, a Sir J. Anstruther, as if he were a *new* and totally unknown man to his country as well as to you. The truth is, that Sir J. A. so long since as the commencement of Hastings's trial, now near 20 years ago, was of sufficient eminence (a fact that seems to be known to you) in the House of Commons, to have been selected as a manager of the prosecution with Messrs. Fox, Burke, &c. &c.; and prior to his going to India as Chief Justice, he held such a rank in his profession here, as to have been on the Bench, and to have been Attorney or Solicitor General to the Prince of Wales, and Counsel to the Board of Control.—In 1798, he arrived in India as Chief Justice, selected and sent out under the 37th Geo. 3d, expressly for the purpose of retrenching the expences of the law generally, and of abolishing such offices under the Court as he might deem unnecessary. How he executed these delicate and difficult tasks, let those who have been in India, and who are best acquainted with the subject, declare; I do not profess to be a judge. The result of his mission is well and generally known; he diminished the expense of the Supreme Court to the India Company above one-third; and the expenses of suitors full one-half; and, after a residence exceeding the time required by the Act 37 Geo. 3d, returning from the exercise of a very laborious duty, in a climate peculiarly hostile to life, his sovereign has granted him that reward, which, under an act of the legislature, he was authorized to bestow; and which, I think it cannot be denied, Sir J. A. has fully and fairly merited.—If he has taken, or intends to take, a zealous part in the defence of Marquis Wellesley, the fact is truly and equally honourable to both. He held the 2d rank in the country which Lord W. governed, and during the whole of his lordship's administration; having had no share in the government, he is in no possible respect implicated in any of its measures. The office which he filled, put it out of Lord Wellesley's power to injure or to serve him; and, while his talents, acquirements, and professional accuteness, rendered him an able, accurate, and discriminating judge of the nature and tendency of every public measure, his principles put him above the influence, and his rank and situation placed him far beyond the power, of any man to tempt or to intimidate.—He is thus, most truly, *a witness omni exceptione major*; and I shall rejoice, (because I highly respect them both) if the fact be so, that he has come forward in support of Lord Wellesley; for if he who had the best opportunities of knowing what Lord W. had to do and did, should approve of his public conduct, it must be honourable to his lordship, that so competent, as well as so unbiassed a judge of that conduct, should be, as you style him, "extremely zealous in his cause."

ASIATICUS.

MR. PERCEVAL.—IRELAND.

SIR,——I observe, by the Political Register of the 27th of December, that a report has been published in the newspapers, which supposes some notice to have been taken, in a place called the House of Commons in England, of the *Affairs of Ireland*, where we have no such place as a House of Commons. I do not know the persons whose names the publisher of the report has thought proper to make use of. One of them he has called Petty, and the other Perceval. In looking into the list of placemen, I find a person of the name of Perceval, who is so circumstanced as to hold an office called *Surveyor of the Meltings and Clerk of the Irons* in the Mint, at a salary of £132. 10s. per annum. This person, I find, in another book, is the brother of a person called Lord Arden, who holds the place of Registrar of the Court of Admiralty, the net receipt of which was by the Committee of Finance taken at an average of £10,340 2s. 5d. per annum; and who also holds the place of Registrar of the Court of Appeal of prizes, worth, in the same way £1024. 2 8. per annum; and also, that of Registrar of the Court of Delegates, worth £9. 18. 2. per annum. The same Lord Arden is also a Lord of the bed-chamber, at £1000 per annum. I find also, in another book, that this Mr Perceval, is brother in law to a Lord Redesdale, who was born somewhere in the North of England (as I conjecture from having once heard him speak) who has a pension of £4000 per annum on the Irish establishment. Making altogether a *family* provision of £16,506. 3. 3. per annum out of the public funds; but for what services, the books into which I have looked are, I confess, negligently silent. I further find, that these personages are the sons or sons in law of a Lord Egmont. Of this Lord Egmont I have not been able to discover any personal memorial, except in one instance. The late Lord Orford in a letter to General Conway * gives an account of the Speakers in the House of Commons in the famous debate on the German treaties. "Lord Egmont," he says "was *doubling, absurd* and "*obscure*." This is the whole history of Lord Egmont. The person who publishes Speeches in the name of Mr. Perceval, is, I suppose, well acquainted with this picture of Lord Egmont; as I find he has in these modern speeches, adhered, with a miniature accuracy, to every line of the *family features* marked in the sketch given by Lord Orford. —The reason of my mentioning these circumstances of the Perceval family is, that the offer made by the speech maker above mentioned, and the words of which have been quoted in the Political Register of the 27th of December, may not be entirely thrown away. The offer is of "an *extraordinary* "*exertion of the law*," and of "*an en-* "*largement of the executive power*." As such measures may not entirely accord with Ireland, my proposal is, that a parliamentary inquiry shall be set on foot, to ascertain upon what merits, or what claim of merits, either personal or hereditary, this family, of whom a *Clerk of the Irons* appears to be the most conspicuous, have possessed themselves of an income of £16,505. 3. 3. per annum, out of the public money. If such an inquiry should be set on foot, I hope no man in or out of parliament will "*withhold his assent*" to any "*extraordinary exertion of the law*" or any "*enlargement of the executive power*" which may be necessary, in the pursuit of so laudable an object.—So much for the Percevals, and now for Ireland. It is certain, that while you have had a contest at Westminster we have had *a dispute* in Ireland. You will be so good as to observe, that what in England would be called an insurrection or rebellion, has been in Ireland ever since the battle of Thomas Street was fought within the hearing of the Earl of Hardwicke, been called *a dispute*: and I think it but a proper attention to national dignity, always to write in the vernacular idiom of my country. Let such transactions however be denominated by what terms they may, insurrection, rebellion or *dispute*, he who attempts to judge of them, should always endeavour to ascertain, whether there be any difference between their *legal* and their *moral* guilt. What facts amount in law to rebellion, and what is the mode of proof, are in general as easily ascertained, as the punishment is in general steadily inflicted. But the moralist, and in the moralist I include the wise politician, has in such an investigation, a question of a much more complex nature to determine; insomuch, that many persons who have been, by history, and the grateful feelings of mankind, immortalized as the virtuous preservers of their country, would without scruple, have been by the laws and the lawyers of their time, involved in the guilt, and condemned to the punishment of treason. So different indeed have been the opinion of lawyers from the rest of mankind on *moral* subjects, that the duty which is directly enjoined by the word, and enforced by the example of God, and the practice of which forms the scourge of the bad, and the glory of the good man in this life—*telling truth*—is by the *lawyers* fre-

* Lord Orford's Works, Vol. v p. 41.

quently numbered in the class of *high crimes*, and with a practical mercy consonant to their theoretical justice, consigned to the operation of the whip and the knife, the pillory and the prison. The interests of humanity therefore in such cases obviously require that some attention should be paid by other persons than Westminster barristers, to the degree of *moral* turpitude by which the unhappy objects of *legal* vengeance may be stained, before the judge and the executioner be called on, to close that account, on which no writ of error can thereafter operate.

It is with a view of forerunning by some such inquiry those "*extraordinary exertions of the law*" which seem to be sought for with a sort of *habitual* avidity by the writer of the speech who has chosen *the Clerk of the Irons* as the chorus of his drama, that I now address you. It has been reported that one Lord Henry Petty thinks "*that nothing should be said on the state of Ireland,*" and that the scenes which have been acted by thousands, and seen or heard of by millions, should be kept a *state secret*. His Lordship no doubt must be some person of profound gravity and extensive experience. With the utmost reverence for such a character, the reported opinion of his Lordship seems to savour rather too much of that of my uncle Toby, when he observed, "it were better to wipe it "up and *say nothing about the matter.*" It must be admitted however, that the sagacious observation of my Uncle Toby, was applied to the foolish and vain display of the *disgusting precocity of an infant*, and not to a tremendous crisis in the affairs of an irritated kingdom. Notwithstanding the weight of an opinion propounded under the sanction of his lordships name, I must consider a conduct directly the reverse of that insisted on by his lordship's gravity, to be a positive duty. From the peculiarity of the expressions published, and from the press where they first appeared, I am the more anxious to inculcate a sense of this duty, because it has been considered by some persons, as if Ireland among many other causes of discontent, had already been made a subject of some "*extraordinary exertions of the law*"—as if those "*extraordinary exertions*" had under colour of general phrases having apparently but prospective objects been made to "yerk out their armed heels" at transactions *passed* before those "*extraordinary exertions of the law*" were thought of or framed—as if such "*extraordinary exertions*" had been devised colourably for general purposes, but actually for partial and personal gratifications;—and as if having been so obtained, their powers had been afterwards applied, as the irritability of mortified vanity, or the vengeance of detected profligacy had suggested. No doubt such insinuations may be ill founded, nay totally false. But it is for that very reason that an open inquiry into the causes of the discontents in Ireland, would be generally of advantage, and particularly consoling to the present government: though I so far agree with the publisher of the speech in the name of Lord Henry Petty, that I would not found such an inquiry upon the liberal policy of a Westminster barrister, nor suffer it to be hammered out by the author of speeches made for a Clerk of the Irons. In truth the author of these last mentioned speeches seems to have formed them for the purpose of inducing the public to believe, that the person whose name he has thought proper to sport with, was a sort of empiric of the cast we have read of in Gil Blas, under the name of Doctor Sangrado; for he has introduced his supposed speaker, as a sort of quack, aspiring to the cure of a diseased kingdom; and conceiving the summit of his art to consist in the operation of perpetual *bleeding* and keeping his patient continually *in hot water*. Perhaps any thing more "*absurd*" can scarcely be conceived, (though there is certainly nothing "*doubling*" or "*obscure*" in it) than this continual recurrence to physical force, to remedy a moral distemper in a whole people. Nor is it difficult to foresee, that if the bayonet shall become the pen of the legislator, the laws will be written in the blood of the subject. For the purpose of putting an end, if possible, to such shallow and unfeeling experiments, by laying a ground for some sober and enlarged *enquiry* on so serious a subject, I send you such accounts as I have been able to collect of the *dispute* subsisting in Ireland and the causes of it.—The *dispute* has broken out principally in the Western Counties, though various symptoms of the same spirit have manifested themselves in some of the Northern and in some of the Southern Counties, and within these few days past in the Eastern County of Kildare at so short a distance as 14 miles from Dublin. In this district large bodies of men have appeared arrayed and in force. They have marched into different districts, and have exacted provisions, money and arms. They have assumed the fantastical name of *Threshers*. Oaths have been administered by them, generally to bind the parties to the refusal of the payment of tithes to any but *resident* clergy; to regulate the dues payable to their own priests; to which sometimes has been added a clause not to obey the Act of Union, and also a sweeping clause to obey the orders

of *Captain Thresher*. Proclamations have been posted up (particularly and lately in the County of Kildare) addressed "*to the steady* "*friends of liberty*". It would be improper for me to state any more of the matter of these proclamations, because they contain invitations of too strong a nature, and assertions with regard to *foreign force* which ought not to appear but through proper authority. As to the act of administering an oath in this way, whatever be the contents, the illegality and immorality of it are obvious. But abstracted from the consideration of administering an oath, there does not seem any thing very dangerous in the desires expressed by the two first clauses. The desire of a Roman Catholic body that the Protestant clergymen should *reside* among them does not seem to arise from any illiberal or any unkind dispositions. The desire to regulate the dues payable to their own priests, as it is a matter of sectarian regulation amongst themselves, does not seem to have in its principle any thing offensive to the public peace. The two subsequent clauses of the oath are of a very different tendency. The clause relating to the Act of Union is the more dangerous because the *disputants* insist that they framed that clause under *authority*. They quote a book entitled "A "Report of the Debates in the House of "Commons of Ireland on the 22d of Ja- "nuary, 1799 on the Union: printed for "James Moore in College-green, Dublin." In p 49 of that work they insist they can shew a law opinion in their favour and of very great *authority*. Whether such an opinion exist or not I cannot determine, never having seen the book. But if such an opinion exist, it seems most strange that it should be arrayed in the garb of *authority*, and is certainly a matter worth inquiring into. With respect to the last clause of the oath, it is also dangerous. The exaction of obedience to then unknown orders, and to an unknown and probably a feigned person, must be productive of mischief amongst an uncultivated superstitious and enthusiastic people. These seem to be the principal objects and actions of the persons calling themselves *Threshers*. That there exists in Ireland some general pre-disposing cause for such disorders cannot be questioned, when it is recollected that similar instances have been repeated with little variation of circumstances, and with short intervals of time, for nearly half a century. No history, even of the perverseness of mankind, presents such a lengthened series of turbulence without assigning some cause external to the natural restlessness of the human mind. But on this general and pre-disposing cause I mean to postpone the enquiry. At present the pressure of circumstances calls for a more immediate attention to the proximate causes which are at this moment in operation. These seem to be—1st The State of the Rents of Lands and the conduct of Landlords.—2d. The State of Tithes, and conduct of the Clergy. As to the first, it must be observed, that the present *dispute* exists in a part of the kingdom which is destitute of trade and manufactures. Land is therefore the *only* source of subsistence. Where the territorial extent is small, and the proprietaryships comparatively large, Land (the *only* source of subsistence) being in the power of a few, becomes necessarily a *monopoly*. When the grasp of monopoly, pressed more close by the need of extravagance is wrought into a *habit* by the continual and almost justifiable efforts to *raise* the rents of lands that they may keep pace with the *depreciation* of money occasioned by an overloaded paper currency and an accumulating torrent of taxes, no room is left for a sense of mercy of justice or even of common policy. All is crushed by the pressure of the moment. Hence the cordial family habit existing between the hereditary landlord, and the permanent tenant; and indeed every other connexion except the tenant being considered as a mere machine of grain; as a mill by which the landlord may *grind* so much money out of so much land, has long since been destroyed. Farms, as if they were hogsheads of tobacco, and the landlord a foreign importer of foreign commodities, in haste to *clear outwards*, with the produce of his *venture*, are set up to *auction*: but not to public auction, where the competitors and the extent of their offers are known. The bidders and their offers are kept secret: and if the most remote adventurer (a character abounding in these times of agricultural speculation) shall bid threepence an acre more than the tenant whose family had rooted had blossomed and had borne good fruit for centuries on the same spot; the latter, with his lamenting train of wife and children, are sent—

"The world is all before them where to choose
"Their place of rest, and Providence their guide."

But the landlord has an expensive journey to attend the meeting of parliament in another country; and his lady must pay the rent of her opera box. Such dealing between landlord and tenant can produce no reciprocal kindness. And if the nature of the untaught human mind be attended to, it will be found that it is destitute of any philosophic conductor by which the passions can keep themselves in equilibrium:—that such minds are filled with some sort of electric

matter, and if the attractive power of affection be once dissipated, each party becomes negatively charged, and the *repulsion* is mutual and complete. The landlord hates the tenant whom he has wronged, and the tenant hates the landlord by whom he has been wronged. The hatred excited against a particular landlord is easily extended to his class. Hence they are all considered as monopolists and oppressors. Other matters have aggravated this sense of injury. 1st. Difference of religion. This source of unhappiness time and intercourse had considerably weakened in its effects, until some part of Mr. Pitt's administration, at one period conceived the plan of rendering the government of Ireland a matter of less practical difficulty than it had been. The *unanimity* of its inhabitants was thought to have given too much weight to their interests. This burthensome weight arising from internal concord might be diminished it was said by the excitation of domestic dissension. The plan was adopted. The success has been dreadful—2d. The Act of Union. At the time of passing this act, many persons, not limiting themselves to the ordinary field of opposition, industriously circulated grave *opinions*, that this act was a nullity in itself, and that the people were not bound to obey it. Some of these men, it is said, have since found employment and authority under it. But their nursery of opinions which they had sowed and cultivated they have not been successful in exturpating. The plants are carefully watered and fenced by other hands. The practical execution of this act has increased the number of *absentees* which was before an evil of great magnitude, and it has aggravated instead of diminished the *national* distinction, before too powerful. It is not in the strength of all the acts of parliament from Henry 2d, to the Act of Union inclusive, to induce the head and heart of an Irish peasant into a belief that an *Englishman* is not a *foreigner*. The memory of former broils is delivered down with an inveterate precision in the traditions of a rude people. The application of the term foreigner to an Englishman is not made by an Irish peasant with the mildest meaning of which the word is capable. And since the Act of Union a member of the parliament of England is universally classed as an Englishman; and meets in the ill-guided mind of the gross inhabitant, the hatred arising from being felt as a domestic oppressor, united to the antipathy of being considered as a foreign usurper. The families of the peasants expelled from their homes by the *mercantile* system of *auction* furnish recruits for two classes of persons; the one disgraceful, the other dangerous to the state. The women and infants add to the beggars that swarm on the lands. The fathers and their adult sons recruit the white boys, defenders and Threshers, who ravage it. The peasantry of Ireland have something of the habits of the ancient Germans described by Tacitus: "*Feminis lugere honestum est; viris meminisse.*"—The second proximate cause which I mentioned was the State of Tithes and the conduct of the Clergy. Originally this cause of discontent was foolishly and wickedly fomented by the landlords themselves. They found that for such lands as were tithe free they got a higher rent than for those which were subject to tithe: and they, with the usual sagacity of short sighted avarice, thought that if tithes could be abolished the entire value would center in their own pockets. They now find themselves involved in the general ruin to which an encouragement of any particular *lawless* opposition always tends. To these general causes some particular circumstances have added a momentary quickness of fermentation. The landing of a French force under General Humbert diminished in that part of the kingdom the number of resident clergy. The parsons ran away as they were in duty bound to do, and most of them have forgotten to return. The tithes have been demised by the absentee incumbents to persons who necessarily wish to make the most of their bargains. For this purpose a *new* method has been devised. The farmer is no longer permitted to agree for or compound for his own tithes. All is performed by the Custom-house system of auction. At each harvest the farmers of a particular district are assembled at the Alehouse. The tithes of each farm are separately set up. Three bidders are required; of whom the farmer of the particular farm the tithes of which are set up must *not* be one. As each man bids, he is supplied with a glass of whiskey. The whiskey operates upon the bidding. If one farmer thinks his own tithes have been raised too high by a neighbours bidding his heated mind concludes it can retaliate by raising in his own bidding the tithes of that neighbour. Thus the *whole* is raised by these simple and heated self destroyers of their own property to an exorbitant value. At the close of the auction, each purchaser is obliged to give a promissory note for the amount of his bargain. When the notes become due (the tithe contractor having generally a son or a brother an attorney) they are forthwith put into suit, by the summary process called in Ireland *civil bill*. The proceedings are rapid, and as many executions are commonly

issued as promissory notes have been given. The farmer in the end pays, by the sale of his goods, the amount of his note to the tithe contractor; the law costs to his son the attorney, and the execution fees to his cousin the under sheriff. Ruin ensues to many. They become beggars and consequently outcasts; for here are no poor laws. It may be perceived that such circumstances must tend to irritate three classes of men; the Clergy; the Gentry, and the Farmers very much against each other. But there are besides now operating, some political causes, which have assisted to blow these smouldering materials into a flame. It has been deemed necessary to fit out military expeditions against foreign settlements. How the possession of Buenos Ayres may enable you to pay the income tax in England, or enable us to pay the road assessments in Ireland, or repel the French if they should come from Brest, I cannot tell; but I suppose the Lord of Howick knows. In order to provide troops for these foreign expeditions, the regiments of the line in Ireland have been drafted, so as to leave many of them little else than skeletons. This has weakened the force of government. It cannot be supposed that persons who may find it their interest to embroil a weakened government by inflaming popular discontent, would overlook so apt a time. To such views alone can the appearance of persons travelling through the country of Ireland and holding private meetings with the rude and retired inhabitants be attributed. These men harangue their auditors, and distribute written papers among them. Their measures, like those of the ancient Germans are always twice canvassed: once when drunk that every man's feelings may be fully opened; and once when sober that every man's judgment may be clearly exercised. Money is said not to be wanting: but it is used with caution and from a very obvious policy an appearance of poverty carefully preserved. Here rests the first part of the information which I have received. I cannot close it however without observing, that in contemplating similar instances which have formerly occurred, it would seem as if the abuses of a profligate minister, and the exertions of a popular agitator, are much more nearly allied than is generally imagined. I am inclined to believe that the ministerial existence of George Grenville and Mr. Pitt was the immediate ancestor of Tom Paine and Arthur O'Connor. The terror at the offspring is no evidence against the reality of the descent. Sin shrunk from death

——— "but he my inbred enemy,
"Forth issued, brandishing his fatal dart,
"Made to destroy; I fled and called out death."

It is I am told the *private* knowledge of these artificial and probably foreign efforts to inflame the people of Ireland, which has induced the printer of the speech in the name of Lord Henry Petty to aim at stopping all discussion of the subject. There are some men whose minds are so formed as to incline them to seek their safety not only by concealing public danger from public knowledge, but even to endeavour at stifling their own consciousness. Opium is said to to give courage—a happy oblivion till the moment of intoxicated desperation. But if the desire to stop inquiry on the one side be coupled with the suggestion on the other of an "*extraordinary exertion of the law*" and an "*enlargement of the executive power*"—that is, in plain English an immediate application of the gallows and the bayonet to the irritated and deluded offenders, one can scarcely conceive a policy, wherein a shallow understanding, and a cruel temper can exist in more intimate combination. Such are the measures of newspaper politicians. It reminds me of the decision of Colonel O'Blunder who ordered the soldiers charged with a mutiny to be shot first, and afterwards held a court martial on the charge. The proceedings of the Colonel was only an "*extraordinary exertion of the law*" and "*an enlargement of the executive power.*" Having heard so much of one party, not much to the advantage of another, and wishing to get a thorough knowledge of facts, I applied to a gentleman of credit who resides in this western part of the kingdom, and who from being much employed by many absentee landlords and members of the English parliament, was likely to be well acquainted with their conduct and affairs. He admitted, that such reports had been circulated, and such efforts had been made as I have already mentioned, and that they certainly had caused a very considerable *dispute*. But at the same time he assured me, that every word of the stories which I had heard respecting the conduct of the landlords was a most villainous calumny and that they were without exception the most benevolent and honourable men that existed. He said that they certainly had adopted a sort of auction in selling their lands, by advertising to receive proposals (sealed up and kept secret) for a rent by the acre: but that they did so, in order to avoid the slightest appearance of partiality, and were entirely actuated by a pure principle of *universal* benevolence: it was true that they did always prefer the

highest bidder; a criterion which they were led to adopt, not from any motive of paltry gain (which was an object infinitely below their *generous* minds) but because it was a criterion of all others the most easy to be ascertained. He said, that if any tenants whose families had lived upon their farms for centuries (before such modes were adopted by their landlords), were turned out, it was entirely their own fault; as they might have taken care that no person should outbid them. He said that the landlords and members of parliament were so careful to avoid being a burden on their tenants that many of them had, and all the rest were striving to get places and pensions, in order that the whole weight of their expences might not fall upon their lands: and in order still further to release their tenants from the burden of the expense, instead of returning to their own estates, and entertaining a train of consuming servants and relations, they now constantly reside during the summer at watering villages in England*, to the great grief of their wives and daughters, who "*doted of all things on a life of pastoral obscurity in their own country.*" He said that even if they were not warranted by law in what they did, yet their peculiar situation ought to extenuate much. They had been sent by the Act of Union into another country, at a great distance, to meet their equals in rank, but much their superiors in wealth. To appear in a strange country, in the same stile as your equal, was an ambition not very likely to be resisted by an Irish gentleman. At this period the immense issue of paper currency had greatly diminished the value of money, and the bank statutes stopping the currency of gold, had aggravated their situation by adding sometimes a charge of 15 or 16 per cent. on their remittances. These circumstances forced them to raise their rents by every means in their power. He said the paper currency was the curse of the country, and that the abhorrence of it had been much increased in the western districts ever since the landing of the French under General Humbert, who (probably, from policy) had taken care to pay, in *dollars*, for every thing he got. After this, he said, it was impossible to convince the country people, particularly at Castle-bar, that a man who paid for his provisions punctually in "*hard silver dollars*" was not a better customer, than he, who in his hurry to get away, forgot to pay at all, or if he did recollect it, paid in Green Grocers sixpenny bank notes. I asked him, if this paper currency was thought to be such a curse to the country, why his friends the members of parliament did not put an end to it? He answered, that as Lord Grenville was minister, and as the paper circulation had been a measure of that "*illustrious statesman and his ever to be lamented friend Mr. Pitt*" it was not likely that they would think it *prudent*, "under *existing circumstances*," to vote in parliament for its abolition. After having thus obtained what I have stated from my friend, the friend of the landlords, I next applied to the parson of the parish, who fortunately had arrived the week before from Bath; in order to make a new lease of his tithes. From him, I learned, that the whole cause of the present disturbance, had originated in the cruelty and avarice of absentee landlords, who, not content with exacting the utmost penny for their lands, were grasping at the tithes themselves, and irritating the whole country to rise against the poor clergy—that he himself got very little from his rectory—so little, that with paying the Income Tax in England, and the price of Exchange on remittances from Ireland, he could not lay by much, though he had *three* livings. He said, he would take an opportunity of explaining this matter to me when he should [illegible] next year which he intended to do and remain *a full fortnight*: but that at present he was under a necessity of setting out immediately for Bath, in order to be present at the monthly meeting of the *Amateur Harmonic Society* where he was to have the *honour of presiding at the piano-forte*.—As I had heard so much from two parties to this question, I own I had a little curiosity to hear something from the third. There was a poor neighbour of mine for whom I had

* The assertion above must be taken with some limitation. Most of them come to Ireland twice a year for about a fortnight to the assizes. In Ireland, there is a sum of about £500,000. per annum distributed at the assizes, under the name of presentments. There are 64 county members. The grand juries vote, raise, and distribute the money. The grand juries are struck by the sheriff—the sheriff is named by the crown, *probably* on the *recommendation* of the member, who may be the *friend* of the minister. The member is a *friend* of the minister. The sheriff is a *friend* of the member. The grand jury are all *friends* of the sheriff. All is a *friendly* proceeding. The *friendly* member attends at the *distribution*. The whole history of this annual sum of £500,000, and its effects shall be detailed at a future opportunity. What a cargo of independence England imported from Ireland by the Union! One sixty-fourth part of £500,000, is above £7,800.

once the good fortune of being able to do some acts of kindness. This man I had reason to suspect was not a little engaged among the *Threshers* in the *dispute;* and I thought his gratitude would induce him to trust me. Accordingly I made my enquiry in the most soothing manner I was able. The poor man went, indeed, in his confidence, beyond my expectations. He appeared so exasperated by his sufferings, that he hardly seemed conscious he was disclosing what the lawyers would certainly call rebellion, though in our idiom ever since the mild government of Lord Hardwicke it has been called only *dispute*. But the tale he told me is not to be written: not on account of the crimes it might have confessed, but on account of the causes he assigned in extenuation. By the narration of miseries which I found these wretches had endured and were likely to endure, my "*individual feelings were so wounded*" that I am certain to repeat them would "*wound the feelings of very great "people*;" and as I understand that *now* by the law of England so to do would be a very great crime, and would probably expose me to be transported to England and laid down within the stroke of a much more powerful *Thresher* than any of those amongst whom I now live, I must guard myself in silence. Whether the provocations, which my poor neighbour assured me had excited the *dispute* were truly assigned or not, it is not for me to determine. But as a *dispute* exists, in which many thousand men in arms have been engaged, I was anxious to know if any step had been taken for its suppression or accommodation. For this purpose, I applied to some gentlemen of consequence who happened at that moment to be in the country. They would not give me any information—they said that as soon as they arrived in London they would ask Sir John Newport. I then thought the exciseman of the district must be the best source of intelligence on the subject; because as he never omits upon any occasion to declare that he is one of the "*friends of government*," it was natural to conclude, that he knew what was going on in so friendly a connexion. Nor was I mistaken. My friend the exciseman assured me that every measure which the most consummate wisdom could suggest to the most unremitting activity had been put in execution: and that the most effectual military as well as the most dignified civil methods had been adopted for suppressing the present daring and extensive *dispute*. As an instance of military care, he assured me, as soon as it appeared, that the dispute had become serious, a proclamation for the purpose of filling up the skeleton regiments had been issued, printed in very large letters, inviting all sober Irishmen to enlist; specifying to them the singular advantages to be attained thereby; and that the more effectually to explain the said singular advantages, the proclamation had been translated into the *Irish* language, printed accordingly, and pasted up on every old wall post and gate within that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland." He said, it had been indeed unlucky for the effect of this proclamation, (as what wisdom has been able to controul *existing circumstances)* that although the Irish language be still *spoken* by some millions of the inhabitants of Ireland, yet in the whole island there were not above ten or a dozen people who could *read* it when written or printed: and that they were speculative and recluse scholars; men of all others the least likely to enlist: and that an additional circumstance of ill luck had occurred, which was, that not having been able to procure types of the Irish characters or letters, (no book having been printed in that language since the reign of Ollim Fodlagh who lived in the year 3014 of the Julian period and in the 17th century before the Christian æra) the *Irish* words in the proclamation had been printed in the *Roman* characters: a circumstance which had very much puzzled the antiquaries who had been led by their love of curiosities, to inspect the posts and old walls on which the proclamation was exhibited. In the effect of this measure therefore some disappointment had occurred. But true wisdom readily supplies expedients. The goods which could not be manufactured at home, might be imported from abroad; and accordingly ten or twelve thousand ready made troops have been since transported from England into this country; which in addition to the *Germans*, &c. already here my friend the exciseman made no doubt would very much conciliate the affections of the Irish. In respect of civil measures, he said, great exertions had been made. To smother the *dispute* effectually or crush it at once, a special commission had been issued for the purpose of hanging these *Threshers* according to the statute in that case made and provided: and not only to give the measure such a degree of ponderousness as would enable it to keep down this yeasty effervescence in the people, had my Lord Chief Justice himself, who was undoubtedly a personage of the greatest weight on the bench, been sent out; but it also appeared (as might be seen in a composition of much brilliancy, the address of the Grand Jury of the County of Mayo) that the councils in Dublin had actually been deprived for some short time of the benefit of

the wisdom and the support of the virtue of the Attorney General who was sent out also to add, his consistency and influence to enforce a due obedience to the law. These circumstances, the exciseman said were of infinite importance, not only in respect of the event of the particular trials, but in respect of views of general policy. They marked strongly the almost *irresistible* effect of the penetrating and searching influence which might be used; by which it was highly probable the peasantry of Ireland would be effectually cured of two troublesome if not dangerous propensities—those of having any confidence in each other, or any reliance on the ministers of their religion. The exciseman said that when the Irish peasantry were thoroughly taught by experience, that they could not have the least reliance upon the bonds of parental, filial, or fraternal affection; that when they were so far cured of their present bigotry, as to despise and hate the ministers of that great branch of the Christian religion in which they had been bred, by being shewn that although confession might obtain for them absolution for the world to come, it would undoubtedly consign them to the hangman in the world that is;—he had, he said, no doubt but with an entire repeal of the habeas corpus act, a due execution of the statutes for martial law, and the assistance of sixty thousand regular troops, Ireland would become a valuable dependence to England, and produce so considerable a revenue, as to be able with the aid of Sir John Newport, in borrowing two or three millions a year, very nearly to pay the troops to keep the peace, the custom-house officers to collect the revenue, and the salaries and pensions of the "friends of government." It was obvious therefore, my friend the exciseman said, that no exertions had been wanting to keep the Irish to the path in which dutiful and obedient subjects ought to tread." Here ended the exciseman: and from his account I am inclined to think that the maker of the speech for Mr. Perceval need not be apprehensive that his system of political reformation is at all despised in this country. If I should venture in my own private opinion to entertain any doubts of the ultimate wisdom of such measures, I am far from attempting to censure those who suggest them, or those who execute them. They *good men!* surely act to the *best of their knowledge.* I confess, however, that I do entertain some doubts as I have said, of the ultimate wisdom and efficacy of such measures. I recollect that Montesquieu speaks contemptuously of that system whether civil or religious "*qui arretoit la main et abandonnoit "le cœur.*" A contemporary and countryman of his, observes—"*Dès que les Empe-"reurs n'eurent plus que des* SOLDATS *pour "confidens, ils n'eurent plus que des* ENNE-"MIS *pour sujets.*" These however suggest but doubts. A private man can view such a subject but in part. A general good may justify a particular wrong. My telescope may want a sufficiency of field to enable me to sweep the whole of the political heavens. That power belongs only to the awful magnitude of official vision. But, I must observe that the tranquillity and wealth of the ministry are not always the tranquillity and wealth of the people. My Lord Buckinghamshire draws up about £11,400 per annum from the public funds of Ireland: my Lord Liverpool 4,000l. per annum: my Lord Wellesley, about 5,000l. per annum: and, my Lord Redesdale, 4,000l. per annum. These great incomes, together with the exhausting list in which they stand, no doubt contribute much to the wealth and tranquillity of those who receive them; as well as to the tranquillity though perhaps not directly to the wealth of those who gave them. But as to the wealth and tranquillity of those who *pay* them, I cannot find that one acre of land in Ireland ever produced one potatoe more from all the services the whole tribe ever performed; nor that one inhabitant in Ireland ever slept in security, one hour longer on account of all the wealth and tranquillity these splendid placemen enjoys. Nor have all their wealth and tranquillity, and I might add even their wisdom too, yet convinced me, that the alternative of the sword of the law, or the law of the sword, involves the whole arcana of good government: nor that the surest foundation on which to build the edifice of public justice, can be a resort to the private treachery of an informer: nor that insinuations propagated of the corruptibility of the priesthood can be the soundest preservation of the morality of the people From the wealth, the wisdom and the tranquillity of such profound sources, I have yet to learn, how laws, practices, and habits, that render effete the cement which should bind the proprietaries to the population of a country, and which not only render that cement effete but reverse its qualities and change it to a repellent force between the component parts of the social order, can contribute to union of a state.——W. A.

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"I contend, that there is enough before the House to induce them to inquire, and, the honorable gentlemen on the other side, unless they felt something against them would come out in that inquiry, would be amongst the first to propose, and the last to shrink from, a committee." —MR. GREY'S Speech in the House of Commons, 13th March, 1792, upon a motion for an inquiry into the conduct of Mr. Rose respecting the Westminster Election.

"To take up the time of the House upon these unfounded inquiries, would only impede the progress of public business, and derogate from the dignity, which belongs to the deliberative character of the House." —MR. PITT'S Speech in the same debate.

CORRECTION.——An error of the press, in my last, page 236, makes me say, that the company, at Sir Francis Burdett's Dinner, "*seemed* to be guilty of hypocrisy." It should have been, as the context will shew, "*scorned* to be guilty of hypocrisy."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT. (Continued from page 231.)—I. *Sinecure Places and Pensions.* II. *Foreigner's Property in the Funds.* III. *Hampshire Petition.*

——I. Respecting SINECURE PLACES AND PENSIONS Mr. Biddulph made a motion on the 10th instant, for the "appointment of a *committee* to inquire "*whether any*, and what *further* saving "may be made by the abolition of useless "and sinecure offices, by the reduction of "exorbitant fees, and by other modes of "retrenchment in the expenditure of the "public money."——When notice of this motion was given, I flattered myself, that, upon the principles whereon Mr. Biddulph acted in the case of the Chairman of Ways and Means, he would have come at once with a motion for the abolition of certain enormous sinecures and pensions, and that he would have included the additions made last year to the pensions to the Royal Family. To appoint a committee to *inquire*, and to inquire, too, *whether* any saving *could* be made, and whether any *further* saving, too; this was, it seems to me, exactly what the people of Whitehall could have wished for. There have been such committees before, and still the amount of the grants has gone on *increasing*. There has never been any diminution of the annual amount of sinecure places and pensions, since the day that Pitt took possession of the government. But, this motion of Mr. Biddulph, instead of at once putting the ministers to the proof, instead of shewing the country what it had to expect from them in the way of economy; instead of doing this by a proposition for abolishing such sinecures and pensions as never were merited by the parties enjoying them; instead of this, the motion was calculated, like the "Learned Languages," to produce an effect *worse than useless*; because, by the appointment of a committee, no reduction at all will be brought about, and because, by such appointment, some persons will be led to believe that a reduction will be brought about, and, moreover, because, by the wording of the motion, a doubt seems to exist in the mind even of the mover, whether any saving at all *can be made* in this way, while he admits, contrary to the fact, that *savings have actually taken place* in consequence of the inquiries of such committees.——Well might the ministers agree to the motion, as they did, with a small modification of it by Lord Henry Petty. But, there are some passages in the speeches, as reported in the newspapers, that I must notice. Lord Henry Petty began by professions of a love of economy, in the usual style of Pitt. He next asserted, upon what authority I know not, that, for the last *twenty years*, great care had been taken by his Majesty's ministers to abolish, as fast as possible, all useless allowances out of the public money. His Lordship did, indeed, quite forget to state, that the increase in this way had been *ten times as great* as the diminution. This trifling omission, however, was nothing in comparison with the argument made use of by this minister, that the sinecures, however great and however conferred, ought not to be abolished, because they were "connected with the *history* of the country and with the several "branches of the *constitution*, from its "origin". Indeed! What, is the Tellership of the Exchequer, the Auditorship of the Exchequer, the Collectorship of the Customs outwards, the Collectorship of the Customs inwards, the Registarship of the Admiralty court, are these so essentially

connected with the history and constitution of the country as to be necessary to the existence of the latter? Really, this way of talking about the constitution, "our in-"valuable constitution," may, I am afraid, give a handle to Jacobins and Levellers, and may lead some weak persons to think, that, when they are, in such pathetic accounts, called upon to shed the last drop of their blood for the preserving of our "happy "constitution," the persons so calling upon them do not leave places and pensions out of their estimation; and, in short, that to fight for the constitution is, in fact, to fight for the honour of paying an enormous sum annually to persons who render no services for it. But, seriously speaking, does Lord Henry Petty really believe, that, if the sinecures of the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Arden (with the reversion to Mr. Perceval), Lord Liverpool, the Duke of Manchester, Lord Hobart, Lord Sidmouth's son, Lord Auckland's son, Lord Grenville, Mr. Thomas Grenville, Lord Hawkesbury, and many, many others; does he really believe, that, if these titled persons, these persons bearing coronets upon their coaches, were to cease to receive immense sums out of the public money, out of the fruit of the people's labour, under the character of clerks and custom-house officers, that the aristocratical part of the constitution would thereby *receive a wound?* Does he, in good earnest, believe, that the aristocracy is rendered *more respectable* by an Earl's being collector of the customs inwards, and by a Duke's being collector of the customs outwards; by one Lord's being a clerk of the pleas and another a clerk in the admiralty court?——His lordship was very careful to express, in the clearest manner, his conviction, that no power upon earth had a right to trench upon, or to touch, the grants already made and enjoyed. This is a doctrine truly comfortable to us. No matter how hard we are pressed. No matter how burdened. There is no relief in this way; while, at the same time, there is nothing to set bounds as to the making of new grants; nothing but the mere mercy of the king and his ministers. And here, as in many other cases, we may observe, that, as to the laws made in *favour* of the liberty and property of the people, they can be, at any time, changed, as the circumstances of the times, or the will of our rulers, may dictate; but, on the other side, our laws, like those of the Medes and Persians, are immutable. The late Mr. Fox, of whom I always wish to think as well as I can; and who was a very great man in many respects, held the same opinion as that now declared by Lord Henry Petty. His argument, used on the 8th of April, 1794, was, that "you "should never suffer yourself to trench up-"on *private property* in any degree. If a "pension or sinecure was unworthily be-"stowed by a minister, he would make "complaint against that minister. But, if "it was bestowed *legally*, it became a part "of the person's property, on whom it was "conferred, and, like all other property, "was sacred. All that he wished, in any "case, to ask about property, was, whether "it was legally granted by a person com-"petent to grant it, and whether it had "been received by a person competent to "receive it. He should, therefore, be for "holding sacred from the operation of the "proposed measure, all sinecures and pen-"sions held for a term of years, or for life." That this reasoning was heartily cheered and adopted by Pitt the reader will have anticipated; but, he will not, I hope, have concluded, that it was, on that account, the more sound.——It was the reasoning of a mere barrister; and that, too, of a barrister of a mind the most superficial. There are many grants of property really private, which grants, though strictly *legal*, are set aside in a court of *equity*; and, indeed, there are very few grants of private property not liable to such controul. But, to insist that it is unjust for acts of parliament to touch private property, is to be bold indeed, when, every day of our lives, we see the houses and lands of private persons taken from them by acts of parliament, and paid for, when paid for at all, agreeably to a scale in the forming of which the proprietor has no act or part. This, I shall be told, is for the general good; and, it is because it would be for the general good, that I would recommend an abolition of unmerited grants of the public money. The profits, however, of sinecures and pensions are not private property. They are paid out of the annual fruit of the people's labour; and, if there be not, out of that source a sufficiency of money to pay the annuities, they cannot be paid; yet, would you, in such a case assert, that there was a violation of private property? The argument of Mr. Fox stops at nothing. It would admit of a minister's granting away in pensions for life, and in reversion too, of the whole of the nation's revenues, and it would, even in such case, only allow you to "*complain* "against such minister;" but, you must not stop the payment of the pensions; no, nor must you cut off the burdensome entail. You may freely pass acts of parliament for pulling down people's houses that the members may have a view of Westminster Abbey

Church, as they ride to and fro to St. Stephen's, paying the owners agreeably to a scale formed by yourselves; but, though the number of paupers be tripled, and though the enemy be at your gates, you must go on fully to discharge the annual demand made upon you by the endless list of pensioners, into whose original claim upon the public you are not suffered to inquire! That such an argument should have been made use of by Mr. Fox does, at first sight, seem surprising; but, alas! *Mr. Fox was both a sinecure placeman and a pensioner from his infancy to the day of his death.* Thus it is, that patriotism is cramped. If Mr. Fox had set the Club-houses at defiance. If he had brought his mind to an humble appearance in life; to be content with what nature and decency require; what mighty things would he have effected, and, at the same time, what serenity of mind, what real pleasure would he have enjoyed! Then might he have disregarded the majority of the minister, and the folly of the populace. Many, many years ago, would he have been called, by the unanimous voice of the nation, to conduct its affairs. But, the love of tumultuous scenes and pleasures led him into expences that rendered him dependent on one or another, 'till, at last, this state of existence became habitual to him; and he finally left the world without having accomplished any one thing serviceable to his country.——In the debate, upon which we are commenting, Mr. Wilberforce made an observation, and, indeed, an assertion, that must not pass unnoticed. He took occasion to introduce the name of his beloved friend, Mr. Pitt, and asserted, that he had abolished several sinecure places. The fact, he said, was not generally known; but he could bear testimony to the truth of it, which was the more necessary, because that great man "did good by stealth, and blushed to find "it fame."—What were the particular sinecure places, which were abolished by the "*great* man," during whose absolute sway over us England gave up the Lillies and the honour of the Flag, and France became mistress of Europe, the member for Yorkshire did not say; nor did he think it necessary to state, that, while this work of abolishing was going on, the amount of the Civil List was annually increasing at such a rate, that, at the end of his administration and his life, the total of that and of the secret service money was twice as much as it was when his administration began. This fact the pious member forgot, doubtless, to state. But, as to the doing good by *stealth*, I think, we have a tolerably good proof of that, in the instance of the "*great* man's" lending to Boyd and Benfield, two members of parliament, at that time composing part of his majority, forty thousand pounds of the public money, without interest, and that, too, without communicating the matter even to his colleagues of the cabinet, and without making, or causing to be made, any record or minute of the transaction. This was, indeed, "doing good by *stealth*;" but, when he "found it fame," though he might, and, undoubtedly was, much mortified at it, I never heard, that he actually "*blushed*;" nor do I believe, that any man living ever saw him blush upon any occasion; and, what is more, Mr. Wilberforce, I am strongly inclined to think, that blushing is not very common amongst those who were his supporters while living, and who are his eulogists now that he is dead. During his terrible reign there was more of the public wealth squandered away, than ever was squandered away in England from the accession of the Stuarts to the year 1784. During the very last year of his destructive power, he laid on pensions which added nearly a million to the public debt. No 200 years of our history afford instances of so much of profligate expenditure as are afforded by his 20 years administration; and, all the while he was, year after year, imposing taxes such as the people of England had never before heard of, such as their forefathers never would have submitted to, and such as they would not have submitted to, had they not been, little by little, inveigled into the submission by the crafty use of a settled system of alarm.——To return for a moment to the motion of Mr. Biddulph, my opinion is, that it will do no good; that it will produce a milk-and-water report that very few persons will ever read, and that it will cost the country about 500l. in printing; and that, after the subject has thus been laid at rest for a whole year, or more, not a single place or pension will be abolished.——11. FOREIGN PROPERTY in the funds is, as the reader will recollect, exempted from the Income Tax. Upon what principle this exemption was founded will be seen by a reference to the debates upon the bill, during the last session of parliament, and also by a reference to Vol. 9 of the Register, under the words *Income Tax*. Mr. Bankes has now made a motion for an account to be laid before parliament of the amount of this property; and, if the true account can be come at, the amount will appear to be very considerable. But it seems rather odd to me, that Mr. Bankes should not have included in his motion the amount of the

king's property in the funds, which, by the same act of parliament, is exempted from the tax. Upon what *principle* this exemption was made I, for my part, never could even guess at. No light, upon the subject could be derived from the proceedings in the senate; for there, no one of the "faithful commons" ever asked a question respecting it. Now, it seems to me, that, in the first place, the *amount* of this property should be known, in order that the people who pay taxes to support the royal family may know how far it is reasonable, that new grants should be, as in the case of last year, made out of the taxes for the support of that family: for, if the king should appear to have much money in the funds, the necessity of such new grants must, of course, be less evident. And, though the "faithful "commons" were, to a man, silent as mutes upon the subject, I must confess, that, while I see my annual earnings, out of which I am endeavouring to save some little matter for my children, and which endeavours must cease with my life and even with my health, while I see these earnings, in common with those of every tradesman, farmer, parson, lawyer, or physician, greatly deducted from for the purpose of supporting the state, I am not content to see the property of the king exempted from taxation; for, without inquiry *whence* that property come, I know right well, that it is for the defence of it as much, *at least*, as of my property, that public sacrifices are called for, and that the war is carried on. Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Whitbread will, perhaps, call me Jacobin and Leveller for having made this declaration, but, one of those gentlemen lives upon the public money, and the other seems very willing to do so. They, therefore, may think it very reasonable to call upon the people to sacrifice "even the necessaries of life," rather than suffer the foe to invade us, while they justify the exemption of the king's property from its due share of taxation; but, if a man, who, from the effect of unwearied industry and rigid economy is able to lay by a hundred or two a-year, sees a tenth part of it taken away by the tax-gatherer, while the king's property contributes nothing at all; if such a man complain, and in the bitterness of his heart, call them base apostates; if, boiling with a sense of the injustice and lacking all means of redress, he brand them and the like of them with appellations due to their conduct, though they may accuse him of revolutionary designs, the virtuous part of the nation will not, but, while they sympathize in his feelings will applaud his public spirit.——Am I told, that, as the king is supported by the public, it would be useless to tax his property, because whatever is taken away in tax must be made up to him in new grants? My answer is, that the property of which we are speaking is *private property*; and that, without any such resource, the king receives a most ample allowance annually for every purpose, and, moreover, that this allowance is, from time to time, when it is alleged to have been insufficient, augmented by special parliamentary grants; so that, upon this ground, there is not a shadow of pretext remaining. But, supposing this not to be the case. Supposing the king's to be a fixed income not occasionally augmented. And, then, how will the general practice bear out the argument? The king's allowance is paid by the public, and so is the pay of every officer of the army and the navy, and so is the salary of every clerk in the several offices; and yet their pay and salaries are taxed. All of them pay a full *tenth* back again to the public; and why should not the king? Mr. Sheridan and John Bowles, with their associates, Mr. Perry and Redhead Yorke, may call Jacobin and Leveller 'till they are hoarse; but, of this I will complain as long as I have the means of communicating my sentiments to the public.——III. THE HAMPSHIRE PETITION was brought forward for discussion on the 13th instant. Mr. Asheton Smith, the member who presented the petition, opened the debate in a very appropriate speech, at the conclusion of which he moved for a reference of the petition to the committee of privileges, to examine the matter thereof, and to report the same, together with their opinion thereon to the House.——The motion was seconded by Sir Henry Mildmay, who, in a speech remarkable for cleaness as well as manliness, and perfectly characteristic of a good cause, first described the peculiar situation of the county of Southampton, and shewed, that, if the ministry were suffered to interfere in its elections, there could not possibly be any more freedom in that county, than in any rotten borough in the kingdom. He then, in order to substantiate the allegations in the petition proceeded thus, as is stated in the report of the debate given in the Morning Chronicle. "In or-"der to come nearer to the subject, he "should beg leave to read the documents "upon which this proceeding rested; and "first, the paper, which was the founda-"tion of the whole business—(Here the "hon. baronet read an extract from the "first letter of Sir Wm. Heathcote to the

" Hampshire Club, stating the application " of Lord Temple, authorised by Lord " Grenville, to himself, intimating to him, " that government would not oppose his re- " election, in the event of a dissolution, " if he did not coalesce with Mr Chute, " against whom government proposed to set " up a candidate, Mr. Chute having put " himself in systematic opposition to go- " vernment) By this it would appear, " that the interference of the executive to " that county had not originated with the " Secretary to the Treasury, nor with the " Comptroller of the Navy, but was a pre- " conceated, premeditated, and predigest- " ed plan of the government, to dictate " representatives to the county of South- " ampton, and to exclude a respectable " gentleman who had represented that coun- " ty for 10 years. It was, however, in " candour necessary for him to state, that " the noble lord had given a subsequent ex- " planation of that transaction, and with- " out at all imputing any wilful misrepre- " sentation to either of these persons, there " appeared to him a contradiction in their " statements. It would be for the House " to decide which was most likely to be " correct, Sir Wm. Heathcote, who re- " tired to his closet after the interview to " make a memorandum of what passed, " with a view to its publication, or the " noble lord, who, without the aid of any " memorandum whatever, 3 weeks after, " gave an explanation of it. The next let- " ter he had to notice was one dated Sept. " 22, from Wm. Freemantle, Esq. one of " the Secretaries of the Treasury, to the " Barrack Master General. This letter had " been cut by the Barrack Master Gene- " ral, General Hewitt, inclosed in one " from himself to Major Davies, Deputy " Barrack Master General. General Hewitt, " in his letter, stated that he could not bet- " ter carry into effect the recommendation " of Mr Freemantle, than by inclosing " his letter to Major Davies. (The hon. " baronet here read the letter from the Se- " cretary to the Treasury to the Barrack " Master General, recommending the go- " vernment candidates) the hon. Mr Her- " bert and Mr. Thistlethwaite, to his fa- " vourable influence, and requesting of " him to mention the same to the other " gentlemen of the department.) This " letter had been marked " on *his Majes-* " *ty's service*," and the copy which he " had of it had been taken from the letter " which had been in the possession of Ma- " jor Davies. In consequence of it, every " exertion had been made, and with suc- " cess. To this Major Davies had applied, " that the committee were of opinion that " his canvass would be more effectual at " Limington and the Isle of Wight. The " next letter was from General Hewitt, to " Major Davies, informing him that he " might go to Limington if he could obtain " the permission of the commander of the " district, but at the same time that he " could not be allowed any thing to defray " the expenses of his journey, this being " *a species of service* which could not be in- " serted in the public accounts. The im- " pression on his mind from this letter was, " that there were two accounts kept in the " barrack department, one public and the " other private. At any rate this showed " more than any thing else the necessity of " going into the committee, in order to as- " certain whether or not there was any pri- " vate account. The next letter was from " Major Davies to the Barrack Master Ge- " neral, stating that his destination had " been fixed for Limington and the Isle of " Wight, and that *his route had been sketch- " ed by Lord Carnarvon*, to that point, as " not very far from the residence of Mr. " Rose. The next letter he had to notice, " was one in Major Davies stated, that the " Duke of Cumberland would not suffer " him to depart for Limington, till he should " himself set out for Wales which he im- " puted to a fear, on the part of his Royal " Highness, lest his efforts should produce " an effect inimical to his political connec- " tions. The last letter which he had to " notice, was one dated Jan. 1, 1806, " which ought evidently to be 1807, in " which it was stated, that Major Davies " was prosecuted by Mr. Daverell, on the " opposite side, and that he had an offer " made to him by Col. St. John, on the " part of one of the most respectable men " in the county, of relieving him from all " his embarrassments, if he should give up " the Treasury letters in his possession, " which proposal he had rejected. He was " as curious as any man, to find out who " this most respectable man of the county " was, and though he had been forty years " resident in Hampshire, if he were asked " to point such a person out, he should find " that difficult. However, as this person " who could so bully and bribe with the " same breath—who was so ready to dis- " charge Major Davies from his embarrass- " ments, might also have the means of in- " juring him, he was bound to state that he " had obtained copies of the letters from a " person who had them in his possession, " previous to the election. From this cir-

"ten evidence they could shew, that the "government had issued its mandates to "the Barrack Department, and that its di- "rections had been faithfully executed. "The same course had been adopted in all "the other departments, and particularly by "the Comptroller of the Navy. If they "could prove the fact in one instance, that "would be sufficient to prove their case." ——This *Major Davies*, it will be observed, is the same identical Major Davies, upon whose report, in the Isle of Wight, poor Atkins, the Barrack-master, was dismissed, and whom the Spartan General spoke of, in the debates upon Mr. Robson's motion, as a person of "great respectability," whose character was not to be trifled with. This should have been borne in mind by the ministers, when they were speaking of him in the present debate. But, as to this man's having been *prosecuted* by Mr. Deverell, or threatened to be prosecuted by him, for the purpose of intimidation, the fact, I have good reason to believe, is totally false. The truth is, that I have taken some pains to ascertain this fact, and I take upon me to assert, that the proceeding against Major Davies, wherein Mr. Deverell acted professionally, would have taken place, and must have taken place, if there had been no election contest going forward. Mr. Deverell, it is well known, has long been a zealous and not inefficient opposer of the party of Mr. Rose. He has long felt, like every Hampshire man of an independent mind, impatient under the absolute sway of a person, who had no other pretension to power in the county, than that it had pleased the arrogant Pitt, who took delight in insulting the people, to throw this county under his feet. If a man has it in his power to proceed against another legally, it is quite natural that his disposition so to do should be quickened by what he may deem the party hostility of that other, and especially when that hostility may probably prevent what he considers as a deliverance from disgraceful thraldom. But, the fact is, that Mr. Deverell did not proceed against Major Davies with that rigor which he might have proceeded with, and with which his client had directed him to proceed upon the very day, I believe, when he spoke to Major Davies the words, which, in order to raise himself in the estimation of his party, he interpreted into a political threat; and this motive seems to have led to the invention of the story about the offer of Colonel St. John, which, from every thing I have been able to learn of the matter, is a pure fiction ——But, as to *the letter of Mr. Freemantle*, that admits of no mitigation. Before, however, we proceed to make any further remarks upon it, let us hear the defence of this gentleman, who began his speech by bespeaking the indulgence of the House, this being the first time that he had ever spoken in that assembly; and, it was, indeed, singularly unfortunate, that, in a *maiden* speech, one of our "faithful commons" should have to defend himself against a charge, unequivocally preferred, of having endeavoured to undermine the rights of the people! After having complained of a want of *candour* in his accusers, he proceeded to the main point thus: "The "letter was dated Treasury Chambers, Sep. "22, some time previous to the dissolution, "and was marked "private." He should "not say that many letters on official bu- "siness might not be sometimes marked in "this manner, but certainly the gentlemen "opposite, who had so much more ex- "perience in the business of office than he "had, must know, that letters so marked "were never preserved by official copies in "the office. He only *recommended* the "candidates whom he wished to succeed, "to the favorable influence of the Barrack- "master-general, and requested of him to "recommend them to the other gentlemen "in that department. These were the ex- "pressions he made use of, and he was "ready both to claim and to justify them. "Now as to the charge, "that W. Free- "mantle, Esq., one of the secretaries, who "had no property in the county, had em- "ployed the power of his office to influence "the election," he could easily dispose of "that. It was one of the unfortunate con- "sequences of the petition having been "brought forward without any communi- "cation being made to him on the subject, "that such a statement as that had found its "way into the petition. If the hon. meni- "bers who brought forward the petition, "had informed him of its contents, he "could have saved them the trouble of "presenting it at all—he would have saved "them the disgrace they must feel from "the indignation of the house, or he would "have saved the house the power of listen- "ing to his justification. The answer that "he had to make to that charge was, that "he was a freeholder of the county of "Southampton, that he had a property in "that county, and that he had as good a "right as any of the gentlemen who had "thought proper to sign the petition, to "employ all the means which his property, "influence, or connections afforded, to pro- "mote the election of those candidates "whom he wished to succeed. He had

" for many years possessed a property in " that county, and *his nearest and dearest* " *connections* lived there, who were in the " habit of consulting him, and who would " be influenced by his advice, had proper- " ties in that county, equal to any, and " larger than the properties of most of those " whose names were to the petition. " Though he had been settled at the Trea- " sury, it did not follow that he was to be " denied that which was *the birthright of* " *every Englishman*, the right of giving his " support and influence to the candidate " whom he preferred. If he were to be " deprived of that right by his office, he " would not hold the office five minutes. " So far he had considered the question on " the ground of private feelings. He should " next ask the hon. baronet, by what law " it was that he was deprived of this right, " merely because he held the situation of " secretary to the treasury? The resolution " of the house in 1779, extended only to " persons who should use the power *of* " *their official situations* to influence elec- " tions, but did not preclude persons hold- " ing offices from giving their votes *and* " *interest to whatever candidate they pleased.* " He was not aware of any law to that " effect, and he begged the house to look " at the situation it would be in, was every " member of the government of this coun- " try, whatever might be their talents, their " wealth, or their consequence, deprived " of using his influence with those " with whom he was acquainted. He had " known General Hewitt, and had under- " stood that Major Davies was a freeholder, " in the county of Southampton, and had " applied to General Hewitt for the purpose " of obtaining that vote. Whether he had " been rightly informed as to Major Da- " vies having a vote, he could not tell, but " he had reason to believe that he had not " voted either for Mr. Herbert or Mr. This- " tlethwaite."——It having been asserted by Mr. Freemantle, in the latter part of his speech, that the ministry had used no undue influence, during the late election, Mr. Jeffery, member for Poole, stated very glaring instances of this influence at Poole. It was, he said, publickly acknowledged, that the *patronage* of government was given to his opponent. Places, which had been actually promised to some persons, were refused after qualifications were given, and were given to others, who had taken the side of his opponent.——Mr. Biddulph insisted that an inquiry was necessary to the support of the character of the House.——Mr. Jenkinson, member for Dover, said that the interference of government was so undisguised in that borough, that some of the voters told him, that they had received *an order* from the Ordnance and Victualling Boards to give both their votes for his opponent, under pain of losing their situations. ——Mr. Tierney treated the petition with the utmost contempt; he saw *nothing at all improper* in the conduct of Mr. Freemantle, and saw no end that the going into a committee could possibly answer, except that of *interrupting public business* and *lowering the dignity* of the House.——Mr. Canning congratulated the ministers on the path they were taking to fulfil their old pledges about parliamentary reform; but, he took special care not to pass, even by implication, any censure upon the Grenville part of the ministry, and, of course, though he said he should vote for the reference to a committee, he seemed to see very little that was wrong in the conduct of Mr. Freemantle, whom he most highly complimented.——Mr. Adam objected to the reference upon the ground that the charge was not of a nature sufficiently grave.——Lord Folkestone allowed that the members of government had a right to interfere in elections as private individuals; but he could consider the letter from the Secretary of the Treasury to the Barrack Master General, in this case, only as an official letter. It was understood as such by those whose conduct it was to influence. He was surprized that the gentlemen on the other side would not assent to the motion, in consideration of their own honour, of the honour of the county of Hants, and of the House of Commons. He understood that much further grounds of crimination were to be brought forward; and particularly a letter from one of the other Public Boards, signed by the Secretary. On this ground, he wished to go into the committee.——Mr. George Johnstone, who has himself, I believe, some little *practical* knowledge of elections, said that he had seen a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury to an elector in Yorkshire to influence his vote. This gentleman conjured the House not to reject the motion, lest the people should begin to think, that, in good earnest, the elective franchise was become a mere farce.——Mr. Bragge did not think there were sufficient grounds for sending the petition to a committee.——Mr. Perceval began an admirable speech by observing, " that he had " heard in the course of the debate a gene- " ral expression of surprise——one set of " gentlemen were surprised at the manner " in which this charge had been brought " forward—— another at the charge itself. " A noble lord who had just sat down

" (Lord Folkestone) had freely expressed " his surprise at the strange reception this " petition had met with from his Majesty's " ministers in that House; and the noble " lord was surprised at such a reception, " because the noble lord thought such a line " of conduct inconsistent with those profes- " sions in favour of free and liberal inquiry " into alledged abuses of a public nature, " which were ever in the mouths of the men " composing the present government of the " country. He, for his part, could not be " brought to think that the reason assigned " was at all a satisfactory one, for to be told " that the present administration were in " every instance acting in direct inconsis- " tency with their professions when out of " power, would have produced in his mind " sensations very opposite to those of sur- " prise. No; of all other emotions, sur- " prise was that from which he was at that " moment most free. What had been the " conduct of ministers upon that night, he " had long since learned to anticipate from " what had been their conduct upon all oc- " casions that involved the sincerity of their " former professions in the bold and un- " blushing contradiction of their practice. " He therefore was prepared to receive that " fresh instance of their good faith and con- " sistency, as completely of a piece with " all their other proceedings; for, however " they might, night after night, uniformly " pursue that conduct which when out of " office they as uniformly decried, they " had been since they came into office, at " least, consistent in their systematic perse- " verance, in contradicting both in their " language and in their measures, all the " mighty professions and high-flying theo- " ries which in so great a measure characte- " rised that deceased body of reformers?" ——After having animadverted upon their hardened inconsistency, in voting, upon a former night, professed to wait for the mo- ment of investigation and now getting rid of all investigation by the vote of a majority, he thus concluded a speech, which would not have disgraced Sir Francis Burdett him- self: " If the House reject this petition, " notwithstanding the strong grounds upon " which it is supported, what will be the " consequence? What a proud precedent " shall ministers have to boast of in this " precious sample of their Treasury corre- " spondence——then may they fix a Treasu- " rer in every county, in every town, in " every borough, then may each mem- " ber circulate through his respective bar- " rack department, *the decree of the govern- " ment against the subject's birthright*; " provided only that they keep within the " cautious limits of their precious precedent; " provided only they do not pronounce ac- " tual menace; provided only they do not " convey, through the medium of an *inno- " cent* freeholder's letter, a bribe taken from " the public money; provided they keep " within such limits, they are safe—the " precedent of this night will bear them " out, *and they will again find a House of " Commons who will countenance them in " their breach of that House's privileges, and " in the violation of the subject's constitutional " rights*, provided only that in the act of such " breach and violation, the forms of dis- " cretness and decorum prescribed in the " present precedent, be observed. I ear- " nestly advise the Ministers to depart from " this line of conduct which no talents can " ultimately rescue *from the indignant ani- " madversion of the country*—friends may " be for a time partial, and talents for a " time popular, but *rectitude of intention, " integrity of principle, and consistency of " conduct*, are the best, perhaps the only " means of permanently securing that pow- " er, which I hope they will endeavour to " maintain by better means than those by " which they have succeeded in acquiring " it."——Well, Mr. Perceval, the motion *was* rejected; the precedent *was* establish- ed; and will you suffer your John Bowles to call me Jacobin and Leveller, if I now, in your own true words, insist, that the govern- ment has passed " a decree against the sub- " ject's birthright?" Will you *now* recom- mend "*extraordinary exertions of the law*" against us, and "an enlargement of the ex- " ecutive power?" I shall presently shew, Sir, that the line of conduct in ministers, so justly reprobated by you now, was pursued by Pitt and his supporters, and I shall also shew, that those who are now in power took precisely the part, which you have now taken. But, first, we must hear my Lord Hawick, who began by declaring that " there never had been a single instance of " such an individual and *personal opposition* " brought as the present. And would the " hon. and learned gentleman say, that dur- " ing the last 20 years there was no interfe- " rence in elections by former govern- " ments? *He did not mean to justify him- " self, or those connected with him, merely " by a declaration that others did the like*; " but it was fit that the attention of the " House should be called to the quarter " from which these complaints proceeded. " The noble lord next appealed to a letter " written by the right hon. gent. (Mr. " Rose), to a Contractor for the Ordnance,

" requesting him to exert his best offices " with his friends at Canterbury, in favour " of a candidate *(Mr. Calcraft)*, whose " election he was studious to promote. The " noble lord read the letter, which stated in " general the anxious wishes of the right " hon. gent. to secure the election of the " candidate he favoured, and pointed out " the means by which his object could be " best promoted. Was the right hon. gent. " a freeman of Canterbury, or was the in- " terence now complained of, in any mea- " sure to be compared with that which the " right hon. gent. had exerted in the Can- " terbury Election? Surely not. If then, " such a conduct *did not then call for the* " *censure of the House* (he did not mean to " contend that one abuse justified another), " with what face could the right hon. gent. " and his friends move to refer the present " case to a committee, which so much less " called for any such interference of the " House? But there were other instances " of the interference in elections by the " right hon. gent., far more glaring and un- " equivocal. He would content himself " with adverting to two; one occurred " during the Westminster Election, when " Lord Hood was the government candi- " date. Did it not appear from the exami- " nation of the expences attending that " election, that two separate accounts were " kept, one for lord Hood, *the other for the* " *Treasury*? Was not that a more fit sub- " ject than the present for the interference " and animadversion of the House? But " another case had occurred. Had not an " application been made (whether effectu- " ally or not he could not now state) to the " right hon. gent. to obtain the remission of " certain penalties under the Excise laws, " in favour of a person whose vote was to " be secured? On that occasion the charge " at least was made, and proof offered. " Whether the charge was true or false, it " was not for him to state; but in 1788 he " made a motion, the words of which the " noble lord repeated, for an enquiry into " the charge—a charge most grievous in all " its circumstances; *yet the motion for that* " *Committee of Inquiry was negatived.* " Should he refuse an inquiry under similar " circumstances, what would be the opinion " and the language of the gentlemen oppo- " site him? Yet they make out nothing " like such a case at present.—What is the " question now? Why, that Mr. Freeman- " tle, *of his own accord*, and *from the im-* " *pulse of private friendship* and affection " for a relation, addressed a letter to Gene- " ral Hewitt, requesting his friendly ser- " vices in favour of the candidate in whose " cause he so naturally interested himself."

——His lordship concluded his speech with a general assertion of the purity of his Majesty's ministers, and cited, as a proof of their readiness to admit of investigation, their assent to the motion of Mr. Biddulph, which motion, as I have, I think, above shewn, even Pitt himself would gladly have seconded as a step likely to keep up his system.——Mr. Rose said, in his vindication, " that the letter quoted he wrote merely to " a person who offered his services, and in " favour of an hon. member of that house, " (Mr. Calcraft) who certainly had not " made a very grateful return for the favour. " As to the other charge, of his having pro- " cured a prosecution for excise to be sus- " pended against an elector of Westminster " for his services upon the election for lord " Hood, he utterly denied the fact, and " called to the recollection of gentlemen, " that this subject was brought before that " house, on a motion for inquiry in 1798, " *but negatived by a very large majority,* " *on the principle, that there was no ground* " *laid for going into the inquiry.* This accu- " sation being repeated in a new paper, he " brought a civil action against the printer, " thus giving him an opportunity to sub- " stantiate his charge if he could; but *upon* " *failing to do so, a verdict was found and* " *damages awarded against him. How* " *then could any imputation upon his cha-* " *racter be inferred from that proceeding?* " He was glad of the opportunity of mak- " ing this statement; as the pamphlet in " which the libel appeared, which was thus " punished, had been recently republished, " and brought to the printer, by whom it " was so republished, by a near connection " of a noble marquis, the father of the noble " lord (Temple). He stated instances of " ministerial influence in various elections " in Hampshire. In Christchurch an hon. " member (Mr. Calcraft) told four magis- " trates immediately previous to the last dis- " solution, that *if they would vote for the* " *Mayor, recommended by him* (Mr. Rose) " *they would be deprived of the offices they* " *held under Government*; and at the last " election there were *letters from Mr.* " *Freemantle, to several Custom-house and* " *Excise Officers, desiring their influence in* " *favour of two candidates*, who really were " never before known in the town. Thus " were those, who were by law forbidden, " under severe penalties, from at all inter- " fering with elections, exhorted to aid the " cause of two ministerial candidates. But " this was not all—an old military officer

" was written to, who really had no know-
" ledge whatever of this Mr. Freemantle;
" who, the man said to him (Mr. R.) when
" he shewed him the letter, signed with the
" seal of office, and dated Treasury Cham-
" bers —At Southampton, a Gentleman
" who held an office of £600 a year, which
" he owed to his own recommendation,
" wrote to him previous to the last election,
" to say that he would vote for his son at
" the last election if he dare, *but that if he*
" *did he should be deprived of his place.*
" *Many still stronger instances of abused*
" *power to destroy the freedom of election* he
" had it in his power to produce, if the
" House would go into the Committee of
" Privileges."——Mr. Calcraft denied the charge of ingratitude, and said, that the letter, written by Mr. Rose to Canterbury, *was not brought to light by him*, but by the person, to whom it was written.——After a few words from the Solicitor General, a division took place upon the motion of Mr. Asheton Smith; which was negatived; there being 57 for it, and 184 against it.——In remarking upon this proceeding, a proceeding of the very first magnitude, I shall begin with expressing my satisfaction at the conduct of Mr. Asheton Smith and that of Sir Henry Mildmay. The former has done the country great service in promoting the petition, the latter in supporting it in so able and manly a manner; and both of them great honour to themselves in having acted in a way which shewed that they were regardless of what exposures it might lead to on either side. They acted as if they had said to the former and the present invaders of the rights of election: " answer for yourselves as you
" can; we will do our duty; we will no
" longer be your party instruments; we
" will make a stand for our own honour and
" for the rights of our country." To Sir H. Mildmay the county is more indebted than to any other man I know of. Had it not been for him there would have been no election at all; and, if I am not much misinformed, to him was this well grounded and excellent petition chiefly owing. Sir H. Mildmay's opponents accuse him of being a *weathercock*; an accusation which shews the impudence of these opponents, and the folly of their partizans. He was, at the former contested election, in opposition to Mr. Pitt, and *of course* (such was the debasement of the country), on the side of Mr. Fox. At this election he was against the friends of Mr. Fox, and on the side of the friends of Mr. Pitt, with which latter minister he had sided for some years. But, were not Mr. Windham, Lord Spencer, and Lord Fitzwilliam on the side of Mr. Fox at the former contested election? "Yes, and so
" they were now." So, indeed, they were; but, they, with my *Lord Carnarvon* amongst their suite, had gone over to Mr. Pitt in the meanwhile, and they had stuck to him, too, until they thought it right, again to join Mr. Fox. So that, *if weathercock it must be*, the only difference between them and Sir Harry Mildmay, is, they had fairly boxed the compass, while he had got but half way round. This charge is, therefore, the most barefaced and most absurd that ever was alleged by impudence or believed by folly. No: this is not the fault of Sir Henry Mildmay. His fault is, or, I hope, I may say, *has been*, being a tool in the hands of underlings. And, it is really mortifying, to see a man, qualified, in every way, to act a great and independent part in a county, condescend so to be used. Upon the two occasions when I thought it necessary to animadvert on this gentleman's conduct, this fault was prominently conspicuous. In the one case, he came forward with a motion, which rendered him, in some sort, the associate of a paltry printer, and that merely, as it evidently appeared, to gratify the malice of a man, who, had he not been a minion of the minister, would, himself, in all human probability, have been nothing much better than a news-paper hack to the end of his days. The other occasion was, and, in this case the animadversion came not from my pen, when he proposed, in the House of Commons, the bringing forward of a law to effect a *compulsory composition for tithes*; a proposition, which he stated not to be his own, and which, in all probability, was suggested to him by some rattling, drinking, cock-fighting pluralist, who never set eyes upon any of his flocks except in the season for shearing them, and who, so that he could, by any means, retain quiet possession of his unearned income for life, cared not, if, thereafter, Satan himself became the head of the church. For becoming an instrument in the hands of such men there is no apology. The man who so condescends may be, in the moral sense of the words, a good man; but he is a man, in whom no thinking politician will ever, until he alter his course, greatly confide. Such a man is independent only in name. He is, as to all the effects of his conduct, the same as a placeman or pensioner during pleasure or in expectancy, with this additional disadvantage to the public, that he is not generally regarded as such; and, therefore, it is, that, for the first movement in measures more than ordinarily hostile to the properties and

liberties of the people, the crafty minister always takes special care to select some such man.——The defence of Mr. Freemantle may be safely left for the public to decide upon. They will want nothing from me to convince them, that it was a most whining, pitiful, paltry attempt to gloss over a shameful act of ministerial interference. His "*nearest* and *dearest* relations indeed!" Were General Hewett and Major Davies and all the troop of barrack masters and barn-letting farmers and contractors and dray owners; were these, too, his "nearest and dearest relations?" Verily Mr. Thistlethwaite has reason to congratulate himself upon the discovery of this connection! I greatly over-rate the rectitude of that gentleman's mind; report has described him to me in most false colours, if he does not sorely repent of having become a member of parliament by the use of such means as have now been developed. How lamentable it is to see men like this condescending thus to be made the instruments in bringing disgrace and ruin upon their country, and, by the very same act, injury to their private fortune and their public character! A fitter man than Mr. Thistlethwaite to be a member of the county could not easily have been selected. Young, yet old enough; of character perfectly spotless; of ample fortune; of manners unaffected; and of sound sense. What could induce such a man to become a dependent? Is there any reward, any *title*, if such were his object, that can ever compensate him for the loss of his independence for one single hour. One would think, that, if such a man had nothing but the bare sight of the mansion of his forefathers to remind him of the course he ought to pursue, that alone would be sufficient to make him shun the path of the dependent.——That it was greatly desirable to put an end for ever to the power of the Roses I allow; but, this might have been done, and *more* effectually done, without having recourse to the means which the Roses had before employed. I would, had I been in the place of either of the successful candidates, have done all in my power to extinguish the power, the ill-gotten and worse exercised power of the Roses; but never would I have taken a seat, the means of obtaining which would not bear an inquiry.——The developement must, however, be useful. It has given us information, which, had it not been for the petition, we should not have possessed. It has *proved*, that it is *the system*, the terrible Pitt system, that is our bane. It has completely exposed the professing patriots; and it has put beyond dispute, the fact, that, while this system lasts, we have nothing to hope for from a change of men.——Lord Howick seemed ashamed (and well he might!) to come forward with a recriminatory justification, and to plead, as a ground for rejecting the motion, the rejection of a similar motion, when, at the time of his opposition to Pitt, that motion was brought forward against Mr. Rose. Mr. Rose, however, adduced as a *proof* of his innocence, as a *proof* that the motion was, upon that occasion, rejected by the majority with justice, that he had afterwards prosecuted the printer of the charge, and had obtained damages! But, though *legal proof* cannot be brought of a fact, is it therefore to be regarded as false, especially when the plaintiff is *the government*? We all know how unfair such reasoning is; and, if any thing could add to our indignation in a case like this, it would be the prosecution of a printer under such circumstances.——That the facts alleged, in this debate, against the ministry of Pitt, were fully equal to those alleged against the present ministry is certain; but, my Lord Howick, how could *you*; you, you, my lord, above all men living, oppose a motion for inquiry, for mere inquiry, in a case where it was evident and undeniable, that there had been used undue influence at an election. Well do I remember, my lord, your indignation at the conduct of Pitt, when, with his placed and pensioned majority, he stifled an inquiry into the conduct of *his* Secretary of the Treasury. Your lordship's conscience must have reminded you of the occasion; but, I will here insert all the material parts of that debate; and, you and the public will see, my lord, how the conduct of Pitt and his supporters was then, what that of you and your supporters has been now. No pleasure, my lord, do I take in making such exposures: I wish to assist in supporting the present ministry; but, if my choice lies between them and truth, I must choose the latter. When, my lord, I have inserted this debate, I have a very few observations to add; nor am I certain that they will be of any use; for this debate will speak for itself.

EXTRACT FROM DEBRETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, 13TH MARCH, 1792.

"Mr. Thompson rose, he said, to execute a task which he had undertaken; the task of a public accuser of a public man. In consequence of rumours circulated out of doors, he had made certain inquiries, the result of which he should now submit to the house. He had undertaken this charge

purely from the sense he had of his public duty as one of the representatives of the people, totally unconnected with any animosity against the hon. gent. who was the object of this accusation. It was to his public duty that he wished to dedicate himself; and if the hon. gent. who was the object to whose conduct he wished to direct any inquiry, should be able to explain himself to the satisfaction of the house, he should be glad of it. This he said, merely for the purpose of vindicating himself against any aspersion on his character, for the impropriety of his motives. The hon. secretary of the treasury had said on a former day, that he was conscious of his innocence, and heartily courted an inquiry, and wished for the hour for his vindication. That hour was come, and he hoped that hon. gent. would not again say, he suspected him of an intention to shrink from the charge which he had thought fit to make. The rumour to which he alluded, originated in consequence of a trial in the Court of King's Bench, in which the hon. Secretary was defendant, at the suit of a Mr. Smith, for business done, in behalf of Lord Hood, at an election for Westminster. The substance of the evidence in that trial, went to charge Mr. Rose with having interfered in that election in an unwarrantable manner, and on which he founded his intentions of moving for a Committee of Inquiry upon the subject. It appeared in the evidence given on that trial, that Mr. Smith had some time before been convicted in a penalty of £50 for an offence against the Excise laws; and that afterwards, in consequence of services performed by Mr. Smith, at the request of Mr. Rose, in the course of that election, part of the fine was remitted to him. That in the course of this transaction Mr. Smith had been introduced to Mr. Rose, through the good offices of an hon. member of that house. ["Name him, name him," was generally exclaimed.] This Mr. Thompson declined, but proceeded to state the various circumstances of the conversation between Mr. Smith and Mr. Rose, by which it would appear that Mr. Rose had actually been the means of procuring a remission of part of this excise fine, for his services in the election, in behalf of the court candidate, Lord Hood. This would appear from the inquiry, beyond the possibility of a doubt. Having stated this, and also many points, on which the inference appeared to him to be clear, that this was the conduct of Mr. Rose; and having alluded to the publication of the trial of an action brought up by Mr. Smith against Mr. Rose, and the points there proved to the satisfaction of a jury, who gave Mr. Smith a verdict for the amount of his bill; and that it appeared by that trial what part Mr. Rose had acted on that occasion, he came to the conclusions to be drawn from this; and here he wished the house to reflect on the consequences of a secretary to the treasury employing the money of the public for the purpose of supporting the election of a member of that house. He wished them to reflect on the probable consequences of suffering the public to understand that their money was wasted for the corrupt purpose of procuring seats in that house for the friends of the minister. He wished them to reflect on the public contempt, if not the indignation they might, by suffering such proceedings to pass unnoticed, bring upon the whole house. They should remember, that it was on the opinion the public entertained of the house, it could be fairly said its character rested, and that it was from the people it derived the whole of its power and authority. What care then, if they wished to maintain this character, or preserve this power, should they not take to impress the people with a well-founded belief, that they would never connive at bribery and corruption. That the people are not taxed to support the ministers elections, but to support the state. To succeed in such a practice, as had been imputed to the hon. secretary, or rather to escape an inquiry, would either lay the foundation of disturbances, and finally the downfall of our state, or totally extinguish the very principle and essence of liberty in this country. He had made this accusation. He was ready to support it by proof. The hon. gent had asserted his innocence. Let the house grant the inquiry, and the subject would be properly adjusted. If the hon. gent. was innocent, he ought to have an opportunity of making his innocence public. If he was guilty, he should not be suffered to escape. "I have," said Mr. Thompson, "put "George Rose, Esq. fairly upon his trial, "and God send him a good deliverance." He concluded with moving, "That this "house will, upon Friday morning next, "resolve itself into a committee of the "whole house, to inquire into all abuses "committed by persons in office at the "election of a member to serve in parliament for the city of Westminster in July "1788, as far as the same relates to penalties incurred under the excise laws, or "lottery act."

Mr. Lambton rose, the house being rather clamorous. He observed that clamour and confusion should not deter him

from pursuing his duty. He first of all begged leave to say, that what he had already heard would have been sufficient for him to support the motion; but if that were not enough, he had a charge of a much more flagrant nature against those who have the conduct of public affairs—If was more criminal in point of size than that which had been first exhibited. Like his hon. friend he had no motive for the part he was about to take, but a sense of duty to his constituents, and in the very onset of the business he begged leave to assure the rt. hon. gent. opposite to him, that he disclaimed all party spleen, and had no private pique whatever on his mind against him or any man, however they might differ in opinion upon political subjects. In the year 1788, one Hoskins being at that time in prison, at the suit of the Solicitor to the lottery for 700l. in order to answer certain penalties for offences against the lottery act, for which he could not find bail, wrote to the Solicitor, telling him he could procure 50 or 60 votes for lord Hood at the Westminster election, provided he could be admitted to bail, and that such bail as he should offer would not be objected to. The Solicitor to the lottery, in answer to this, said, he could not do this on his own accord, but must have authority from a higher quarter. The man was afterwards admitted to bail, and his bail were a couple of the most miserable, wretched, shabby looking raggamuffins as ever offered to commit perjury. Their appearance shewed, that so far from being able to swear that they were worth 700l. they had not 6d. in their pockets, exclusive of the pittance that had been paid them, as the price of the scandalous crime they were hired to commit. Nay, so wretched was their appearance, that when they came to take the necessary oaths before the judge at Chambers, although they brought a note from the Solicitor to the lottery, signifying his consent to their bail, the judge's clerk thought it so impossible that the Solicitor to the lottery could mean to accept two such shabby-looking fellows as bail for 700l. that he actually refused to swear them. The fact however was, their bail was taken, and Hoskins did actually poll for lord Hood 60 votes: from which time, neither Hoskins nor his bail have been heard of. Mr. Lambton having stated this fact, observed, that the public, it appeared, had paid 700l. out of their pockets for voting falsely for lord Hood. And if ministers could, as their political convenience rendered it necessary, suspend the operations of some laws, and remit the operation of others, where was the freedom of the country? All this would be proved if the committee of inquiry was granted. It would be proved, too, that other practices had been followed, equally disgraceful—the whole forming a mass of evidence that would let the public into the knowledge of circumstances, of which, at present, they had no idea. It would explain to the country the principles of modern confidence in ministers. If proved, there would, he hoped, be an end of the virtue of the confiding majority of that house. It would render the majority of the house suspected."—[The Speaker was here pleased to call the hon. gent. to order, and was supported by a general cry of "Order!" The Speaker observed, that it was quite disorderly to glance reproachfully on the conduct of a majority of that house.]—"Mr. Lambton apologized and declared, that he meant to cast no reflection on the majority or their motives; that had he not been called to order prematurely, and before he had concluded the sentiment he was uttering, he did not believe he should have been deemed disorderly, or deserving of the reproof that he had received, as he was going to add, "unless the house "granted the committee of inquiry then "moved for." Having said this, he resumed the thread of his argument, and exclaimed against the effects of corruption on the electors as well as the elected. He said, they all knew, that the Roman emperors, by bribing and corrupting the senate, governed Rome, and trampled down her liberties with as much unrestrained licence, as if there had existed no senate at all. That it was to the purity of election they were to look as to the source of freedom, and the origin of all their dearest rights and privileges. That it behoved them to be particularly watchful in times like these, when luxury and extravagance opened an easy door to corruption, by reciprocally enervating all the vigour of virtue, and all the better energies of the mind. He spoke of the splendid and brilliant eloquence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech on a late occasion, which they all so much admired, and which might fairly be termed the *Io Pæan* of the rt. hon. gent.'s finance; but he confessed, the satisfaction that speech gave him was much abated in his mind, when he learnt the manner in which the rt. hon. gent. meant to appropriate his surplus; he thought the rt. hon. gent. might have found a more soothing anodyne for the late armament, than he had presented them on that occasion; and that he might have relaxed the rigour of his excise laws, the reason of the extension of which odious system was now apparent, since it was evident that the excise was found to be an admirable

instrument of punishment or reward, of oppression or corruption. He concluded with observing, that Mr. Rose himself ought to vote for the committee, for that, if he was innocent, as he said he was, it was a duty which he owed to his character to submit it to inquiry. If he was guilty, the house was criminal in suffering him to escape from punishment. He, therefore heartily seconded the motion."

"Mr. GEORGE ROSE began his defence with declaring, that he would not have persisted in endeavouring to be heard first, if he had not been so very particularly alluded to, that it became absolutely necessary that he should make an immediate reply to the charges that had been stated. The hon. gent. who made the motion, had declared that on the present occasion he came forward with no invention of his own, but that he was the mouth-piece of the public, and stated no more than the public talked of and believed; it was not a very easy matter to know precisely who the public was; every body one met was the public; and possibly the hon. gent. found the public in newspaper paragraphs and libellous pamphlets; he would not go the length of saying that what the hon. gent. had advanced was his own invention, but he could not avoid expressing his astonishment at the hon. gent.'s credulity in venturing to bring before the house in the serious and solemn manner that he had done charges, which if he did not before he sat down, prove to the satisfaction of the house, not only that every part of them was not true, but they had not in them the smallest degree of truth, nor any shadow or trace of truth whatever, he should be more mistaken than ever he had been in his life. He proceeded to state the transactions that had taken place between Mr. Smith and himself, and the greater part of what he said, he supported, by written documents. He began with explaining, that Mr. Smith had kept a livery stable, and that he had been in the habit of hiring horses of him, to go the first stage out of town, that he had not seen the man to his knowledge nor should he have known him if he had met him, before he sent him a petition enclosed in a letter, in 1789, both of which he would read to the house. The petition stated, that Mr. Smith having had an information lodged against him for brewing beer at home, had been convicted in a penalty of £50, that the beer was small beer for the use of his own family, that he was a poor man, altogether ignorant that it was contrary to law to brew small beer for the use of his family, and that he had no intention to commit any offence whatever against the laws of his country. The petition farther stated, that one third of the penalty went to the poor of the parish, one third to the informer, and the other to the king. The letter stated that the vestry of St. Margaret's were willing to give up their third of the penalty, provided he (Mr. Rose) would procure the remission of the king's other two thirds. Thus, the member of parliament through whose medium, according to the hon. gent. Smith had been introduced to him, was no other than the vestry of St. Margaret's. With the petition, he did exactly what in the ordinary course of business he ever did whenever petitions were sent to him, viz. referred it to the board to whose cognizance the subject matter belonged. Smith's petition he enclosed to Mr. Cholmondeley the chairman of the excise board, and afterwards upon another application, understanding that Mr. C. was out of town, and the petition with him, he wrote to the Secretary to beg him to get the board to suspend deciding upon Smith's case till Mr. C. came to town, and on no other account than merely because Mr. C. had the petition with him. But to shew the house of what little avail his interference had proved, the petition was rejected by the Board of Excise, and Mr. Rose read the Secretary's answer, with the decision of the Board, in which the Secretary declared, "that all the allegations were untrue; that "Smith was not a poor man; that the beer "brewed was strong; and not small beer; "that he well knew what he had done was "illegal; that he contrived to get the malt "into his house so privately, that even his "brewer, (who was the person that had "informed against him) did not know when "or whence it came, that he had long been "in the habit of brewing and conveying it "into his own cellars for sale, and that if "the penalty had been £500. instead of "£50. it would not have been adequate to "the beer he had brewed." Here, therefore, was a clear proof that he had not influenced the board in their decision. Half the penalty had actually been levied, and the other half was to be paid by instalments. This, he solemnly said, was the whole of the transaction between Smith and him, as far as regarded the penalty of £50. During the time of the last general election, Smith came to him, as he was going out, and made a proposition for opening his house, and declared in his entry, that he could detect a great number of bad votes that had been given for Lord John Townshend, when he answered, "Do so, if you can, it will be "doing a right thing," but as to any pro-

position on the subject of the election, he must go to Lord Hood's committee. He did so, found the bad votes he said he could find, and at length applied to him to be paid. The answer he gave him, was, "Return to "Lord Hood's committee, they'll pay "you." Smith afterwards again demanded payment of him, and commenced an action, which was tried in the Court of King's Bench. He would not impeach the justice of the court, nor the integrity of the jury; such a case was certainly made out as to induce them to give a verdict for Smith. These were the facts, but did any man in his senses suppose that he (Mr. Rose) if he had felt the least consciousness of being really indebted to Smith, would have suffered the cause to have gone into a court of justice? Most certainly he would not, he never had sent a man who had a demand upon him, twice from his door in the whole course of his life; but he must still think, that Smith had not a right to call on him for payment; he had opened no house, (not that he should have done wrong, if he had) nor made himself responsible in any sort whatever. In proof of the facts he had stated, Mr. Rose read a variety of papers, and after declaring, that he had stated the whole of his conduct respecting Smith; as to any thing that might have passed between him and any of the officers of the Board of Excise, he said, he hoped he was not to be made responsible for them. It was not, Mr. Rose observed, necessary for him to say much of himself, because, however party might influence gentlemen with whom he was not acquainted, the friends who knew him, he trusted, would find nothing in his character or any part of his conduct sufficient to warrant even a momentary suspicion, that he would be mean enough to act so scandalous and base a part as calumny had imputed to him; and even if, for the sake of argument, it were admitted that he could sink so low, did any person living imagine such a man as Mr. C. would join with him in such a disgraceful scene? There was not, he declared, in the world a better friend to the revenue, a man of more unimpeached integrity, nice honour and high spirit, than Mr. C. as all who knew him, he would venture to say, would readily acknowledge; nor was there, he believed, in existence, a man who would have felt more repugnance to take a part in such a business than the gentleman he was alluding to. With regard to the other charge that respecting the admitting Hoskins to bail, by sham bail, he protested he had never even heard the man's name before that day, and was it likely that Lord Hood would have desired his agent to act such a part as had been ascribed to him? It appeared to him that if Lord Hood had permitted his agent to do what had been stated, it would have been nothing less than subjecting him to have had his head put in the pillory. Mr. Rose averred, that what he had said was the whole of the transaction which he had ever had with Smith; but if any gentlemen were not disposed to believe him, it did not depend on his assertions alone; the officers of the excise were at the door, and ready to come to the bar of the house to confirm them. Neither the excise laws, nor any authority that he might be supposed to possess, had ever been made use of for any purpose that could, upon the strictest investigation, be deemed improper, much less for election purposes. But if any person could think so ill of him as to suppose he would so prostitute his situation, did they imagine the exalted characters who sat at the Treasury Board would suffer it? He concluded with saying, that if it should be necessary, the house, he hoped, would indulge him in giving such explanations as might be called for."

"Mr. GREY [now Lord Howick] supported the motion, and maintained, that nothing had been stated in the course of the debate to make it appear, that the house ought not to grant the committee that had been moved for. He laid great stress on the case of Hoskins, and said, the hon. gent. had solemnly declared, that he never caused any mitigation of the penalty which Smith had incurred under the excise laws to be made. He begged to know if he had not done it through Mr. Vivian, the Solicitor to the Board of Excise? He produced a note, dated April, 1789, from Mr. Rose to Mr. Smith, appointing him to meet Mr. Vivian at 6 o'clock the next morning, at his own house in Palace Yard. With regard to what the hon. gent. had said, in denial that Mr. Smith applied to him through the medium of a member of parliament, and had termed that member of parliament the vestry, the hon. gent's. memory must have been very imperfect, and must have failed him wonderfully if he recollected nothing of the circumstance. To refresh his memory, he would mention who the member was, the member for Liverpool. Upon the whole, he contended, that there was enough before the house to induce them to inquire into it, *and the hon. gentlemen on the other side, unless they felt that something would come out in that inquiry, which they did not wish to be known, ought to be among the first to propose a committee, and the last to shrink from*

the motion. If they, on their side, had stated, what they could not prove, it might be the more disadvantageous to them to have a committee, but so far from entertaining such an idea, he would end with saying, that the house ought to go into a committee."

"Mr. Fox said, it occurred to him that the hon. gent. who had brought this subject forward, had stated ground sufficient for an inquiry into this case. The question was, whether such interference had taken place, on the part of the ministers, as had been stated; or whether, upon the stated interference, there was ground for inquiry? To this it was objected, that the charges were false. Then it was replied,—"We can "prove all this by papers we shall lay upon "your table; we shall prove this beyond "dispute by oral testimony; we can prove "the whole of our allegation. We can "prove first, that some how or other this "man got out of prison; we can prove that "having done so, he polled for Lord Hood. "We can prove that he was detained for "700l. on a clause of having incurred the "penalty of the Lottery act; we can prove "that he came out by sham bail; we can "prove that all this is traced to the autho-"rity of gentlemen in office; that it was "under the inspection of the Solicitor of "the Lottery." What then follows? That the house shall pronounce a minister guilty? No! Only that they should inquire. The whole of this would be produced in evidence. It would be produced in evidence, that an application was made to the Solicitor on behalf of this very man; nay, by himself, to the Solicitor of the Lottery, stating the cause of his confinement, and stipulating the condition of his release; that sham bail was proposed to be offered; that the Solicitor said he must consult others from whom he received his authority. Something more, that lord Hood had actually paid his attorney's bill, in which is contained an item for the expense of conducting this very act! for procuring bail, and effecting the discharge of this very person! Was this not enough to enter on an inquiry? A man in prison for the sum of 700l. under a penal statute, to be discharged on condition of serving an election candidate, by the worst of all means—perjury and corruption! The bare suspicion of this ought to make a man impatient for an opportunity of making his defence. Why then not go into the committee? The other parts of the charge which applied to the hon. secretary, met with a curious reception from that hon gent. He says, that his conduct is plain and above-board. If so, why refuse to inquire into it? What is there to fear if your conduct is fair? The note sent by Mr. Rose, to Mr. Smith was, that Mr Rose wished to see him on the next morning, and stating that he had some business to settle with him, and that if he came, he would have an opportunity of meeting Mr. Cholmondeley. Was this pure civility of introducing them to each other? Had the hon. secretary no other use for his house? Was there to be no conversation on the excise fine? Was it probable, that being left with each other, without a third person, for the secretary was not there, that Smith would not have mentioned the fine which he had been ordered to pay? Pure civility this, no doubt! This was, in his opinion, a strong instance in which the house were called upon to interfere.—The hon. secretary had observed that he must admire the credulity of gentlemen who believed what they had heard on the subject of the excise fine, or that Smith's demand upon the hon. secretary was just. He was of opinion there was nothing due, or he would not have resisted the demand. It was his constant practice never to suffer any person to call twice for one just demand. All this might be very true, but the answer to it was, that the jury to whom this case was referred decided otherwise. The house had the assertion of the secretary of the treasury against the solemn decision of the jury. In the opinion of the jury, the hon. gent. notwithstanding his knowledge, was mistaken. In the proof which Mr. Smith had to adduce he was mistaken. In the proof that was to be given against him on this subject, he pretended to have complete knowledge. Whether he had better acquaintance with the disposition of that house than he had with the integrity of the jury, he knew not: but he must think it would be unfortunate for this country if he could control its decision. If he could not, the opinion he had given of his sagacity in the former case, gave him no great pretension to be regarded for prophetic powers that would supersede the necessity of inquiry in that house, by anticipating the effect. Upon this trial evidence was given, that, something in the nature of a remission of a fine was made from Mr. Rose to Mr. Smith. No such thing, says Mr. Rose. What then should the house say—Yes, or No? Neither. Let us inquire, was the only answer they could honestly make."

"Mr. Chancellor Pitt opposed the motion for inquiry. He observed that the question which he put to gentlemen who supported this motion had not been answered; instead of giving him any answer, they had given him arguments; the question

being still unanswered, his objections remained unremoved upon this subject. When gentlemen on the other side talk of a penalty being remitted, and being asked who it was who remitted it—would they undertake to make out any criminal charge, against gentlemen high in office? That was the nature of the motion, and not that of asserting any thing against the Solicitor of the Lottery, or of the Board of Excise. These complaints, if true, would not make any thing out against gentlemen high in office, consequently afford no support to the present motion. If this charge was to be made, against whom was it to be made? They had not so much as stated the person against whom the charge was to be made—that they should prove it when made, or that even they themselves believed it. He contended that this was too vague to found a criminal inquiry upon, and a subject by no means likely to reward the house for the trouble which it would incur by this inquiry. The question was, "whether there was presumption enough for that house to form "a rational belief that the charges would "be specially made out," and on this he was clearly of opinion there was no prospect that the house would have any such evidence. *He professed himself a friend to a sober and rational inquiry*, on fair grounds stating the probability of guilt in the persons accused, *but this was not the case in the present instance, and the house would not vote a criminal inquiry upon conjecture, surprise, or insinuation, however ingeniously or vehemently supported. To take up the time of the house upon these unfounded inquiries, would only impede the progress of public business, and derogate from the dignity which belonged to the deliberative character of the house.* In cases like these, if the house adopted the motion, no character, however exalted in station, or however distinguished by integrity, would be safe from accusation for a moment. In order to set inquiry on foot, it was only to make a charge, and to maintain it by as many hard words as possible, and that house must enter into a public inquiry without the slightest foundation. These things he wished to put to the integrity and common sense of the house, and to ask them to reflect, whether by the dictates of either, they felt themselves called upon to vote for the inquiry."

"The ATTORNEY GENERAL, after having expressed his surprise at what he had heard that day, declared the sum Hoskins had given bail to, was neither more nor less than an action of debt sued out by Mr. Frost, the Solicitor of the Lottery, as a mere individual. Had it been any thing in which government was in any way concerned, Mr. Frost would have been bound in duty to have consulted him as to the bail; but that had not been the case. Mr. Frost, he said, on his own accord, had brought actions against different persons, on the Lottery acts, for the recovery of penalties, to the amount of 8 or 9,000l., merely to make out a charge upon the Stamp Office of 2,000l. for what he had done, which was the recovering about 150l. On the occasion of Hoskins, Mr. Frost had not insulted him, by offering sham bail to his consideration, or he should not have done it with impunity. In fact, in the particular instance, he had acted as a mere individual. He explained it to the house, that actions for penalties, as the law stood at present, could be brought by any individual who chose it, and that the consequence was, they were compromised in the most scandalous manner repeatedly, and that he not being in possession of the evidence, could not effectually interfere. The only way to prevent this, would be to enact in future, that no action for a penalty should be brought but by the Attorney General. The Judges, he said, had done him the honour to consult him on the subject, and had complained of the frequency of the compromises. He repeated, that Hoskins was imprisoned on an action of debt to Frost as a mere individual, and declared, that he did not know one case in which he received a scrap of paper from Frost. He reasoned upon the item of the three guineas charged by Frost to lord Hood, and said, so far from its affording any proof that persons high in office had been guilty of corrupt practices, it almost to a demonstration proved the contrary. The grounds that had been laid down were far too slight for the house to go into a committee upon, and they ought not to go into a committee, unless they were pretty sure of success."

"Mr. M. A. TAYLOR said, if the hon. gentlemen on the other side would content themselves with the deliverance which flying from trial would give them, he wished them much honour of their acquittal. The public would decide on the purity of those who durst not stand trial. The facts alleged against them were as specific as it was possible to make them, in the present stage

of the business. It was directly charged upon the Solicitor of the Lottery, and the auspices under which he acted, that he had suffered an accused person to escape by sham and Jew bail, because he had engaged to bring sixty votes in favour of a Lord of the Admiralty. It was expressly charged upon the Secretary of the Treasury, that he had engaged to bring a person, convicted of a penalty for an offence against the Excise laws, to a private conference with the Solicitor to the Excise, in his own house, on his promising to perform certain services in the said election. These were specific charges, and yet it was objected that there was too much generality in the accusation. At a time when the imputations against the Secretary of the Treasury for meddling in elections, were so round, the delicacy of that house alone was not to be offended by whispering a insinuation. Did they really think he was not active in his interferences? Did they not know how various, how multiform, his appearances were, whenever he could be seen or felt with effect? He called upon the house therefore to stand forward, and vindicate themselves, by searching to the bottom a charge fairly and candidly brought before them".

"Mr. Whitbread said, the accusation was as specific as, in the present stage, it ought to be. His hon. friend ought not, in his mind, to name the person high in office, against whom his proofs lay, his naming him now might deprive him of those very proofs. Let the right hon. gent., for instance, reflect what ought to be his conduct if he himself were the high person alluded to. He had the complete power, by his eloquence, by his influence, to grant or to stifle inquiry, as he should find that the proofs were feeble, or that they were conclusive. If he made it a previous doctrine, therefore, that the person should be named, and that all the chain of proof should be exposed, he crushed all inquiry against a minister pending his power, and against all subordinate officers. The dignity, the feelings of gentlemen in office, demanded that they should be the first to entreat the house to grant the inquiry. Not to be forward in soliciting it themselves would be to give suspicion of guilt—innocence would be eager for justification—it could not sleep under accusation—"Go," it would say to its friends, "relieve me from the torture of suspicion. "I have lost my rest; I cannot sleep till I "am justified." What sort of friendship must that be, which, instead of eagerly bringing the accuser to his proofs, forbids all inquiry, and dooms innocence "to sleep "no more!" It was not to be imagined that his Majesty's ministers could persist in shrinking from the only legitimate means which they had of an honourable acquittal."

"Mr. Windham said, that the very unaccountable language of that day induced him to rise, not because he thought it possible to adduce any new arguments in support of the motion, but because to be silent under the doctrines which had been advanced, would be to desert his duty, and to prostitute his feelings. The doctrines had themselves been strange; they had been more strange from the quarter whence they had originated. They militated against every principle of jurisprudence which the wisdom of ages had matured, or which the practice of all our courts had sanctioned; and yet they were brought forward by lawyers. A conduct had been held by his majesty's ministers, which certainly did not greatly tend to the elevation of the house, and which he knew not how they could reconcile with their own dignity. They had recourse to a scrupulous nicety, under which a man of honour, charged with the suspicion of guilt, would have disdained to shelter himself, a mere verbal insufficiency, and taking refuge in the desperate practice of self-convicted and timorous offenders in our criminal courts, they had literally got off by a flaw in the indictment. They said, "it is neces-"sary that you shall name the person high "in office whom you charge, and unless "you specify the offender, you shall not be "permitted to inquire, although you assert "that there is positive guilt."—"Why, "Sir," said Mr. Windham, "even taking it with this captious objection, their scruple ought to be removed, when the hon. gent. (Mr. Thompson) fairly tells you, that the Secretary of the Treasury is personally charged. Is not the Secretary of the Treasury a public man in high authority? Is he not a great man by his salaries? Is he not a public man by his trusts and offices? View him in all his aspects—he is every way a public man—and he is personally accused. But the learned gent. asserts it as a legal doctrine, that there ought not to be an inquiry unless there is a great and infinite probability of guilt. Is this, Sir, the practice of any one court in England? There ought not to be a trial, I admit, without a certain degree of suspicion; *but there ought to be an inquiry wherever there is a charge, and wherever there is an open and avowed accuser. A man ought not to be brought before a jury of his peers to answer to a frivolous and vexatious charge, but will you say that the grand jury shall not examine the bill? To deny an*

inquiry is to bar the door against justice. It is contrary to the first principles of jurisprudence. It is what a band of criminals would rejoice in, but it would be fatal to innocence. We state that there is positive guilt; we have record of positive guilt. We have the proof that a public officer suffered a person, accused of an offence against law, to escape, for a corrupt reason, offensive to the dignity of this house, outrageous to the representation of the people: and we have it presented to us, that he did this with the connivance of higher persons. We demand that this bill be examined. We demand that the house shall go into a committee, to see whether persons in office did, or did not, convert the public revenue into an instrument of election abuse. Granting a committee is not going to trial; but if you say that you ought not to inquire, when abuse is stated, you lay down a principle unknown in any court in the world! You say, in so many words at least, that the English House of Commons shall establish for its own conduct a doctrine to screen guilt and to torture innocence. Another doctrine, advanced by the learned gent. is certainly equally against his own practice in the courts. "There "ought to be proof that the witnesses are "credible." Why, Sir, was it ever heard of that the credibility of the witnesses became a question, till they came to give their evidence? till it was seen what stress was to be laid on their testimony? This new way of taking character by anticipation is a doctrine so new and so contrary to all practice, that I confess it astonishes me to hear it advanced; and against all this we have the assertion of the gentlemen themselves. "I "assure you," say they, "these witnesses "are not deserving of credibility; trust us, "the accused persons; we assure you of our "innocence; and here let there be an end." Sir, they must surely entertain a higher opinion of the credulity of this house, than even their recent experience can justify, if they think that their confiding talent will be carried to this length. But if it is, then the majority will, upon reflection, see the true picture of their own conduct; they will see whether the imputations that have been thrown upon them, of giving confidence for reasons which they have never been so good as to explain, are not fairly to be ascribed to them. They will do more: this administration, which it has been their fashion to paint without, however, having any proofs to exhibit—certainly without any instances of purity, which they please to advance, as a perfect paragon of purity and virtue, will now stand unmasked and exposed in their natural and true colours. The gay embroidered suit of pretence, in which they have decked themselves, and under which they have strutted in magnificent disguise, is torn off, and they behold them in the tattered rags of their genuine deformity. They stand like the uncased Frenchman, which the licentiousness of our stage is too apt to exhibit in ridicule—in ruffles without a shirt—in tinsel and lace on the outside—in dirt and dowlas within—they stand before their confiding majority, convicted of shrinking from trial, and when a man does not dare to stand trial, the world have a right to believe him guilty; and in this condition stands his Majesty's ministers in the eyes of their majority. Let me add, Sir, one word more on this serious subject. We have before us two pregnant instances of the use which is made of these summary and shameful proceedings, which are introduced into practice for the sake of our darling revenue; *that revenue for which every thing is to be sacrificed—the citizen to be oppressed and ruined—the constitution to be violated. We see that these summary modes of conviction may be dexterously perverted into instruments of favour or of fear, as it may be the political and corrupt motive of office, for the moment, to gratify or to intimidate.* You see the fact in glaring truth before you. It remains for you to shew to your constituents, suffering under these abominable laws, whether you will not at least provide against the profligate perversion of them to other ends than revenue."

"Mr. MARTIN said, that though he was of opinion that an inquiry ought to be granted, and even that if the motion were rejected, *eternal disgrace would fall on the house*; yet he hoped it would be rejected, as such a circumstance *could not fail to open the eyes of the public to the imperfections of the present system of representation*, and convince them of the necessity of a parliamentary reform."—The house divided,—Ayes, 54; Noes, 221.

Now, my Lord Howick, how do you feel, after a look in this glass? Nay, my lord, laugh not. It is no laughing matter, and that you, and those who now back you will find. Could you, my lord, look me, or any man like me, in the face, after the perusal of this debate, bearing in your mind what passed on the 13th instant? If you could, I would not exchange the bit of paper, upon which I am writing in defence of my country's rights, for your office, your title, and your fortune to boot, if I were therewith compelled to take your mind and your heart. But, I will do you the justice to say, that I do not think you could look me in the face.

I am well aware of the state of your mind upon such an occasion; and I regret, that any consideration whatever should have made you consent so to enthral yourself. Your lordship once said, in proposing a reform of parliament, that, in spite of "the *calumnious* assertion, that, if you were *in power*, you would be the last to propose such a measure, you should proceed in the discharge of your duty." Was the assertion "*calumnious*," my lord? Here, my lord, it is that our malady lies. Here are the seeds of death. It is the all-subduing system of Pitt. "What," said Sir F. Burdett, in the debate just referred to (26 March, 1797). "What was the cause of the French revolution? The progress of reason and philosophy? Reason and philosophy can boast of no such influence over mankind. The revolution was caused by the extravagance, profligacy, and insolence of the administration. The same causes are operating with us; and highly as I esteem the talents of the Right Hon. Gent. (Mr. Fox), *even he could do nothing substantial for the benefit of the people, were he minister to-morrow, without an entire change in our system of politics; nor, even then, unless there be a full and free representation of the people in parliament.*" Perhaps, my lord, that this, which was said in support of your motion, you will *now* call jacobinism; but, be assured, that every honest and sensible man in the country will say, that events have fully proved it to be *true*.

SLAVE TRADE.

Copy of a Letter from LORD NELSON *to Mr. Simon Taylor of Jamaica, dated, Victory off Martinico, June 16, 1805.*

DEAR SIR,——I was in a thousand fears for Jamaica; for that is a blow which Buonaparté would be happy to give us. I had no hesitation in forming my judgment, and I flew to the West Indies without any orders; but, I think the ministry cannot be displeased. Information at Barbadoes from St. Lucia told us, that the enemy's squadron had sailed with 5000 troops on the 28th of May, and were seen standing to the southward, therefore, Tobago, Trinidad, or Grenada was supposed their object. I went to those islands, but now find the whole was a fabrication, for the enemy did not leave Fort Royal till the night of the 5th of June. On the 8th they were under Dominica. On the 7th under Guadaloupe standing to the northward, supposed either to try and carry Antigua, or are trying to escape from me. The Carthagena squadron was at sea, but returned on hearing I was close to them. They could have no troops that ought to make my Jamaica friends alarmed. When I am satisfied they are on their return, after sending some of the Spanish ships to the Havannah, I shall push hard to get off the Streights before them, and kind Providence may some happy day bless my endeavours to serve the empire, of which the West India colonies form so prominent and interesting a part. I have ever been, and shall die a firm friend to our colonial system. I was bred as you know in the good old school, and taught to appreciate the value of our West India possessions, and neither in the field nor in the senate, shall their interest be infringed while I have an arm to fight in their defence or a tongue to launch my voice against the damnable and cursed doctrine of * * * * and his hypocritical allies, and I hope my birth in heaven will be as exalted as his, who would certainly cause the murder of all our friends and fellow subjects in the colonies; however, I did not intend to go so far; but the sentiments are full in my heart, and the pen would write them.—I shall as soon as I have done with this fleet go to England for a few months, and if you have time and inclination, I shall be glad to hear from you; we are near thirty years acquainted, and I am as ever, &c.——(Signed)——NELSON AND BRONTE.

12th of June off Antigua. The combined squadrons passed here on the 8th, and I am after them. Jamaica is safe, on which I congratulate you most sincerely.

ORDNANCE OFFICE.

SIR,——A proposal, revolting to the feelings and judgment of a large and estimable portion of the military force of the country, having appeared in your last Register, under the signature, Philo-Register, dated 8th November last, I rely on your candour for the admission of a few remarks on it. The writer alluded to, evidently sensible of the obnoxious tendency of his intentions, assumes the disguise of an old woman, interested in the fate of the funds, and affecting anxiety for your advice to avert apprehended ruin by their failure. Instead, however, of waiting for the guidance solicited, this sagacious writer offers a remedy for all the embarrassments of our financial system, in aid of the economy recommended by you: and expecting (like an ostrich covering its eyes to escape being seen) that the borrowed petticoat of the old woman will hide the jack-boots of the horse guards, seriously suggests that great saving of expence and much general improvement would be effected, by trans-

ferring the authority of the Master General and Board of Ordnance to the direction of the Commander-in-Chief. The fiction of the writer's being a fund-holder is by no means ill imagined; neither is the garb of concealment adopted on this occasion injudiciously chosen, or inappropriate to the illustrious Field-Marshal, whose patronage is endeavoured to be increased. Communion of interests and passions between the parasites of the horse-guards, and the fund-dealers of Lloyd's is perfectly natural; and if ever their mutual favourite shall attain the desired extension of his power, it will assuredly be by their united efforts. But, dark as are our political prospects in other respects, such a change is no longer within the range of probability. The empty and greedy ambition of Clerk-Colonels or Colonel-Clerks, may prompt them to abortive attempts to advance the power and popularity of their Chief; and an agent, unsatisfied with the share of the ordnance agency which he is allowed to retain, may strive by similar puny essays to be restored to the whole.—But they will labour in vain. Their strength is unequal to the heaping Pelion on Ossa. Never will they see the Duke of York at the head of the ordnance. To retain his present station, gradually circumscribed in authority, is the utmost expectation he can now rationally form. A successful invasion of the tranquil provinces of the ordnance department, regulated by wise institutions, and happy under the paternal government of an amiable and enlightened nobleman, a general by long and gallant service, is no longer practicable.—Cooperation for such a purpose cannot be supposed from any man of honesty and ability in the country. That the attempt should first appear in your paper, Mr. Cobbett, would excite surprise, if your impartiality, and encouragement to fair and free discussion, were not as conspicuous as your public-spirit. But I cannot for a moment entertain the idea that *you* will behold with indifference an attempt to extend the sway of the Duke of York to the most valuable part of our military force; which hitherto, under a Master General, has been handed down to us from our ancestors, high in character and unrivalled in professional skill. To secure your aid against such an attempt, I am convinced nothing more is requisite than to present it to your notice. I shall now, therefore, revert to the shallow pretences alleged for the proposed alteration. The superior accommodations of the engineers and artillery, and their staff appointments, are the only grounds assigned ——I answer that—the artillery barracks are better than those of the line, only because (like the barracks of the marines, which are equally comfortable for the same reason) they are inalienable depots, always occupied by the same corps. Besides, however desirable it might be to render all barracks equally commodious (which would be the only rational object) yet, what seems to be this wiseacre's plan, the reducing them to the same standard of misery, would not be effected by placing the ordnance under the controul of the Commander-in-Chief, while the services of the line and artillery should remain distinct. The pseudo Philo-Register's other objection is as palpably unfounded. On this head I reply to him that—if the staff, in the appointments on which the engineers and artillery now participate in some small proportion, be too extensive (which I readily admit it is) the whole blame, for such a wanton waste of the public treasure, belongs exclusively to the Commander in-Chief, who alone is allowed to influence its extent. That general officers of the engineers and artillery should be precluded from appointments on the staff, cannot, surely, be rationally contended for. But, without insisting on their equal claims, it will be sufficient to observe, that if a certain number of general officers are to have staff pay, no saving of expence would be obtained by the unjust exclusion of any particular corps from furnishing its proportion. Having thus shewn that no advantage would attend the transfer of power recommended, I do not consider it incumbent on me to illustrate, at much length, the danger and absurdity of a change; by whic the security to the public money resulting from the established checks of a wisely constituted regular board would be wildly relinquished for the management of an irresponsible individual. I shall, therefore, content myself with submitting two questions, on which the public are fully qualified to decide by the interesting reports of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry.—1st. Can the impolicy of unrestricted confidence in an individual be more strongly exemplified than in the case of General Delancey?—2d Is it not evident that all the frauds and improvident bargains recently detected in the barrack department, would have been prevented, if the superintendence thereof had remained under the Board of Ordnance instead of being entrusted to an individual.—It is unnecessary to my present purpose, to press these topics farther. Your correspondent's assertion too, that "the Master General of the Ordnance ought not to be a "cabinet minister," being unsupported by argument, and evidently absurd, might be

dismissed with contempt. But the position ought to attract attention at this conjuncture, because there is some danger lest the total indifference of the public towards the present Secretary at War, might generate a similar apathy on a point of much constitutional importance; viz. the exclusion from the cabinet of a minister, who is the sole check-officer over the pay of the army, amounting to fourteen millions a year. I, therefore, assert and undertake to prove, in contradiction to this dangerous doctrine, that it is essential to the proper conduct of the affairs of the state, and to the character of the administration (if it value character), that every member of the ministry, who is head of a department, entrusted with large sums of the public treasure, ought also to be a member of the cabinet, in which measures and expenditures are discussed.—I must not, however, encroach further at present on your valuable Register.—MILES.—*London, Jan.* 26, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 5.

"Learning, truly so called, consists in the possession of knowledge and in the capacity of communicating that knowledge to others; and, as far as my observation will enable me to speak, what are called the *learned* languages, operate as a bar to the acquirement of real learning. I already hear some pedagogue, or pedant, exclaim, 'this is precisely the reasoning of the Fox without a tail.' But, to bring this matter to the test, I hereby invite the *learned* gentlemen of the two Universities to a discussion upon the subject. I assert that what they call the learned languages are improperly so called; and that, as a part of general education, they are worse than useless."—POL. REGISTER, Vol. XI. p. 36.

SIR,——In addressing to you a few comments upon this assertion of yours, excuse me, if, in compliment to your own style of writing, I should make use of some harsh and unmannerly expressions. And, on the strength of this freedom of speech being granted to me, I may, perhaps, in the first place, be justified in declaring, that it is impossible to say, whether the above passage be more remarkable for the ignorance, or for the insolence, which it betrays. The air of arrogance, and the dogmatical tone which you have assumed in laying down your position, exceeds anything which I ever met with in the most determined pedant, or illiterate coxcomb.—Of you, Mr. Cobbett, it is particularly unworthy, who have on many occasions displayed your pretensions to the character of a sensible man. To condescend to argue the question which you have proposed for discussion, in detail, would be 'worse than useless', it would be rank folly: it would be exhibiting the beauty of colours and proportion to the blind, and throwing away the charms of music upon the dead. No; thanks be to the 'learned languages,' their cause requires not the support of such advocates as either you or myself. "The sound hath gone forth throughout the earth," and I am enabled by the statement of a mere, simple fact, to convince even you, Sir, of your absurdity, and of your audacious and unexampled effrontery. Answer me this question, Sir! To whom has "learning," properly so called, which consists in the possession of knowledge, and in the capacity of communicating it to others," been principally and almost exclusively indebted? (Of course the proposed inquiry applies chiefly to the present state of learning in this country, and to its progress since the revival of, what is usually called, Letters.) Sir, I much doubt, whether you can answer this question to me, as a man, for I strongly suspect, that the works and history of those illustrious characters, to whom I allude, are, for the most part, unknown to you. I will, therefore, myself, answer the question for you, in part: I will tell you, who have been the great friends and supporters of learning, properly so called, as they have distinguished themselves in almost every department of learning and science. Bacon, Milton, Locke, Boyle, Newton, Swift, Pope, and Addison, have, by their learning, been principally instrumental in enlarging the sphere of knowledge, and in contributing, moreover, by their works, to the civilization and happiness of mankind. This catalogue will hereafter be enriched with the names of other most estimable and distinguished characters of the same school. Chatham, Burke, Fox, Paley, Priestley, Horne Tooke, and the late amiable and truly learned Beattie, together with, almost invariably, the brightest ornaments of the modern bar, and the most enlightened dignitaries of the church, are among those to whom true knowledge is under the greatest obligations. Can you suppose, Mr. Cobbett, that your own posthumous fame, for instance, will ever bear, for a moment, to be put in competition with that of the above named accomplished and learned scholars? And whence did these men gather their knowledge, and acquire such undoubted claims to superior wisdom and virtue? Did the history of their own country only, and their own mother tongue, supply them with those stores of erudition and good taste, by which their minds were so greatly enriched and improved? Did the Goths and Vandals, and Anglo-Saxons, transmit to them the knowledge of the 'ingenuous arts,' and

those treasures of natural, moral, and political philosophy, which their labours have so abundantly dispensed to us? Or did they derive their wisdom at second hand only? through the weak medium of English translations from the works of the learned Greeks and Romans? No! no! Sir; these great scholars digged and delved for the precious ore itself in the very mines of ancient Greece and Rome. Their labours became more and more animated and persevering, from the idea of hearing those illustrious philosophers of antiquity speak for themselves; and from the hope of being able, in some degree, to hold converse with them in the same language. Their honourable ardour could not rest, till they were put in possession of the true riches. In order to think as they thought, they found it necessary to be able to speak as they spake.—Of the insipidity and inadequacy of translations, you, yourself, may have some tolerable conception. You would not think, that a good article of your own in the Political Register (*si magnis liceat componere parva*) could have justice done to it by a translation into any language upon earth. (And yet, perhaps, that would be the best touchstone on which to try its real merit.) Nor would you be desirous, that your spirit and talents, as a political writer, should be measured by the awkward and puny standard of a translation. Is not the same reasoning applicable, in an infinitely higher degree, to translations from the learned Greek and Roman authors? Are the sentiments and genius of Homer, Xenophon, Thucidydes, Demosthenes, Plato, Aristotle, and of those deeply learned Græco-Romans, Cicero and Horace, Virgil and Quintilian, to be studied to advantage in a language not their own? In order to feel, to each, and to communicate the true taste and philosophical genius of Cicero, you must read Cicero. So thought Locke, when in enforcing the opinion of La Bruyere, he says: "The study of the original text can never be sufficiently recommended. It is the shortest, surest, and most agreeable way to all sorts of learning. Draw from the spring head, and take not things at second hand. Let the writings of the great masters be never laid aside; dwell upon them, settle them in your mind, and cite them upon occasion."

'Noctumà versate manu, versate diurnâ.'

And now, Sir, will not the above short allusion to the names and acquirements of our wisest men and philosophers, or, in other words, of those who "as far as we know and can judge, possessed the greatest degree of knowledge, and had the capacity of communicating it to others," completely answer and refute your rude denunciation against the utility of the 'learned languages!' Is not this argument, as founded on facts, indisputable? For observe the dilemma into which a rejection of this argument would place you. You would have to prove, that a large majority of our countrymen, who are now ignorant of what are called the "learned languages," do, in fact, possess an equal, or greater degree of knowledge, than the 'learned gentlemen' who have been educated at our two Universities, but that unhappily, hitherto, they have not had the desire, or capacity, to communicate it to others." '*De non apparentibus quasi de non existentibus, eadem est ratio,*' says the proverb. And strange indeed it is, that not one truly learned, though originally poor man, in ten thousand, appears among us, who has not been indebted to the study of the 'learned languages,' for the expansion and improvement of his mind, for his knowledge, and, in many instances, for his virtues; while the million, whose time and talents are unfettered by the trammels and absurdities of Greek and Latin syntax, remain, generally speaking, in the back ground; unable, in the smallest degree, to cope with their classical friends (for I will not call them their adversaries) in the improvement of, and communication of, those arts and sciences, which most embellish and dignify human nature. Let it also be remarked, that the great majority, even, of our first rate mathematicians and natural philosophers, such as Newton, Locke, Boyle, &c. (the promoters of sciences not so immediately connected with an acquaintance with the 'learned languages') has been composed of great scholars, properly so called. Yet it would be possible to mention the names of *some* excellent and first rate mathematicians and mechanics, both ancient and modern, who have made little, or no progress in Grecian and Roman literature; not from want of inclination to do so, but, from want of opportunity to prosecute such studies; for they gratefully acknowledge their eternal obligations to the conservators and translators of the works of Euclid, and will ever revere the memory and talents of an Archimedes, Eudoxus, and Archytas. But the fewness of their numbers, comparatively speaking, adds strength to my argument; inasmuch as it affords a further proof, that the study of the learned languages, instead of operating, as you assert, as 'a bar' to the acquirement of real learning, is, in every branch of it, on the contrary, as satisfactory as it is desirable. I leave you to

make the best of this actual result. I will just mention one other argument, as it regards the ability which attends the studying of the 'learned languages'; and that is, that the attainment of the rudiments of those languages has a peculiar tendency to quicken the powers of observation, to excite, and to form, accurate perceptions of things: and to induce habits of close investigation. It, moreover, wonderfully assists in the improvement of the faculty of the memory, rendering it technically and most extensively useful; and it is worthy also of observation, that this advantage and improvement of the mind is usually acquired at an age when the youth of the lower classes of the community (who have this avenue to science thrown open to them, by the munificence and liberality of those excellent persons, who, after the example of our immortal King Alfred, have been the founders of free grammar schools) could add little to the public stock of industry by their personal labour; and when it would be difficult to say, what study more generally useful could be adopted, to employ the time, to fix the attention, and strengthen the faculties of youth, at that particular age, previously to their engaging with success in any other liberal pursuit or occupation, to which their various circumstances or condition in life, or inclination might lead them. The mistake, into which your arrogance has led you, is, that, like many others, you would argue against the use of a thing, in consequence of its abuse. An error into which nothing but the odious spirit of detraction, and the overflowings of ignorance and conceit, could have betrayed you on the present occasion. As justly, and almost as gratefully, might you have considered the art of printing, and the liberty of the press (from whence, as from an "*alma mater*" you have derived what little light, and information, and consequence you have) to be, like the learned languages, 'a bar to,' or inimical to, the best interests of mankind, because of the abuse to which they are daily subjected by the folly, the malignity, and selfish designs of those who have recourse to them. For want of a critical knowledge of the 'learned languages,' you have, yourself, been unable to discover, "that it is nothing but men's laziness which hath encouraged pedantry to cram, rather than to enrich, libraries, and to bury good authors under heaps of notes and commentaries." (Locke from La Bruyère.)—I will only notice one other particular, which in the pride and waggishness of your heart, you have introduced into your notable and indecent challenge. 'I already hear,' say you, 'some pedagogue or pedant exclaim: this is precisely the reasoning of the Fox *without a tail*." What! would you make the pedant more stupid than he really is? Who, that had not his conceptions obfuscated by the fumes of his own insolence, would compare you, under the present supposition of a *want of learning*, to the fox which had *lost his tail?* 'For that, I fancy, is the fable to which you allude, when you talk of the fox *without a tail*.—Sir, the absolutely, thorough-bred, no-tail'd foxes have been extinct in our country, I believe, for many generations past. I have been after those animals, man and boy, these many years, and yet you are the first *live* creature of the kind, that has presented itself to me. Now I have gotten hold of you by the stump, methinks, it would be a good thing to put you into a bag, and to turn you out, on some fine morning, before our——gallant pack: depend upon it, we would rattle your old stiff rump well for you. But, good Sir, you never had a tail to *lose*: (that is, you were never in possession of the learned languages); ergo, you are not circumstanced like the fox to which you compare yourself in the fable, who had *forfeited* his tail (as many of his betters have done their heads) for his villainy. For it was *in consequence of the loss of his tail*, that the fox in the fable was enabled so ingeniously to plead the want of it, as an advantage, to his compatriots. There would have been much more sense in comparing yourself to the fox, who was unable to reach the grapes. But there is another fable, now I think of it, which, if possible, is still more applicable to yourself. It is prettily told in the Latin language—allow me to transcribe it for your edification, and permit me, at the same time, to subjoin an attempt at doing it into English, that you may thoroughly understand it.

Mulus.

Lascivientem plurimo hordeo mulum
Quondam hæc superba cogitatio incessit:
Ego pulcher inquit; ego celerrimus cursor;
Patrem habui equum, qui aurata fræna mandebat,
Hæc ille. sed mox, incidente currendi
Necessitudine, impeditus, atque hærens,
Ad prima campi spatia restitit lassus;
Asinique patris est statim recordatus.

An ale-drinking wight, full of hiccough, and play
Thus said to himself, as he scribbl'd away:
"Who so clever as I? such a sholar, and wag?
"My father a ——— who chew'd the best shag!"
Scarcely out were the words, when it happen'd, hard-by,
A Latin quotation attracted his eye;
Baffled, bungling, and blund'ring, in vain, o'er the page,
He very soon threw it away-in a rage!

Yet asham'd, and confounded, at what came to pass,
He then was reminded—he was but an *ass!*

How easy, but how detestable a thing it is, Mr. Cobbett, to be scurrilous! Since the passage, quoted from your Register, which has occasioned this long letter, is no less than a formal challenge from you to the friends and patrons of the 'learned languages' and consequently (as has been proved) is an attack upon learning itself, I am, therefore, far from presuming to think, that you might not receive a much abler answer than mine, which I communicate to you under the signature of 'Anacharsis,' in allusion to the name of an ancient admirer and patron of Grecian literature and science. Whose fame, however honorably recorded as a scholar, must, nevertheless, for the present, 'vail' to your modern reputation as a libeller. The best answer to your challenge, as to many others, I am persuaded, would be, to take no notice of it at all: and possibly, if I may risque an Irishism, that will be the notice taken of it by the truly learned. The discussion which you would provoke is now quite out of date. To place the laurel-crown now, for the first time, on the brows of the ancient learned Greeks and Romans, or their disciples, would be ten times more officious and ridiculous, than to present now, for the first time, the diadem of France to the Emperor Napoleon. Unhappily, for the world, the Emperor Napoleon, like yourself, and Thomas Paine, is defective in point of education. He is not "literis imbutus humanioribus." And though he is now the most conspicuous character in Europe, neither his head nor heart is become susceptible of those just sentiments, which distinguish the enlightened friends of 'humanity and the belles lettres.'—The error, into which you have fallen, has indeed, been anticipated, and its dangers have been clearly ascertained. Knox, when writing 'on the Influence of Politics on the State of Literature, has made an observation which may be applied to *you* with singular force and propriety. "The "newspapers form the whole library of a "politician, the coffee-house is his school, "and he prefers the gazette and an acrimo- "nious pamphlet, for or against the minis- "try, to all that was ever written by a "Homer, or discovered by a Newton."—Again he observes: "he who would add an "elegance to politics, and distinguish his "conversation on the subject, from the "vociferation of porters in an ale-house, "should inspect the finished pieces of an- "tiquity; and learn to view public acts and "counsels in the light in which they ap- "peared to those whom the world has long "considered as some of the best and poli- "test teachers of political wisdom.—— (Knox's Essays, vol. 2. p. 124.) Now the preservation of the various knowledge, and learning, and wisdom, of ancient Greece and Rome (to recur to the former argument) has entirely depended upon the cultivation and preservation of the respective languages of those countries, in their original purity. And let it be observed, that the still more inestimable treasures of the second scriptures as connected with the history and doctrines of the Christian religion, have owed their existence to the same cause. If it had not been for the successive labours and perseveing industry of scholars in studying and communicating the knowledge of those languages most critically and grammatically, the glorious light, which we have now so much reason to be thankful for, would probably have been for ever concealed from us! Nor shall we have the power of transmitting this purest, and most perfect, and most transcendent revelation of true wisdom to our children, as an authentic document, unimpaired, unless the same studies be still as earnestly inculcated, and as successfully pursued.——ANACHARSIS.——*M. S. Feb.* 3, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 6.

SIR,——The unqualified attack, in your number of the 10th instant, on what are generally termed the Learned Languages, has induced me to step forward in their defence; who am neither the immediate subject of your challenge, nor a champion worthy of such a cause. I am a native of the northern division of this island, of which the inhabitants are very variously represented by their southern neighbours; while the late Lord Orford characterises them as "the most ac- "complished nation in Europe, the nation "to which if any country is endowed with "a superior portion of sense he should be "inclined to give the preference in that par- "ticular," by the monks of Oxford and Cambridge (Mr Gibbon's expression) they are treated with the utmost contempt. When an impartial estimate however is formed, Scotland will be found, for a considerable length of time, to have produced men who have distinguished themselves in literature and science, and in active life, in a greater number proportionally than any other part of the British dominions. And this must be in a great measure owing to the prevailing education, of which while the study of the an-

tients forms a part, it by no means engrosses the whole attention, to the exclusion of other branches of knowledge equally necessary to be known, but which are said to be disregarded by the English Universities.—While I admire your spirit, Mr. Cobbett, I cannot help thinking, that your ardour and impetuosity sometimes lead you to form sweeping conclusions, which on a calm survey you would have rejected. This ardour of disposition no man however will blame, when he considers how essential a requisite it is to him who stands forward as the political censor of the age, who, were he to waste his time in weighing circumstances with the scrupulous nicety of a dialectician, would frequently allow the favourable moment of reproof to pass by unappropriated.——Had you confined your strictures to the abuse of the antient languages, I should have heartily given you my assent; it is the wish to degrade them from any place at all in education that I disapprove of.—Your definition of learning is, the possession of knowledge and the power of communicating that knowledge. And with respect to the power of communicating knowledge, a command of words, I know no method equally efficacious with the study of a different language from your own. It unavoidably fixes the attention on the peculiarities that distinguish each of the languages; and the import of the ideas received from a foreign author must be always measured by corresponding expressions in the mother tongue. At the age usually devoted to this exercise the memory is almost the only faculty that is possessed in any degree of perfection; and by no other means could this faculty be rendered more subservient to general improvement. Other acquirements requiring a like degree of understanding may and ought then to be made; but to talk of the higher walks of science or any thing requiring thought and judgment is preposterous in the extreme. Whatever of our own language can be appreciated in early youth and not imparted by these means should also be communicated and can easily be done without interfering in the least with a classical education. You, Mr. Cobbett, although unacquainted it seems with antient learning, are yet what is generally termed a linguist, and I believe you once told us that you taught the English language to foreigners. I appeal then to your experience for what I assert, and I will ask you whether in the acquisition of the languages you possess you were not conscious, that your knowledge of your own was wonderfully increased, and that many of its niceties were thus forced upon your attention, of which otherwise you would have been conscious? The knowledge that can with most effect be imparted to youth, that accords the best with their dispositions and inclinations, is history, morals and a taste for poetry; and it is very easy to combine this knowledge with the acquisition of languages: nay, it necessarily results from such acquisition.—And what languages shall we choose in preference to the antient for this purpose? Shall we make choice of the poorest of the modern idioms, the language of the French, whose writers are in general as much distinguished for an affectation of manner, as for rash presumptuous conclusions and an almost universal precariousness of principle? Shall we set before them the models of Tuscan eloquence conveying a morality to which that of Covent Garden is comparatively chaste, or unlock the fountains of High Dutch, the most copious and energetic of the modern languages, in some respects superior to the Latin, but profaned by a host of vulgar scribblers?—Let us draw a line of demarcation between the respective merits of the antients and moderns. In history, morals, oratory, and almost every department of poetry the antients are as superior to the moderns as they are inferior in physical science. That education must therefore be the best which places before the student the purest models in every department, that places before him an excellence of which of his own accord he could form no conception. Accordingly we see the greatest orators have been always those most familiar with the antients for whom they have entertained the highest veneration. Need I point to Cicero, the most conversant of his countrymen in Grecian literature, to Burke, to Johnson, to Buffon, to Montesquieu, Boccace and Wieland. And how rare is it to find in men who have been deprived of a learned education, I do not speak of eloquence, even a tolerable knowledge of composition, notwithstanding of the multitude of readers in every nation of Europe who fall under this description. Independent of the matter of the antient authors, they enjoyed the advantage of composing in languages so happily formed that they could model them to every inflection of meaning; they could give to their construction an energy and a harmony which it is in vain for the moderns to attempt. The latter must always stand at a distance; and we can only admire that they have got over so many difficulties as they have done. But would Burke himself have dared (and after him what other) to bring forth ought that he would place in competition with the Cato Major or the Treatise de Oratore of Cicero?"

Will any historian of the present day stand a comparison with the magnificence of Livy or the energy and sententious gravity of Tacitus? And to the Kuropœdia of Xenophon only the Emile of Rousseau can with effect be opposed. The sensations excited by the perusal of such authors will fade from the mind only with the last glimmer of memory. ——But why should these alone be studied, and the fruit of the experience of the moderns be neglected. In many things the antients were mere children in comparison of the latter. Modern civilization has produced fruits of which it is impossible that they could have formed any conception. It must also be confessed that for the majority of citizens the study of antient literature is worse than useless; it engrosses that time which could for themselves and their country be more beneficially employed in the acquisition of knowledge fitted for the humble walks of ordinary life; and for these acquisitions before a sufficient time is afforded they are hurried by urgent necessity on the busy theatre of the world.—But can he call himself learned, or boast of the universality of his grasp of mind who is ignorant of the manners, customs, and modes of thinking of nations so differently constituted from us as were the Greeks and Romans; who acted such a grand part on the theatre of the world; and who have left such illustrious memorials behind them? Without possessing their language this knowledge is impossible; no process can effect the decomposition of such an amalgamation as the union of the character of a people, and the language in which it is conveyed; and, when Swift, Addison, and Home are no longer understood, the name and memory of the English, and their glory will be as a passing dream.—Let a Hoogeven compile two immense quartos on Grecian particles, and let a Dalzell swell a treatise on the single particle *de*; these lucubrations are useful; they smooth the path of the general scholar; they fix doubtful and uncertain points which sometimes lead to important conclusions; and, as Dr. Johnson observes, so limited are our faculties that without we circumscribe our exertions to one province, excellence will probably be denied us. So long as these endless minutiæ are not made a *sine qua non* in general education, and the study of antient literature is confined within due bounds, and is so thught as not to interfere with a knowledge of the other important branches of science, and of the constitutions of modern society: so long may beneficial consequences be expected to result, and the contraction of mind inseparable from partial knowledge and exclusive attachment be avoided.——Yours, &c.——J. B——K.——*Edinburgh, Jan.* 27, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 7.

SIR,——Ever since I had the good fortune first to cast my eye upon your valuable publication, I have continued your constant reader and admirer. On Wednesday, the day on which your Register arrives in this city, I may say in the language of modern epicures, 'I dine!' This they speak emphatically: it is not meant that they do not get dinner every day, 'they' take dinner no doubt, but when they dine, there is something more than common, something very delicate and nice. So I, to supply the cravings of my literary maw, read something every day; some periodical work or daily publication. The Morning Chronicle, your old friend, against whom I see you have found it necessary to declare war;—a war which I am sure you consider just and necessary, otherwise you would not have undertaken it; and which I am confident you will conduct on principles the most liberal and manly:—him I always continue to read, not because he is at war with you, (for I take it for granted that, as in all other wars, your hostilities are mutual) but because he is a friend to literature, and seems to have as little fellow-feeling, as little sympathy and compassion as yourself for the fallen friends and advocates of the bankrupt system (which some persons style, *no doubt most injuriously*, the Pitt system. That invariable adherence to principles of honour and truth, displayed in every page of your work is, Sir, permit me to say, honourable to yourself, and advantageous to society. Virtue, which in times like those we have lately past, retires confounded and abashed, before the universal prevalence of vice, corruption, and folly, and almost yielding to despair, suspects she's but a name, receives from you new strength and vigour, and fortified with your support returns again, resumes her native dignity, and strikes with terror and dismay the crowd of vile assailants which beset her. And, Mr. Cobbett, if I did not intend before I have finished this letter to give you sufficient proof that I have no design to flatter, I would not venture to tell you how much I admire that unwearied industry and application, that power and capacity of mind, which enables you to treat with such success so many subjects of the highest importance, and deepest research; and that, too, with a force, perspicuity, and neatness of stile almost peculiar to yourself. In reading your paper it has often

occurred to me, has Mr. Cobbett studied the Greek and Latin writers? I surely thought from the simplicity of your style, which in composition I consider a chief beauty, that you could have learnt in no other school; but from your silence on the subject, and sometimes quoting French, but never Latin, I was led to suspect I might be mistaken. However, in your last week's Register, you have completely removed all doubt on this subject. You speak of the words *uti possidetis*, frequently referred to in the late negociation, as a "gallipot phrase, the last relick of monkish mummery, &c." and after several sarcastic sneers at the *learned* and *learned languages*, you conclude with the following most remarkable words, "But to bring this matter to the test, I "hereby invite the *learned* gentlemen of "the two Universities to a discussion upon "the subject. I assert that what they call "the *learned* languages are improperly so "called, and that as a part of general edu-"cation, they are worse than useless."—— Your first word on this subject roused my whole attention, and every new sentence excited new emotions. I fancied I had a ready answer to every objection, I panted for an opportunity of repelling, face to face, what I considered an outrageous attack. This was impossible. But I might write to you,—that would not do, as I had never in my life written a line for the press; and as a bad advocate injures a good cause, I was afraid, and still fear, that by an awkward use of the best weapons, I may suffer you to pass unhurt, and leave you to triumph in fancied victory, when, if wielded by a more skilful hand, you must inevitably receive a mortal wound. And are you, Mr. Cobbett, really serious in giving this challenge? Alas, for your fame, my Dear Sir, I am sorry to inform you you will have but half the praise, for unfortunately for you, Mr. Paine is before you in the proposal to abolish the use of the dead languages. Consequently, you must be content with that share of praise you will be entitled to, in effecting by zeal and industry, what he had the ingenuity to suggest; but which I dare say, until he heard of your intention, he is almost in despair of accomplishing, as he is that of his other *ingenious plan* the abolition of Christianity.——But, to be serious, if possible, what could induce you so ostentatiously to repeat what had been treated with such universal silence and contempt when formerly proposed by Paine? Could you really have interpreted that smile of scorn and derision, which was exhibited on the countenance of all the learned as a proof only of their ignorance, a proof that they had so far mispent their time in studying dead languages, that they were not sufficiently masters of any living one, not even of their mother tongue, as to be able to give a satisfactory reply to Paine's ridiculous assertions? He also had said, that the study of the dead languages was more than useless, was injurious to science and the cultivation of all useful knowledge; he even modestly affirmed that the pretensions of learned men were mere affectation; that they knew little or nothing about Latin, and as for Greek they knew not half so much about it as a Grecian milk maid, and not so much of the idiom as the cow she milked. What answer could be given to Mr. Paine? Why; none. He was content in his ignorance, and so let him remain: he understood not the subject, and was incapable of conviction. As a person who has no musical ear, but who at the same time is unconscious of the defect, laughs at the raptures of a musician, and affirms that all his extasies are mere affectation, notwithstanding most men of sense who suffer this privation, observing the general consent of mankind to be against them, although unconvinced yield with as good a grace as possible, and even affect to enjoy a fine air as much as their neighbours, nod their head and beat time with their feet; and, if I shall succeed in proving, that some men do yet understand Greek and Latin, and that some small advantage may be derived from the study of these languages, I shall be entitled to recommend the same prudent seeming to those who are not masters of them; especially, Sir, as you can assure them that "the stupidest wretch on earth "can learn enough for that purpose in a few "hours." But, suppose one of these literati had sat down to reply to Paine; how would he have proceeded? Why, surely the most natural way to prove a man's abilities is to let him speak for himself; so to prove that the Greek and Roman orators had never been too much extolled by their warmest admirers, that they never can be sufficiently admired as patterns of whatever is most beautiful and ingenious, most simple and natural, most sublime and dignified in composition and eloquence, he would have quoted in their own words, some passage in these different species of writing, which I have no doubt would be sufficient to convince the most obstinate, provided always, that they understood it; but, alas, this would be, to use a coarse phrase, 'singing psalms to a dead horse:' which, however, brings to my recollection, by a concatination of ideas, a little story to my purpose, related by Locke, in his Essay on Human Understanding: in endeavouring to

satisfy himself, and prove to the world that we have no innate ideas, and that all our impressions are received through the medium of the senses, he took a blind man, a man born blind, and tried, with all the force of his ingenious mind, to give him an idea of *scarlet:* so after much pains, many arguments and examples, the blind man exclaimed in a rapture, "O! I understand it now, "it is just like the *sound of a trumpet.*" So, in this case, arguments are useless; the weapons of the learned are much too fine, and I know of none but that of ridicule, which he himself, in this instance, uses, both for shield and spear, that can be used with effect against such an antagonist as Paine. But, Mr. Cobbett, I do not mean that you should receive no other reply. I am, indeed, very far from thinking that you are a fit person to be laughed at. That you are able to adduce several arguments which would seem more than plausible to most mere English readers; that you are even persuaded that the English language is now fully sufficient for communicating every thought of the human mind—which, by the by, you have already by your writings more forcibly demonstrated than you could have done by argument,—is what I fully believe: that true genius needs but little instruction, that it even spurns at every plan of education, as trammels more calculated to restrain its exertion than promote its advancement; it learns no catechisms, minds no rules, but observes with an intentive glance, whatever is true or valuable in the labours of others, and appropriates them to her own use. So, although you, Sir, perhaps, are but little indebted to a regular education for whatever you have learnt; yet, in composition, you will not deny that the study of Addison, Pope, Johnson, Junius, Hume, Robertson, Blair, and the innumerable list of fine writers on poetry and prose, who have improved and adorned the English tongue, has been somewhat conducive to your improvement in literature; and if fortune had decreed that you should have to maintain the honour of your native country, (as you did in America,) in France, or any other country, speaking a different language, with what eagerness would you seize every passage of those writers which you found to your purpose; you would place them in the front of your page in their original form; for I know your mind would revolt at the idea of torturing them by translation; they would, in such warfare, form your advanced guard, your body of reserve, and with such auxiliaries no Frenchman would be a match for you; but, to make the case parallel, give me leave to suppose that this people had been taught exclusively, by these writers, that whatever was beautiful in their language, or mode of composition, were entirely derived from this source, what, in such circumstances, would you think if some of those ready made scholars inflated with a little learning, and a little learning you know is a dangerous thing, should set up for themselves, commence a new plan of education, study no language, but their own, despise their old masters and swear the language of their teachers was mere jargon and ought to be abolished; what would be your indignation, what your contempt! I smile to think what a lashing you would give them; but, perhaps, you will say the case is not applicable; it is perfectly so if I am understood, but lest I should render more obscure by a defective illustration, a subject already sufficiently obvious, I drop the allusion and return to my theme. Is the Greek and Latin a barbarous jargon? ye, illustrous shades, of those revered names to which I have just alluded, what apology, shall I make to you, who living devoted all your time and talents to the study of those ancient worthies, whom you reverenced with such enthusiasm and whom you always owned to be the masters from whom you had learnt whatever most had made you the admiration and delight of your countrymen! How silly, how superfluous, seems the attempt to prove that Homer and Virgil, Demosthenes and Cicero, Herodotus and Livy, Xenophon and Cesar, and the numerous list of most admirable writers in both languages, by whom ye have been instructed, were neither barbarians nor wrote in a barbarous language. But, perhaps, I fight my own shadow, it is only the language of Quacks you condemn, 'the gallipot phrases, the monkish mummery'.—No, Mr. Cobbett, I know you are too candid to attempt to escape by an equivocation. You have completely committed yourself. You say, besides the many epithets expressive of the most sovereign contempt for learning and learned men, "what are called the learned languages, are falsely so called." Our own language indeed, not many years ago, might with little injustice be called a barbarous lingo. It was then incapable of any thing in dignified composition either in history or poetry: not so much, indeed, on account of a deficiency of words as chiefly on account of the want of all construction, order, and grammar. The learned Buchanan wrote his history and many most elegant and classical poems in Latin, solely because the English language was literally too barbarous for his purpose; and most of our books of that time, however

ingenious the author, are written in a style so uncouth, so unpolished, that no person possessing any taste for harmony or order, or who has the least musical ear, can have patience to read more than a page of them at a time, and most of our translations from the ancients are also so coarse and disgusting, so full of vulgar and obsolete expressions, that I may safely aver they are as much shut up from the generality of readers of the present day, as if they remained in their original form; and as the greater part of them were done above a century ago; for since the improvement of our language, so far as to be a suitable vehicle for conveying the refined sentiments of so polished a people as the ancients, there has been but little encouragement for men of sufficient literary endowments, to undertake the drudgery of translation, and to this principally may be attributed that general disregard and even contempt of every thing regarding the ancients. To form some idea of this, let any one compare with these the translation lately made of Sallust by Dr. Stewart. He will there see at once the great improvement of the English language, and will form some notion of the merit of the ancients while he perceives the great injustice done them by most former translators, and I may add the very best translations of the poets give but a very imperfect idea of the original. Even Dryden and Pope have entirely buried their authors under a multiplicity of high sounding words. They have covered the natural symetry, beauty, and harmony, by such a profusion of tinsel ornaments, flowers, and furbelows, that the simplicity of the original which is their distinguishing beauty is entirely lost: for I may say in the words of a very successful imitator of Virgil, "beauty needs not the foreign aid of ornament; but is, when unadorn'd, adorn'd the most:" and then there is such an offensive gingle in the rhyme continually recurring on the ear at the end of every line, that one is sure to be either sick or asleep before he has got through a couple of pages. Besides the idiom of the Greek and Latin is so different from that of the English, that it requires a language not less perfect than themselves to do them justice. Our Bible, however, is allowed to be a good translation and not liable to these objections; which is owing chiefly to its being translated from a language infinitely more congenial in its idiom to our own, being analagous and natural in its construction: the Greek and Latin being more artificial and transpositive. Whilst at the same time much praise is due to the *learned men* who translated it. Refer to the names I have just mentioned and say where, at what school they studied. Did they despise the ancients? Milton, although no doubt as sublime a poet as any country can boast, was, notwithstanding his genius, much indebted to his familiar acquaintance with the ancient writers. In fact, any person the least acquainted with both may see at one glance that he had thoroughly imbibed their spirit and manner. His ideas, his measure, construction, and as far as it is possible, his language, greatly resemble those of his masters; and in a few years hence you may compare his "On a sudden open fly with impetuous recoil and jarring sound, the infernal doors, and on their hinges grate harsh thunder."—with Virgil, Book VI. line 574, "*Tum demum horrisono stridentes cardine sacræ panduntur portæ,*"—and you will perceive a resemblance too exact to be the effect of chance. A few more arguments occur, which if I had sufficient space and could borrow your pen for half an hour, should appear most forcible and convincing; but I trust I shall, however deficient, receive every indulgence from you, sir, when you recollect with what difficulty you wrote your first essay in America, in reply to that Frenchman, to whom the English nation is so much obliged, in comparison to the little trouble you now feel in committing your thoughts to writing. The difference between you and I, Mr. Cobbett, is this, you say the Latin and Greek is a barbarous jargon, or at least your words seem fully to import this, and if you ever deny it after what you have said, I shall certainly take it as a confession that you are worsted in the argument. Although I cannot believe that if you should feel this to be the case, that you will not be as good as your promise,—fairly to own it, and ask pardon of the learned gentlemen of both Universities; I say, Sir, our difference seems to be, that you understand the Latin and Greek to be the "last relick of monkish mummery:" I say, and I am almost ashamed seriously to say in the nineteenth century, that they are the languages of the most refined, most civilised, and accomplished nations, as far as we know from history, that ever existed; that we ourselves are the barbarians, who have been taught whatever we know by these very people; that whatever refinement, power, or capacity the English language can boast, is entirely owing to our imitation of that people; almost all our knowledge of science, all our scientific and technical terms, are borrowed exclusively from them. Turn up any English Dictionary and look at almost any word expressing an idea, the smallest degree above the hunting or pastoral life, and you will find it derived either from the

Greek or Latin. Such being the case, can the study of these languages ever be an unnecessary part of an Englishman's education? No, it is impossible. Nothing less than such a revolution as would destroy the laws and constitution of the country, can ever, in my opinion, induce us to abandon the study of the Latin and Greek languages. They are intimately connected, not only with the laws and constitution; but also with the religion of the country. What are called the learned professions, which, however some men may effect to scoff at as useless, but which I have no doubt are indispensibly necessary in the present state of society, are in fact the bonds of its union; these cannot exist for a moment without the knowledge of these languages. They are necessary to the divine for the reasons I have already mentioned, viz. the imperfection and inadequacy of the English language for at least 1600 years, from the æra of our religion, during which time there was no access to any perfect knowledge of christianity, but through the medium of the Greek and Latin. And this in my opinion must have been the case, independent of the bigotry of the Popish clergy. The gospels themselves, and writings of the apostles were originally in Greek; and the Romans and those who afterwards studied their language, were the only people who knew, or who were capable of knowing Greek, the other languages being, in every sense, too barbarous to have any union, sympathy, or resemblance with it so as to enable them either to understand or interpret it. Therefore, the only access to a knowledge of Greek was through the medium of the Latin; all Dictionaries or Lexicons, interpretations, notes, and commentaries being too in Latin. So, in order to hear the glad tidings of the gospel uncontaminated by the absurdities and fictions of ignorant enthusiasts, it was absolutely necessary at least to know Latin. Latin, therefore, became the common medium of intercourse, not only amongst all those who studied the gospel, but also upon every subject of literature; so, Latin being so long established as the language of learning, it will not be difficult to prove that a knowledge of Latin is even at the present time necessary to a student of divinity; although I shall not insist that it is absolutely as much so as formerly. Yet, every person the least acquainted with more languages than one, and, I think you said you had learned French "because it was the language of the military art," knows that notwithstanding the very close resemblance and affinity between the English and French, both in idiom and words, that it is often impossible justly to convey in the one, some ideas perhaps most happily expressed in the other; much more so is it difficult to transfuse the true spirit of a Greek or Latin author into ours, or any modern tongue, so remarkably different as I have already shown, as they are in genius and construction, and in this difference we discover one of the chief sources of the various interpretations, opinions, and disputes, which have arisen upon innumerable passages of scripture; and that many judicious persons thought the true spirit of certain passages of scripture is not given by the common translation is evident, from the labour that Dr. Campbell and others have taken to make a new and correct translation of the gospels and other parts of scripture; from all which I think it is necessary to infer, that before any person can justly claim a pre-eminence in learning, before he can be intitled to the privilege of explaining what may be obscure, and interpreting what is difficult in our translation of the gospels, he ought to know something of the original, so I conclude, that a knowledge of what is called the "learned languages" is necessary to a divine. And to prove that a physician must know Greek and Latin, when every term of their art is either in the one or the other of these languages, and when it is known that the very father of the profession wrote in the former of these languages, is, I think, quite superfluous. And with respect to the lawyer, you, Sir, I presume, will require no other proof than a bare reference to Blackstone, with whom I know you are perfectly familiar, and whom I dare say you sufficiently admire. They both inforce, in the strongest language, the necessity of applying incessantly to the study of the classicks, as the only true model of eloquence and perfect poetry. They allow there are not a few good English authors fit enough patterns of writing, but whatever excellence they possess they seem to think is derived principally from that source; and as it is better to drink the liquor pure and unadulterated at the fountain head, than after it has flowed to a distance, and probably contaminated by impure mixtures. Dr. Beattie also, in his letters lately published by Sir Wm. Forbes, exhorts his pupil Cameron to study the classicks day and night, until he was completely master of them if he ever expected to arrive at any excellence in either eloquence or poetry. And since writing the above, A Treatise on the Utility of Classical Learning, by the same Dr. Beattie, has been put into my hands, to which I am very happy to be able to refer you, as most complete and satisfactory, and to which reference alone I should have confined my communication if I had seen it a

few days sooner. And, now, why should I multiply examples? Does not every eminent English writer, with the sole exception of Mr. Cobbett, acknowledge most explicitly that they have learnt in that school alone? You well know the great esteem which Goldsmith and Addison had for the Greek and Roman classicks. For what purpose did they travel into France and Italy? Not surely to learn to dress, dance, and make a bow. No, it was to see and admire the wonderful remains of the most noble productions of human art, left by the most accomplished people that ever lived; to see that country which gave birth to the most harmonious poet that ever sung, breathe the same air, solicit the same muse, and haply to catch a portion of his inspirations. Are we, then, like ungrateful children, who forgetting what their parents have done for them, insensible to the advantages of a good example, early instruction, or a useful trade which enables them to live in ease and affluence, who notwithstanding leave their parents to languish in penury and wretchedness; are we just let loose from school to neglect our teachers, and fancy in our ignorance that we are wiser than they? Those of their pupils who have made the most progress, and who I have taken the liberty of supposing have been not only your master but that of every English scholar of the present day were not so ungrateful. Had you asserted merely, that valuable as the ancient languages are to every literary character, yet too much time was spent in learning them, I should not, perhaps, have been inclined to contradict you; and whether a wrong plan of education be in use is not my business at present to inquire: but, it cannot be denied, that not one in a hundred who go through the long course of discipline ever know any thing of Latin or Greek. Yet coxcombs who remain in this ignorance, do notwithstanding vapour with hackned schoolboy sentences, which they either do not understand, or which at most is all they understand, and that very much to the offence of men of plain sense who have never studied any other language than their mother tongue, but who think it hard to be browbeat by men so very much their inferiors, by the constant use of these gallipot phrases or legerdemain lingo. But, Mr. Cobbett, the abuse of a thing is no argument against its utility; and is it fair to conclude, because many fail, that none succeed? How many, I ask you, arrive at any thing respectable in English literature? Will a man learn what he has no taste or genius for? I know you yourself pretty frequently hear Greek and Latin quoted in the House of Commons, by a few members who have not only had an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of the classicks, but who also, I have no doubt, are familiarly acquainted with them; a mortification which I know of but one way to save you from; of which I shall inform you immediately. However, I cannot avoid commending the attachment which you appear to have for your native language, and the zeal you manifest on all occasions to prevent its being corrupted by foreign idioms; but, surely, no apprehension can be entertained that it will receive any injury from the study of Latin or Greek. Yet many persons, no less zealous for the honour of the English language, but who see notwithstanding the impossibility of making it the general language of Europe, think, and I believe very justly, that as there must be some common medium for diplomatic intercourse, and also to prevent the further extension of French influence which is too much promoted by the general prevalence of their language, it were well if a more general use of Latin than has hitherto been a practice were adopted for that purpose.—I beg leave just to add, the great Cato for many years of his life opposed with equal rigour every foreign innovation, he reprobated in the strongest terms not only the manners but also the language of the Greeks, yet he was compelled to acknowledge the great advantage which men of infinitely less genius seemed to enjoy from their knowledge of the language of that people; so in order to improve that eloquence by which he intended to prevent its introduction, he himself in his grand climacteric sat down to study Greek, of which he soon became a great proficient; and, what was less to be expected a most enthusiastic admirer; and, Mr. Cobbett, if you will like Cato immediately begin the study of the Latin, appropriating an hour every day without intermission, or, if you please, excepting Sunday both for religion and relaxation, only for the short space of two years, and one year more of the same constant application to the Greek, you will then, like Cato, be able to fight the *soi-disant* learned with weapons of their own fashion, but of far superior ease and temper.——Yours, &c.——AN AMATEUR.—*Aberdeen, Jan.* 20, 1807.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI No. 9] LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

"I congratulate the company on the important triumph, which we have obtained in the election of Mr "Sheridan; a triumph, which is the more to be rejoiced in as it affords a practical evidence of the advantages of a popular government and a popular election. The people have manifested their independence "without tumult; and the friends of government are triumphant *without any exertion of undue influence*"——MR. WHITBREAD'S Speech at the Thatched House, Nov. 19, 1806.

TO THE

FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER VII.

GENTLEMEN,

When, in the conclusion of my last letter to you (at page 204), I took the liberty to exhort you to remain, not only stedfast in your political principles, but unwearied in your perseverance to recover the complete enjoyment of the rights and liberties, for which our fathers so long, so gallantly, so virtuously, and so successfully struggled, I intended to leave the Sheridans to the animadversions of the public, and never again, at any rate, to make their conduct the subject of a letter to you; but, a recent decision in the House of Commons, touching the result of the late election for Westminster, in which decision your interest and honour are deeply concerned, has induced me to depart from this intention.

Upon the occasion here referred to, to wit, on the 20th instant, a motion was made for *deferring* the order, before made by the House, for taking into consideration your petition complaining of an undue election for your city; and, observe, that this motion was made by Mr. Sheridan himself. The day, which was fixed upon, by this once bold defier of you, was, the 14th of April, nearly two months after the time before fixed upon by the House. After some debate this motion was put to the vote, and, the House having divided, there appeared 107 for it, and 12 against it.

The grounds upon which this motion was made and supported, were, 1st, that Mr. Sheridan's Counsel would be upon the circuit, and, of course, unable to attend; and 2d, that, when the former postponement was agreed to by him, it was agreed to upon the condition, clearly understood, that a further postponement should take place on account of the circuit. That Mr. Sheridan should have set up a pretence like this, or any other pretence, by which the day of trial might be put off, is no matter of surprize; but, that Lord Howick, the famous parliamentary reformer, should have gone upon the same grounds, should have supported the motion, and should have called forth his majority to cause the delay to take place; this really is matter of surprize, especially when we consider, that, in the very recent instance of the petition from the county of Londonderry, this same Lord Howick (late Mr Grey), backed by his friend and brother reformer, Mr. Whitbread, set their faces against even an hour's delay, though it was applied for upon fair and reasonable grounds.

As to the pretence, that Mr. Sheridan's Counsel would be absent upon the circuit, it never was before, I believe, and certain I am that it never ought to be, listened to for a moment, in such a case; for, if this were to become a precedent, to what time might not a ministerial member of parliament defer the consideration of a petition against him? The *absence* of counsel, from whatever cause, whether of sickness or any other, would, in such case, be a ground for postponement; and, thus, by the votes of the minister's majority, the electors of any place might remain unrepresented, might see the person, *against* whom they had voted, disposing of their money, and making laws to govern them, for years together. The circuit! What is the business of the circuit, compared with the subject of your petition? Besides, is it credible, Gentlemen, that, from all the counsellors at the bar, nearly six hundred in number, there could be any difficulty in selecting two, fully competent to the task, to attend a committee of the House; more especially when we consider, that Mr. Sheridan was so conscious of the innocence of himself and his agents, as to have treated your petition with ridicule? Was it for a man, conscious of the rectitude of his proceedings; a man who had set the complaint against him at defiance; and who had treated it with contempt and mockery; was it for such a man to beg for a delay of his trial,

upon the ground of apprehension that he might suffer from the want of counsel sufficiently acquainted with his case? You will have observed, too, gentlemen, that, in a *defence*, in a case of this sort, there can have been no *preparation*, at least of a *legal* kind. The defendant has yet to learn, *if he be innocent*, what are the facts which you have to produce against him. The two counsellors, therefore, whom he has employed, can, as yet, have taken no steps preparatory to the trial; and, of course, any other two counsellors, equally qualified in point of talent (and there are two hundred of such) would answer all his *lawful* purposes full as well as the two already employed, and now, unfortunately, upon the circuit, or going upon the circuit. You have alleged, in your petition that Mr. Sheridan's return to parliament was effected by bribery and corruption. If he be conscious of his innocence, what need has he of *arrangements* and *preparations*; and of what *lawful* kind can his preparations *possibly* be? He has, indeed, affected to believe, that your petition would not be persevered in; but, you, gentlemen, know as well as I, that not a word has fallen from any one connected with Mr. Paull, that could lead to such a belief; and, that, when the idea was, upon a former occasion thrown out, it was, without hesitation, positively contradicted by Lord Folkestone, to whom you and every independent man in the kingdom is so much indebted for his manly assertion of your rights, and whose having presented the petition was, of itself, a sufficient guarantee, that it would be steadily persevered in. If, therefore, between the 20th of December, when the petition was first presented, and the 24th of February, the time last fixed for taking it into consideration, Mr. Sheridan could not be *ready with his defence*, even without the aid of any counsellor at all, as little might he be expected to be prepared by the 14th of April. What, too, must be those proceedings, of which it requires so long a time to prepare a defence? Had Mr. Sheridan been the *attacking* party, and compelled to hunt after, and run down, evidence of such *secret* transactions as are generally connected with the arts of bribery and corruption, where, nine times out of ten, the guilty party is to be the source of information, there might have been some reason for delay; but, here, where the accused has nothing to seek for, and especially where innocence and purity are so vauntingly put forward, would it not be natural, that the party accused should court inquiry, at as early a moment as possible, in order to wipe off the stigma from his character, and to convince the world, that the accusation was unjust? Compared with an object so desireable, what would have been the expence of feeing the two counsel not to go upon the circuit? For, though Mr. Sheridan might find such an expence inconvenient, there would, doubtless, have been no difficulty in raising the sum required, from the same source, whence was drawn, or rather, whence spontaneously flowed, the *thirteen thousand pound* subscription, lodged at the celebrated Davison's, for the purpose of *carrying on* Mr. Sheridan's election, and, of which subscription you will, I hope, never forget, that *Mr. Whitbread* was at the head. This former patriot, this zealous prosecutor of corruption, this reformer of parliament, is now, if the newspapers speak truth, occupied with a plan for reforming, not the House of Commons, but *the people!* That is the end, at which it *now* suits his purposes to begin! Instead of retrenching the enormous sinecures and pensions, of which he formerly complained; instead of endeavouring to lessen those taxes, which are the cause, and the sole cause, of the fearful and deplorable increase of paupers; instead of proposing any measure by which might be saved the ten thousand pounds a year, which the Sheridans draw from the labour of the people; instead of measures of this sort, he proposes *schools* and *badges* for the poor. They cry for bread, and he would give them a primmer: they ask for freedom, and he would give them a badge. Never, Gentlemen, let us lose sight of this man. He has been, and he is, our worst enemy; as it is usual with apostates, to be the most malicious persecutors.——As to the 2d ground, upon which the aforementioned motion of Mr. Sheridan was made and supported, namely, that, when the former postponement was agreed to by him, it was clearly understood, that a further postponement should take place on account of the circuit, nothing ever was more unfounded. The fact was, as stated by Lord Folkestone in this last debate, that Mr. Sheridan could, with difficulty, be brought to consent to any delay at all; and, what he said about the circuit was this: that, if the delay, then proposed, took place, the consideration of the petition would come on just at the time when the counsellors were all going upon the circuit, and that he supposed, *the petitioners* would then apply for a further postponement, as a decent way of letting the matter drop. Peter Moore (don't laugh, Gentlemen!); Peter Moore, the chairman of Mr. Sheridan's famed committee; the man who was selected as the fit instrument to publish a private and *garbled*

correspondence; this man is, by the newspapers, said to have observed, that he clearly understood, that a further postponement, on account of the circuit, was agreed upon; and that, if that had not been the case, he should have advised his "*Right Honourable*" Friend not to consent to the former postponement. Now, Gentlemen, this is the very man who so stretched his throat at the hustings and the dinners in extolling the *purity* of the proceedings of his party; and who had the impudence to assert, that, on the part of Mr. Paull, there were hundreds of bad votes! Who, that knew nothing of the man, would not suppose, that he would have panted for the moment, when, as nominee, or member of parliament, he might have scouted your complaints, and repaid you, in part, at least, for the contempt and scorn which you bestowed upon him? Patient Gentleman! He is willing to wait for the day of retribution with as much resignation as he waits for a place, even though his fellow labourer, Sir Philip Francis, (who, after having, by all the *secret* means in his power, urged Mr. Paull on to the prosecution of Lord Wellesley, went to Covent Garden, on the very first day of the election, and gave his vote against him) has got both a place and a ribbon. The proclamations, which, upon backs of letters, Sir Philip had prepared for his faithful and loyal people of Buenos Ayres, he may now tie up in his red ribbon, and lay them by upon some dry shelf; and, if he pleases, he may clap himself down by the side of them; but, as for Peter Moore, he has not yet done with us; and, I do hope, that we have not yet done with him.——With regard to the real motives from which this further delay has been moved for and supported, they will, I hope, be made manifest to the world in a very few days; and, if I am disappointed in this hope, Mr. Paull will, upon this occasion, have less spirit, than, upon all other occasions, he has discovered. But, without waiting for any developement as to probable motives, there is one fact, which, if I be correctly informed with respect to it, will, of itself, account for such great anxiety for procuring delay; and, that is, that it is intended *to prorogue the parliament some time in the month of May*. If this should be the case, and, as there are no tax-bills to pass, I do not see why it should not, the delay is, at once, sufficiently accounted for; because, then, it will be next to impossible, if the prorogation take place early in the month, for the petition to be decided on during this session of parliament. But, if this should so turn out, what shall we say of the part, which, according to the newspaper reports, my Lord Howick has acted? He, who, at the beginning of the session, would not admit of a moment's delay in such cases; and who, even while he is supporting this motion, is made to say, that it is an extremely delicate thing to keep back decisions on such points? There was, indeed, a time, my Lord Howick, when the epithet *delicate* would not have been applied to it. There was a time, my lord, when you would not, in such terms, have spoken of such an act. Yes, Gentlemen, there was such a time, but that time is passed, never to return. Lord Howick will never again be the champion of the rights of the people.

Having now, Gentlemen, submitted to you all that I think it necessary to trouble you with, upon this subject, until, perhaps, some further proceedings in your case shall have taken place, I shall, for the present, conclude with earnestly exhorting you to bear in mind the injuries and insults you have received from our enemies; to remember those enemies by name; to count them over frequently, one by one; to ascertain, if possible, who were the persons that were most conspicuously hostile to you during the election; and, all this, that you may never, on any account, be induced to trust them again. Persevere, in the name of your country and your children I beseech you to persevere in your applications for redress; petition, even now, that the meditated delay may be shortened; neglect nothing; act as if the life of each individual of you was at stake; for, upon the issue of this contest, all that is dear in the life of a free and independent man will depend. With those sentiments of regard and respect, which your conduct during the recent election impressed upon my mind,

I remain,

Gentlemen,

Feb. 21, 1807. Your faithful friend,

And obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Since the above letter was written, the following Petition has been presented to the House of Commons, by Lord Folkestone, on the part of Mr. Paull: "The humble "Petition of James Paull, Esq one of the "Candidates to represent the City of West-"minster at the late Election for Members "of Parliament to serve for the said City,— "Sheweth, That at the said Election the "Right Honourable Richard Brinsley She-"ridan was returned a member to serve in "parliament for the said city.——That "your Petitioner presented a Petition to "this Honourable House, against the Re-

"turn of the said R. B. Sheridan, charging "him, among other things, with having "procured the same by means of undue "and illegal influence, by threats and me- "naces, and by divers acts of bribery and "corruption.——That the said Petition was "appointed to be taken into consideration "on the 24th day of this instant month of "February —That this Honourable House "thought fit, at the instance of the said R. "B. Sheridan, to postpone the consideration "of the said Petition until the 14th day of "April now next ensuing.——That your "Petitioner has lately discovered that the "said R. B Sheridan, in defiance of the "standing Orders of this House, and to the "manifest subversion of every principle of "justice, has, by divers nefarious ways and "means, tampered with and endeavoured to "corrupt, and has attempted to persuade "and to deter and hinder, certain persons "whom your Petitioner intended and still "intends to examine, and who are and will "be material witnesses upon the trial of the "said Petition, from appearing on the day "when the said Petition shall be heard, and, "from giving their unbiassed, or any, "testimony on behalf of your Petitioner, "and against the said R. B. Sheridan.—— "That one Wm. Drake was and still is a "material witness summoned on behalf of "your petitioner, and that the said Wm. "Drake having, on or about the 10th day "of this instant February, informed the "said R. B. Sheridan, that he had been so "summoned, and having inquired of him "the course he was to pursue, the said "R. B. Sheridan told him to leave that "business to him, that he would procure "him a situation abroad, and would also "provide for the father of the said Wm. "Drake, and added, that the said Wm. "Drake might have any money he pleased, "and wished the said Wm. Drake to keep out "of the way, and endeavoured to persuade "the said Wm. Drake not to give, and to "intimidate, and deter, and hinder him "from giving complete and unbiassed testi- "mony before the Select Committee of "the facts known to him relative to the "said election, and did offer to give money "to the said Wm. Drake for him to pro- "cure for the said R. B. Sheridan a certain "letter, in the possession of one Emanuel "Harris, and which letter the said Ema- "nuel Harris had been required by an "order of the right hon. the Speaker to "produce before the said committee; and "that the said R. B. Sheridan did also, on "or about Thursday the 19th day of Fe- "bruary instant, again offer the said Wm. "Drake money, and a situation of profit, "with the same view, and did likewise, "on the last-mentioned day, endeavour to "persuade one Thomas Weatherhead, not "to give an unbiassed testimony on the "trial of the said petition. And that one "Alex. Johnstone, one Frederic Homan, "one ——— Edwards, and divers others "the agents and partizans of the said R. B. "Sheridan, did also, tamper with the said "Wm. Drake, and endeavour to persuade "and to deter, and to hinder him from giv- "ing his unbiassed testimony before the said "committee; and that the said Alex. John- "stone and Frederic Homan did also en- "deavour to persuade and induce the said "Wm. Drake to procure the aforesaid let- "ter from the said Emanuel Harris —That "the said R. B. Sheridan, by one Henry "Burgess, one James Wallace, and one "John Gallant, and divers others his agents "and partizans, did also tamper with divers "other witnesses summoned by your peti- "tioner to give testimony on his behalf: "and in particular that the said James "Wallace and John Gallant did inform one "Wm. Sperring, one Wm. Warren, one "Jeremiah James, one John Pullen, one "Daniel Richardson, one John Balam, and "one Christopher Richardson, whom he "knew had been so summoned, that it "was intended to move this honourable "house to postpone the consideration of "the said petition until a future day, by "which means the orders to attend the "said committee, with which they had "been served, would be invalid and of no "use; and that if it were postponed but "for one day there would be time for them "all to get out of the way to avoid their being "served a second time," and added, that "when they had succeeded in putting it "off, each person should have money to go "out of the way to prevent his being "summoned; and your petitioner has been "informed and verily believes that the said "William Sperring, Daniel Richardson, "and William Warren are now out of the "way, and have been pursuaded and in- "duced so to do by the means aforesaid.— "That the said R. B. Sheridan, and the "several persons, agents, and partizans, "aforesaid, with divers others, have con- "spired together, in manner aforesaid, and "in divers other ways, for the purpose of "depriving your petitioner of his just "right, and preventing him from establish- "ing by his witnesses before a committee "of your Honourable House, his claim to "represent the said City of Westminster. "—All which transactions of the said R. B.

" Sheridan, his agents, and partizans, are, " to the great injury of your petitioner, in " manifest violation of the standing " orders of this Honourable House, in de- " fiance of justice, in breach of the law, " and to the utter destruction of equal " trial.—Your petitioner therefore prays that " he may be permitted to prove the facts " above stated, at the bar of this Honoura- " ble House, that he may be heard by his " counsel at the bar, and that this Honoura- " ble House will take its witnesses under its " protection, and give such relief as in " justice shall to this Honourable House " seem fit. And your petitioner shall ever " pray, &c."——JAMES PAULL.—*London, Feb.* 25, 1807.

Upon this there requires no comment. The honest part of mankind has only to read it, or hear it. On the proceedings in the House upon this occasion, as well as upon the former division, some remarks shall be offered in my next.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT. (Continued from page 295)——I. *Finance Plan.* II. *Barrack Abuses.* III. *Westminster Election.* IV. *Sugar Trade.* V. *Poor Laws.* ——I. Upon the FINANCE PLAN there have been several debates. On the 12th instant, Lord Castlereagh, at the close of a very long speech, in which he expressed his disapprobation of the new plan of the ministers, and in which he asserted, that the said plan, if persevered in, would *ruin* the country, moved no less than ten resolutions of his own, which resolutions will, in their proper place, be found in the Parliamentary Debates. Before men argue, they should, if possible, come to a perfect understanding as to the meaning of the words, expressive of the thing, upon which they are about to argue. For the want of this preliminary step, upon the occasion referred to, the reader of the debates in question is at great loss to form his opinion as to the consequences of the plan; for, we are not precisely informed, nor is it very easy for us to guess, what my Lord Castlereagh may mean by the words *national ruin.* These words our ancestors would have applied to a state of things, in which one-seventh part of the people were paupers; in which the poor rates levied upon the land amounted, upon an average, to twice the rack rent of the land; in which the tax upon the land was put up to public sale, part of every man's land being thus taken from him, while entails were broken in upon, and while part of the real property of the Church was alienated for ever; in which every article of the necessaries of life was loaded with taxes; and in which a system of excise, with all its spies and informers, left no man's house for one hour safe from official invasion; in which every man was compelled to pay to the one-tenth part of his annual income, the man who had no income but what arose from an annuity for life, or from his labour, being obliged to contribute therefrom in the same proportion as a man whose income arose from a freehold estate, and, such being the regulation of the impost, that the taxers were authorised to impose upon each man a sum according to their pleasure, he being obliged to pay first and to appeal afterwards, being forbidden to call to his assistance any attorney or person learned in the law, and his appeal, in the last resort, being to the Judges alone, and not to a jury, and even to those Judges no other representation of his being permitted to be made, than that made by the taxers themselves. If such a state of things internal had been described to our forefathers, and, if, in addition thereunto, they had been told, that France had possessed herself of absolute sway in every country bordering upon the European seas, and that a large body of foreign troops were stationed in the heart of England, under the command of foreign officers; if such a state of things had been described to our forefathers, would they not have laughed in the face of a man, who should have expressed his apprehensions of approaching *national ruin*; and, especially, if those apprehensions arose from the adoption of a plan of finance, which would put, for the present, at least, a stop to the increasing progress of taxation? *Ruin* to the stockholders may yet come, and come it will; *ruin* to placemen and pensioners and sycophants and jobbers and peculators and nabobs may, and will, come; much confusion, and much suffering to many, may come; and, it is possible, that, from without, the lash of absolute personal slavery may reach us; but, as to *general* internal national ruin, it is, in my opinion, impossible that it can be more complete than it now is. Therefore, while I have, upon this score, no apprehensions for the future, I heartily thank the ministers for having given us, not *relief* (that is yet to come, and must come) but a pause in the progress of taxation.——On the 16th instant a long debate took place upon the Resolutions for the new plan, which were passed, without a division, and agreed to, in a committee of the whole house. On the 19th instant, after another debate, leave was given to bring in bills agreeably to the resolutions, which resolutions will be inserted in my next number, together, indeed, if I can

find room, with those of Lord Castlereagh, ——Upon the future probable effects of this new plan we shall have time in plenty to remark hereafter. At present I shall only just notice one little confession, that dropped from Lord Henry Petty, "that the great be-" nefit of the sinking fund, was, *not so much* " *the hope it held out of extinguishing the* " *debt, or paying the interest for which the* " *public faith was pledged;* but, the cer-" tainty it afforded of *making stock a mar-* " *ketable commodity*, so that the stockholder, " go when he pleased into the market, " *should find a purchaser for his stock.*" This is the true character and description of the sinking fund; but, it never was given to it before, that I recollect, except by myself. It is the vital principle of stock jobbing. It is about eight millions a year raised upon the people for the purpose of keeping up the price of stock. It has no tendency whatever to *diminish the debt*; but, tends only to render borrowing more easy, by always providing a market for the stock. But, while his lordship makes this confession, let him no longer laugh at the old woman, who, in order to keep up the price of her eggs, gave her daughter money to come into the market to purchase them. Sir James Pulteney seemed to wish that the sinking fund should, altogether, be *diverted to the service of the year.* Ah! Sir James, that is just what I proposed, when the inscrutably profound Mr. Addington, now Lord Viscount Sidmouth (it is very proper in some people to change their names), at the outset of this war, said, that he should want to borrow only just as much every year as the sinking fund would pay off. "Well, Sir," said I, " then, why borrow any at all? Why not " apply the sinking fund to the services of " the year, during the war, and save the " trouble and expense attending the making " and the managing of new loans?" This was my proposition; and, would you believe it, Sir James, the Pittites actually called me an assassin, that wished to rip up the vitals of my country; and Mr. Sheridan asserted, that I wished to overthrow the government! No offence, however, do they seem to take at your proposition. You called yours *a plan*, Sir James, and a most excellent plan it is. I am decidedly for your plan. Bring it forward in a shape for regular discussion, and, if you do not put your opponents to shame, I will be content to pass for an ideot. ——The part which the daily newspapers have taken as to the new plan is truly worthy of their general character. The papers under the controul, direct or indirect, of the ministry, have, of course applauded the plan, not, however, upon the ground, that it will operate to the ease of the people, but, as a proof of the great wisdom of " his Majesty's " confidential servants." The Courier, which seems to be all "the Opposition" can afford to maintain, thought, at first, that it must join in the general cry of approbation, especially as the Pittites did not venture to express a contrary sentiment. But *now* it has discovered, that the plan, "which," to use its own words, " gave such incontro-" vertible proof of the flourishing state of " our financial concerns; that the plan, " which had, in an instant, given the lie to " all the gloomy predictions of Jack Cade" (meaning me, reader); " that the plan, " which would effectually, and for ever, si-" lence all our internal croakers, and that " would plunge Buonaparté in despair; that " the plan, which, coming in conjunction " with the intelligence of the defeat of the " French, had produced such universal joy " and activity amongst all ranks of people, " that the day on which the glad tidings ar-" rived, though the anniversary of the death " of the Blessed Martyr, was scarcely per-" ceived to be a holy day:" this plan, this very plan, by this very same newspaper, is now described as the "offspring of sanguine and puerile folly;" as a "deception," as a "delusion;" as " a bait wherewith to catch unmerited popularity;" and, finally, as big with the utter and unnecessary " ruin of the country."——Such is the hireling daily press of London. There are, I see, two new daily papers, *the Aurora* and *the Pilot*. The name of the latter, considering the allusion which it will, unavoidably, be supposed to make, was very injudiciously chosen; but, as far as I have been able to learn, both are perfectly free from corrupt influence, and they contain, frequently, articles of great merit.——It is the daily press, with all the means that its senseless editors and greedy proprietors make use of to excite unnatural curiosity, and to inflame the public mind against every unfortunate creature that the law lays hold of: it is this press, which sticks at nothing to increase its pelf, that the nation is chiefly indebted to for the terrible calamity that befel the metropolis on Monday last, and which, besides the mortality and the bodily suffering that has been produced, has, of course, created, in every part of the kingdom, a degree of anxiety hardly to be described by the utmost powers of eloquence. When I reflect on the number of fathers and mothers, who had children in London, and who had not the means of speedily ascertaining whether or not those children were amongst the sufferers;

and when I reflect on the disgrace which such an occurrence casts upon the nation; can I forbear to execrate these stirrers-up of an unnatural and even a blood-thirsty curiosity? These detestable prints seem to delight in relating horrid deeds. They seem to delight in punishment. They frequently hunt, as in the case of Patch, a man from the first dawn of suspicion to the moment when his eyes are closed in the night of death. Were there upon earth a father so wicked as to wish to pervert the minds of his children, to make them incapable of distinguishing between good and bad, to render them at once profligate and greedy, servile and insolent by turns; in a word, to make them a disgrace and a curse to humanity, the most effectual means of succeeding in the diabolical wish would be to make them constantly read, and adopt what they read in the columns of the London daily press.——Begging the reader's pardon for having, thus, piled digression upon digression, I now return to the Proceedings in Parliament.——II. The subject of BARRACK ABUSES was revived by Mr. Robson, on the 18th instant. He repeated the first of his motions, made last year, and to be found, under the head of *Barrack Abuses*, in Volume X. He stated, "that, if "his suggestions, upon this subject, had, at "first, been acted upon, more than *two* "*millions* would, thereby, have been saved "to the public out of the hire of buildings, "the repairs of buildings, and the rent of "temporary barracks. In the Second Report of Military Inquiry there appeared a "case which he should refer to in support "of this assertion. It was there stated, "that a, *Mr. Page*, who became Barrack "master at Winchester, in 1801, leaguing "with a *Mr. Green*, a lawyer, bought a "house, which had been before rented as a "barrack, for £63. per ann. but which was "not worth more than £30; *after which* "*the government had been charged* £163. "*per annum for it*. The whole sum that "had been paid for this barrack, since the "year 1791, amounted to £1779, though, "according to the usual allowance to officers, only £83. 10s. ought to have been "paid for it, as it did not appear that the "barrack had been occupied by officers for "more than one year of the whole term. "This certainly called for inquiry. He "begged also to call the attention of the "House to the case of a Barrack called "the Queen's Barrack, at Weymouth, which "he had visited in the middle of September. "This barrack contained 700, and sometimes 800 men, and though so great expence was incurred, the accommodations "for the officers and men were extremely "bad. The building was in a low situation, "in a narrow street, near a public brew-"house, without any convenience of water, "but from a pump, which was at a distance "and often dry, and without any place for "exercising a company, so that sixty guineas "a year were paid for a piece of land, at a "considerable distance, for that purpose. "The stories of the building were but five "feet high, and extremely inconvenient, "and there were no drains to carry off the "filthy water. He was sure, when he stated "these circumstances, that his friends "would not think him too anxious in pressing the inquiry. In bringing the question forward, he did not mean to impute "blame to any man; the evil originated in "a corrupt system, from which it had grown "up to its present extent, and his Majesty's "ministers say they had not yet had time to "take the necessary measures for preventing "the state of the barracks from being a reproach to the country. But when would "that desirable day come? He knew not "whether the barrack he had adverted to "was rented or had been purchased, but "his motion would reach that fact. It was "unnecessary for him to state to the House "the necessity of economy. He understood "that the Barrack Department in Ireland "was in as bad a state as in Great Britain, "and he was the more alarmed at this, because he looked at the expenditure of that "country in the gross, which was now "nearly equal to the charge for Great Britain, and could not but reflect, that 15 seventeenths of whatever sums should be "expended for barracks in Ireland, would "be to be defrayed by taxes levied "upon the people of this country."—— Mr. Robson then made his motion, which Lord Howick, in the true Pitt manner, *opposed*, upon the ground of their being no *necessity* for it, as there were *commissioners* appointed to make the inquiry, and also upon the ground of the *trouble* which the acting upon the motion would give to the Barrack Department! Mr. Robson said, in reply, "that the papers he called for could be "produced in one day; and if not, that the "House ought not to separate without an "inquiry why, in a department in which "*five hundred and ninety-one* persons were "employed, the accounts could not be produced without delay? In his own defence "he should state, that a motion which he "had the honour to make last session, relative to one district, had had the effect *of* "*lowering the rents of barracks in that district one-half*, and he had a right to expect a similar reduction in every other district."——The motion was *rejected with-*

out a d'vision! And here, again, we see the *reformer*, the parliamentary reformer, Lord Howick!——The *Commissioners* will never come at the facts, which Mr. Robson has in contemplation. If his motions were agreed to, and honestly acted upon, they would produce a *disgorging* of not less than two millions of plunder. But, then, how many snug fortunes would this disturb! How many genteel families, the daughters of which are learning to play upon the piano forte, and the sons of which are receiving a *genteel* education, upon the strength of promises to be enabled to become blood-suckers as their fathers have been; how many nests of this sort would this cruel man ferret out!——Of *Mr. Page* and *Harry Green* of Winchester, the Barrack history is curious. It shall be related in a future number, when the public will see, that it was not in the regular course of *official* inquiry that the discovery was made.——III. Of the discussion relating to the WESTMINSTER PETITION I have thought it best to take notice in a letter addressed to the petitioners, and which letter will be found at the head of this sheet.——IV. To afford some relief to the SUGAR and RUM TRADE a bill has been brought into parliament to augment the duty upon brandy imported; and some regulations are to be adopted for the purpose of aiding the sale of sugar. This measure may do some little matter for the West Indians; but, in a national point of view, it is, I think, impossible that it should be attended with any benefit: It is like the sinking fund scheme; what is given with one hand is taken away with the other. There was, however, an observation or two made in the House of Commons, when the measure was proposed, that are worthy of attention. Mr. Rose (an old hand at this work), said, that the price of brandy being now about *seventeen shillings* a gallon, and the original cost being only about *half a crown*, all the rest being duty, any additional duty would be a temptation to *smuggling*; that is to say, it might tempt some unreasonable and wicked scoundrels to endeevour to get a gallon of brandy for half-a-crown, instead of nineteen shillings. "Aye," said Lord Henry Petty, with all the vivacity and keenness belonging to his age and his office, "so it "might, but his Majesty's ministers have it "in contemplation to reward those able and "meritorious gentlemen, the excise and "custom house officers, by allotting them a "share in all the *prizes* they may make, whether by land or sea." This is acting upon the true belligerent principle. It is treating the smugglers like alien enemies; and, surely, they ought so to be considered, when they actually make war against the sacred principle, that it is the duty of every man to pay taxes, till he has not a shirt left to his back. But, our vigilant and vigorous chancellor does not stop here; for, in answer to apprehensions, expressed by Mr. Rose, during the debate upon the Finance Plan, that certain of the war-taxes, now to be mortgaged, would fall off in amount at the peace (for he really talked of *peace* in the usual strain!), our blithe Chancellor told him, not only of the above-mentioned scheme of encouraging the revenue officers to act with new vigour, but that, as a large *military* establishment would be necessary in time of peace, the *troops* might be employed upon the same service, and encouraged by the same means; and that, thus, the revenue and the military force would be *a mutual support to each other!* Loving and tender reciprocity! Blessed state, wherein for a people, who boast of their freedom, to exist! Pitts' system was sharp enough; but, we have never yet seen the bayonet at the door of the brewhouse, the distillery, the wine vault, or the malt kiln: The taxgatherer and exciseman have, we know, the constable at their elbow and the soldier in reserve; but, hitherto, we have not, at any rate, seen them come actually at the head of a troop —V. In the meanwhile, however, as it were for the purpose of reconciling the ignorant to this state of "*improvement*," as his lordship called it, Mr. Whitbread is coming forward, in grand solemnity, with a new plan of POOR LAWS. Of this plan, as developed in the newspaper reports, I shall have much to say, upon a future occasion; at present I shall content myself with giving it as my decided opinion, that the scheme, except as far as it goes to do away the restrictions as to settlements, has in contemplation regulations the most absurd as well as most unjust that ever were conceived by mortal man. If a plan like this were really to be adopted, I, for my part, should not be at all surprised, if some one were to propose the selling of the poor, or the mortgaging of them to the fund-holders.——Aye! you may wince; you may cry Jacobin and Leveller as long as you please. I wish to see the poor men of England what the poor men of England were when I was born; and, from endeavouring to accomplish this wish, nothing but the want of the means shall make me desist. This is, indeed, an important subject; and, I promise, that it shall not be neglected by me.

SIR HOME POPHAM; the DELICATE INVESTIGATION; the CAPTURE OF CURRACOA; and several other topics must be deferred till my next sheet.

SUGAR TRADE.

Concluded from page 224.

If the present arrangements for this purpose are faulty, let them be amended; let the duties on the importation of foreign corn; the low duties as well as the high duties if necessary, be augmented. But, when it is proposed to permit the distillation of British sugar and molasses, which will put into the pockets of our own people some hundreds of thousands of pounds, now paid to foreigners to purchase materials for distillation, which we have cheaper of our own, let us not impute to that measure inconveniencies, which a very small portion of skill and care will suffice to prevent, or, rather, which nothing less than a total want of skill and care can possibly permit to happen.—6. The old proportion between the duties on East Indian and West Indian sugars should be restored. For the protection of those Englishmen who had been encouraged to invest their capitals in the culture of sugar in the English West Indian islands, and to invite the investment of new capitals in the same object, and in adherence to the system of reciprocal monopoly, originally established in the commerce between Great Britain and those of her islands, while the duties on the sugar of those dependencies amounted, as I have already mentioned, to only 6s 4d. per cwt, East Indian sugar was subjected to an *a valorem* duty of nearly £40 per cent, which operated as a total prohibition to the importation of it. But within the last thirty years, as we have seen, the duties on West Indian sugar have been raised to 27s. (and contingently to 30s.) per cwt, and the amount and assessment of the duty on East Indian sugars have likewise been completely changed, so that at present there is only a very trifling difference (less I think than half a crown per cwt.) between the two. In consequence of this, and of the encreased expence of cultivating estates in our West Indies, the English planter is really liable to be driven out of the English market (and he is prohibited from seeking another) by the sugar of Hindostan. The quantity of the latter of late brought to England (according to the last account laid before the House of Commons, which I have seen) has not indeed been more than seven and twenty hundred tons annually; and several most intelligent directors have formally recorded in the books of the India House, their deliberate and decided opinion, that this branch of trade is adverse to the interests of the Company, and their protest against the extension of it. But neither this fact, nor the actual moderation of the import from India, affords any permanent security to the English planter. The alteration in the proportion of the duties (like the similar alteration in the proportion of those on English rums and foreign spirits) was a gross breach of faith towards all those Englishmen, who had expended their money in cultivating our sugar islands, confidently relying on that effectual preference in the market, which had been held out to them by parliament, and recognised in numberless instances, during upwards of a hundred and twenty years. The alterations should therefore be rescinded, and the old proportion restored. This may now be easily effected, and without any just cause of complaint, or pretence of injury, on the part of the East-India Company: but by delay it may become difficult, nay, by a long delay it may even be rendered harsh towards that corporation, if they shall previously have much enlarged their dealings in sugar, in expectation of the continuance of the present rates.——7. It should be permitted, that the manufacture of sugar should be completed in the West-Indies, by that easy and almost costless process of refinery, of which the growers have the means. This act of natural justice would be of great benefit to the growers, to the consumers, and to the revenue; but as the devellopement of this matter would make this letter too long, I propose to make it the subject of a separate communication.——Thus, Sir, I have set forth several of the chief grievances, under which the owners of sugar estates in our West Indian islands labour; together with some obvious modes of relief, which may be safely and conveniently administered to their distresses. Most of these modes of relief, will in fact, be found to consist simply in a return to that wise system of mutually beneficial policy, in the dealings of Great Britain towards this class of her people, which had so long been maintained, and impliedly guaranteed by parliament; through confidence in the inviolability of which, Englishmen were induced to adventure their capitals on the other side of the Atlantic; and against which, strengthened as the fabric had been by the co-operating labours of successive legislatures in its support; consolidated as it was by the prosperous exprimer of more than 120 years, and consecrated as it was by national faith; the rash wickedness of adventurous statesmen never till within these thirty years dared to raise their unhallowed hands. I have throughout endeavoured to avoid that tone of asperity and comitation, which is so naturally excited from the feelings of men, who find themselves hurled, by a course of

injustice, of oppression, and of cruelty, from the enjoyments of patrimonial affluence, to the very threshold of beggary. I have good hopes in the justice and wisdom of the present administration; I look for proof of these in continuance of the proposed introduction of sugar into the distilleries, and in the steps they have taken to rescue our West Indian islands from their dependence for necessary food on provinces, which are known to be under the necessity of having recourse to other countries for part of their own food. By means of this dependence alone, which was established little more than 20 years ago, it is a known fact, that in one year, many thousands of persons perished by famine in the single island of Jamaica. One thing more I must however add. It is of the highest importance, that whatever may be done for our West-India proprietors, should be done on systematical principles, and so far as circumstances permit, with a view to permanency. For several years past, since their produce has been loaded with such enormous duties, and since the wise ancient policy, under which their prosperity and that of their countrymen so long went hand in hand, has been departed from by diminishing the drawback, by favouring foreign spirits, and by admitting East-Indian sugar, they have been in almost constant dread of impending ruin; and they have in consequence been compelled every twelve or fifteen months to teize the servants of the crown, for some new modification or correction of the mischiefs, which these experimental violations of the old and tried system have occasioned. In any case such a course of temporizing shifts and expedients is bad enough: in this particular case it is peculiarly odious. It has placed our West-Indian interest in a state of complete dependence on the ministry of the day; and it shocks our best feelings, by driving Englishmen of large heriditary possessions, of liberal educations, enlightened minds, and independent spirit, to dance attendance at the treasury (like the wretched aliens of France at Mr. Reeve's office), to beg the alms of some new connections interposition, which may for another year save themselves from a gaol, and their families from a poor-house.—X.X.

" LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 8.

Sir,—Believing there is no enquiry respecting education of more importance than that which you have proposed, as to the utility of the learned languages; I hope you will give me room for a few lines, to state, what *the question is not*; that the *learned* gentlemen of the two universities may not be puzzled. On some future occasion I shall trouble you with some observations, on what *the question is*. Believe me, Sir, it is in *your* power to lay this question for ever to rest: to make the profession of a knowledge of the learned languages, almost as ridiculous, as the profession of the belief in witchcraft.—*It is not a question* on the merit or demerit of the Greek or Latin authors; on which, however, much may be said that has never entered the imagination of the " heads of houses." But this has no *necessary* connection with the present discussion. Whatever excellence they may contain, no one, in the least acquainted with the subject, can deny, that the *sense* of these writers may be conveyed through the medium of translations; and as for the *style*, if that cannot be *caught* by persons who have dedicated a great part of their lives to the study of those languages, and who have (in several instances), employed many years in the translation of particular works, how can it be expected of those, whose public or private duties, have not allowed them the same learned leisure? Either the translations of Demosthenes, for instance, by Francis or Leland, communicate to the English reader, a just idea of the sense and style of that great orator, or they do not. And, if the latter, how *very few* individuals can possibly have time or opportunity, to obtain the same degree of skill in the Greek languages, as these translators possessed.—If translations do convey enough of the meaning and spirit of the antient authors, why should not a particular class of persons be so employed? Why should not a few curious scholars so occupy themselves for their own emolument, and the benefit, (if any,) of the public? This has been done with great success in the languages of the East; and would, perhaps, be one of the greatest benefits of the division of labour, which many suspect to be carried too far on other subjects.—But it may, I believe it has been, said, that although we can get by the means of translations, all that is valuable in the writings of the orators, philosophers, and historians of Greece and Rome, the *beauties of their poets* cannot be so communicated. Be it so. Where is the loss? Has not every variety of idea—every turn of expression, been adopted and naturalized by the poets of our own country? Is there not in the English language far more than enough of excellent poetry, than could occupy the leisure of the most unemployed? And who, but a pedantic fool, would not rather quote an agreeable or useful passage,

from a language that would be equally understood by his hearers, whether assembled in the houses of parliament, or sitting in the domestic circle? S.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 9.

SIR,——You have thrown down the gauntlet of defiance, and I doubt not you will find many willing and able to take it up. The question itself is not new: long since parties have arranged themselves upon different sides, and displayed their respective reasonings with all the force they have been able. You have once more revived the controversy, by a bold and unqualified negation, couched in terms perhaps too general, but which will not, I apprehend, obscure your meaning. For my own part, Sir, in the general tendency of your opinion, I cordially agree with you: for I conceive the spirit of your objection to be against the *language* not the *literature* of the ancients; and the study of the *learned languages* (as they are exclusively called) merely with a view to ground arrogant pretensions of superiority upon, has ever appeared to me futile and even contemptible. The only true and valuable learning, as you justly observe, consists in the possession of knowledge, and in the power of communicating that knowledge: and in what manner the acquisition of the ancient languages can be deemed indispensibly necessary to this knowledge, I am at a loss to conjecture. *Things* and not *words* ought to be the primary concern of a rational being: and the former are to be obtained as well in an English as in a Latin or a Greek dress. I, will take history as an example; for this species of composition is principally conversant about those subjects essential to general and useful knowledge.—The man who reads Livy, Tacitus, Sallust, Cæsar, Xenophon, Thucydides, &c. in their original language, comes forward with a haughty mien, with a scornful look, with a bloated self-importance, and boasts his *learning:* I grant, his learning is two-fold; he knows the facts, he knows also the languages in which those facts are narrated:—the man likewise who has read these authors in approved translations, or who has digested their essence in comprehensive compilations, may also step boldly forward with the conscious independence of merit, and with an unblanched countenance enter the lists with the more pompous linguist. I ask, in what does the boasted superiority of this latter consist? If in any thing it consists in this: where I read *citizen* he reads *civis:* where I read *and*, he reads *et;* where I read *a man of refined taste*, he reads *homo emunctæ naris;* where I perhaps read *solid friendship consists in the same desires, the same aversions*, he probably reads *idem velle, idem nolle, firma amicitia est:* &c. &c. But, heavens! is this a knowledge upon which a man is to pride himself: is this school boy exercise of memory, this mechanical operation of the human faculties, to draw the line between genius and stupidity, between erudition and ignorance? Is not the real, the essential, the *useful* knowledge which we both possess equal? Is not my acquaintance with the general current of events, with the causes that produced them, with the consequences that resulted from them, as full, as complete, as beneficial as his? Am I not enabled to draw the same inferences? To make the same applications? To apply the same reasonings? Can I not estimate with the same accuracy the motives of the actors? Cannot I acquire the same general and accumulated stock of information? In fact, that useful knowledge which consists in the concentration of events for the purpose of applying them by way of comparison, illustration, or argument when needful, is possessed equally by both of us: and willingly may be resigned to the pedant, the empty, air-blown, frivolous fame of possessing two or three words for the same idea, where I have only one. Perhaps it may be said, my knowledge will not be so accurate, because translators may mistake the meaning of an author, or may wilfully pervert it: to the first objection I answer, I probably might be as mistaken as he, supposing I knew the original; owing to the obscurity and confusion in which many parts of the classics are involved: and, as to the second, allowing that a man may occasionally be so warped by prejudice or party as to purposely pervert the meaning of an author, yet this is not always the case, and others may be found who have more impartiality, for of almost all the classics there is more than one translation extant. What has been here said of history will apply equally to ethics, criticism, philosophy, dialectics, &c.—But with regard to poetry and eloquence, the case differs. Here the imagination, and not the judgment, is brought into play. We are to be amused, delighted, charmed, but not instructed. We are to rise from perusal, our ears tickled with harmonious versification, our fancies bewildered with beautiful imagery and apt similies, our minds loaded with metaphor, anaphora, metonymy, synecdoche, dactyls, spondees, iambics, pyrrhics, amphibrachs, and a chaos of abstract personifications, which are indeed infinitely amusing and of-

ten enrapture the soul " lapping it in Elysium," but which have no more real and necessary connection with substantial, useful knowledge, than an ear for music, an eye for painting, or a palate for *haut gout*. And even here the *utile* (forgive me, Sir, turning my back upon you for a moment) may be extracted from translations though certainly the *dulce* will evaporate. But these things are at best agreeable recreations for idle fancies: and the man who never read Horace, but in the imitations of Pope (by far the liveliest transcript of his manner) or Virgil, but in the translation of Dryden, or Homer, but in the version of the former, will have little reason to complain of his loss, while in addition, he has free access to the beauties of Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Akenside, and a host of native poets. And the same may be said of all works purely imaginative.——Thus far, Sir, you will perceive that my sentiments run pretty parallel with your own: but, I cannot assent unconditionally to the whole of your fulminations, and among others, that the learned languages as a part of education are " worse than useless;" for, since the current of opinion has set in so strongly in their favour, and they are often a medium of wealth, reputation, and dignity, on these considerations perhaps, we ought to view them with more lenity. The philosopher sees many things in the world which uncorrupt reason knows to be folly, but which the expediency of the times bids him sanction; and, among these probably, is the study of languages as the road to distinction.——This, Sir, is only an adumbration of the reasonings which might be brought forward upon this subject; and which I expect to see brought forward by yourself, when all your opponents have entered the field. Meanwhile, I should feel gratified by the insertion of the above, if it meet your approbation, and remain, Sir, &c. —ATTALUS.——*Liverpool, Feb.* 1, 1807.

" LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 10.

SIR;——Your manly avowal of your sentiments, with regard to classical erudition, has drawn upon you a swarm of those minor scholars, who conscious of possessing neither talents nor knowledge, are still ambitious to retain the distinction of learning, upon the strength of a proficiency in the ancient languages. Amongst the most impertinent of these pretenders to literature, is your correspondent P. F. (No. 3) whose futile arguments you have deemed unworthy of your notice. But, whilst you reserve the powers of your reason, your eloquence, and your wit, to engage some mighty champion of the Universities; you may probably allow one of your humblest admirers, to endeavour to detect one at least of the numerous fallacies of your correspondent.—After mentioning, with deserved praise, many of the celebrated and erudite writers who adorned the age of Elizabeth; he states, that, you will probably oppose Shakespeare to these " illustrious " persons." " But," continues he triumphantly, " he will be of no service to your " cause, for it is allowed on all hands, that " what he did was by dint of genius only; " so, that where learning is the subject, he " is quite out of the question." It is upon this assertion, that I presume to trouble you with a few remarks. You have defined learning, to be the " possession of know- " ledge, and the faculty of communicating " it to others;" and your correspondent seems tacitly to have agreed, that such is its true signification; and, surely, you never meant to exclude from that definition, the very ground work of all human wisdom, the knowledge of human nature. That our great poet, possessed this knowledge, and the power of imparting it, in the most eminent degree, few will venture to deny. The Book of Nature lay before him, and amply did it repay his studies. The knowledge of Shakespeare has been called intuitive, and those airy flights of imagination, that sublime, and beautiful fancy, which can picture unexisting beings, and transport us to other worlds, are, indeed, the peculiar gifts of heaven-born genius; but, that nice delineation of character, those minute, yet, striking traits, which bring the feelings of his heroes home to every bosom, can only be the effect of long and patient investigation, into the nature and habits of men; and, surely, this is learning in its highest sense; it is wisdom, and the experience of two centuries has confirmed its value.—Of the learned and illustrious authors of his own times, whom P. F. has opposed to Shakespeare, neither Hooker, Baron, nor Raleigh, can fairly be compared with him. The provinces of theology, and of science, are essentially different from that of poetry. One poet only has he mentioned, and hence, the comparison is surely in our favour; I should pity the taste of him who could prefer the affected rhapsodies of Sydney, to the natural and simple eloquence of Shakespeare. The only writer of that age, who can fairly be placed in competition with him, is Ben Johnson, a poet of no mean genius, and of great classical acquirements. He too affected to deplore the ignorance of his great rival; yet his productions, with one or two exceptions, are gradually striking

into Johnson, and chiefly valued as they contribute to elucidate some obscure passages in our immortal bard.—It is a favourite argument with the advocates of classical erudition, that an intimate acquaintance with the tongues of Greece and Rome, is necessary to a thorough understanding of our own. But, can they name one author, in the whole circle of English literature, who has so much enriched and beautified our language, as Shakespeare? Dr. Johnson, himself a most bigotted scholar, has adopted him as the most frequent authority in his Dictionary; and it is his English, the English of Pope, and of Addison, and not the gallicisms of Gibbon, o the pompous Latinisms of Johnson, that I would vindicate from the contempt of these classical innovators; and, I may venture to predict, that, as long as our despised, but beautiful, and expressive language exists, and long after the barbarous pedants of this age, shall have been forgotten, our poet of nature, shall continue to be the admiration, and the pride, of his countrymen.—I am, Sir, with great respect, &c. —R.—*Feb.* 10, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. II.

SIR,—Although I am yet ignorant of the fate of my former essay on the Learned Languages, the insertion of which I could, indeed, willingly see superseded by the appearance of abler productions, I venture to communicate to you some further suggestions on the same subject. Were that essay now in my possession, I would retrench from it the introduction, which strikes me as peculiarly ostentatious; and correct some inaccuracies of expression that escaped me at the time, but of which you will be liberal enough not to take advantage. One strong reason for the study of the antient languages in order to understand our own, is, that with the exception of a few nouns and primitive verbs, our vocables are almost all taken, either mediately or immediately, from the Latin or Greek. This is no doubt an unfortunate circumstance, and has in great part originated in an extravagant attachment to the ancient languages: It is unfortunate, because it has rendered the understanding of our vernacular tongue an object of great difficulty; while the roots and primary significations of our words must be sought for in a foreign language; and while the length of carriage, if I may so speak, of these words and their endless associations in their progress, have given rise to an equally endless variety of acceptation. It would be indeed fortunate for us did we possess a language like the Greek or the Germans, in which the most abstract and complicated words are composed from a few simple roots, which admit of an endless variety of combination; all of which combinations can be easily understood, because their constituent parts are universally familiar. Thus the Greeks could continually enrich their language without adding to its obscurity: an advantage which the Germans in a great measure also possess. But, whatever be the constitution of our language, it is with it as with our political constitution, though we now and then venture to suggest a repair or an amelioration, yet we must still preserve the old ground woak. Now, I conceive, that the difficulty of understanding all of those words derived from the Latin, and more particularly from the Greek, nearly equals that of thoroughly understanding these languages. When a man knows a few roots in Greek, his labour is well nigh over; the endless combinations of thsee roots with a little attention and judgment, are easily resolved; but from this the mere English scholar is precluded, and his memory is loaded with a multiplicity of words, that present no sensible hold, and can almost never be universally retained. The Dictionary must be continually on his table. Any one who has witnessed the progress of anatomical students will testify, that those unacquainted with the original languages of the nomenclature, are presented with almost unsurmountable obstacles in its acquisition; while those who are acquainted with the sources find little difficulty. The same observation applies nearly to the whole circle of science. Mixing in the world and general reading will not of themselves enable a young man to form accurate conceptions of the import of words; the general acceptation he may, indeed, in some sort thus acquire; but, if he would attain precision and avoid ambiguity, the Lexicographer either of our own or other languages must be frequently consulted.—— J. B——K ——*Edinburgh, Feb.* 18, 1807.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

RECAPTURE OF BUENOS AYRES. *From the London Gazette. Downing-street, January* 27, 1807.

The attempt was accordingly commenced, on the 28th, by the navy; but the water proving too shallow to admit of the ships coming sufficiently near to cannonade it with effect, a further effort was necessarily given up.—Upon this I demed it advisable, with the co-operative concurrence of Sir H. Popham, to take possesion of the town of Maldonado, as a favourable position for the purpose of refreshing the troops,

mounting my cavalry, and carrying on such other arrangements as might thereafter appear most necessary.—Now a moment was lost; and, accordingly, on the evening of the 29th, I landed with about 400 men, composed principally of a part of the 38th Regiment, under Col. Vassal, and advanced against the town, which seemed to be occupied by about 600 Regulars and Militia, mostly mounted, with 1 howitzer, and 1 long 47 pounder field-piece, both brass.—Notwithstanding we were without any artillery, the enemy were soon dispersed, with the loss of their guns, and about 50 men killed and wounded. The loss on our side was 2 killed and 4 wounded, of His Majesty's 38th Regiment.—To cool the intrepidity of our little column on this occasion much praise is due, as it advanced, with the utmost steadiness and alacrity, and without firing a shot, until sufficiently near to make a certainty of carrying both the guns and the town, which was principally done by the bayonet, notwithstanding the advance was made under heavy discharges of grape and musketry.—To the well-known gallantry and ability of Col. Vassal, I feel myself much indebted; and the conduct of every other Officer in the field has commanded my thanks.—At day-break, yesterday morning, I detached Col. Vassal to take possesion of the heavy batteries on the beach of the harbour, and on the Peninsula, which precluded any communication for the enemy between the main land and the strong island and post of Goretti, situated in, and much commanding, the bay of Maldonado, and which, in consequence, in the course of the day, surrendered at discretion, to a summons sent from Sir H. Popham, and thereby prevented the necessity of carrying it by storm, and the consequent bloodshed that might have ensued. During yesterday and this morning, the chief part the remainder of the troops have been landed, and I have already contrived to mount nearly one half of my cavalry.—The Wellington transport being directed to sail immediately to England, I have taken the liberty of addressing this short account of my proceedings directly to you, Sir H. Popham having represented to me his inability to dispatch a vessel at this time to the Cape of Good Hope, precluding me the power of making my report through the regular channel of Lt. Gen. Sir D. Baird.—I ought not to omit to mention the very steady and praise-worthy conduct of a small party of Marines and armed Seamen, sent on shore by Sir H. Popham, who joined and composed part of our column, on its way into the town, and occupied such positions as were allotted to them during the night, in such a correct manner, as to reflect the greatest credit both on the officers that commanded them, and their own zeal and discipline.—I should also be wanting in justice to my own feelings, if I closed my dispatch, without acknowledging the services I have received from Lt. Col. Brownrigg, and Major Trotter of the 83d Regt. acting Deputy-Adjutant-Genl. to the Forces at present under my command. And I also beg leave to acknowledge the assistance afforded me by Major Tucker, of the 72d regt. who, by permission of Lt. Gen. Sir D. Baird, is with me on this occasion, and acting in the capacity of Military Secretary.—I herewith have the honour to inclose the return of such ordnance, ammunition, and stores, as have yet been discovered.—I have the honour to be, &c. J. T. Backhouse, Lieut. Col. 47th. Reg.

Return of the killed and wounded of the Troops under the command of Lieut. Col. Backhouse, in the attack of Maldonado, on the 29th of Oct. 1806.—38 Reg. 2 rank and file killed, 4 rank and file wounded.

(Signed) W. R. Trotter.

Return of Ordnance, Ammunition, and Stores, &c. taken from the enemy, in the town and vicinity of Maldonado, and island of Goretti, on the 29th of Oct. 1806.

Brass Ordnance. 1 Six-inch howitzer, with ten rounds of ammunition. 1 Six-pounder, with ten rounds of ditto.—Iron Ordnance. 12 26-pounders on Sea Batteries. 20 24-pounders on the Island of Goretti. 700 Muskets. 200 Pistols. 300 Swords. 108 Barrels of Powder. (Signed) A. Watson, Capt. R. M. Artillery.—N. B. The above is the most correct return I have yet been able to collect.

(Signed) W. R. Trotter, A. Gen.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 27, 1807.—Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been received at this Office from Commodore Sir Home Popham, addressed to William Marsden, Esq.

His Majesty's ship Diadem, Rio de la Plata, Aug. 25, 1806.——Sir,—When the events of war cease to be favourable to any armament, I consider it the duty of commanding officers to state all the circumstances under their knowledge or information, with clearness and perspicuity, which, either progressively or suddenly, led to a reverse of fortune.—In pursuing this course, I feel confident I shall be able to satisfy the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the liberal and beneficent principles upon which

the government of Gen. Beresford was conducted, do more honour to his Majesty's arms, and the character of G. Britain, than if he had resorted to expedients completely within his power, which would have effectually annihilated all the efforts of the enemy, and wrested, probably for ever, these countries from the crown of Spain.—Pueridon, one of the municipality, appears to have been the greatest organ of the revolution. He applied himself with great art and address in preparing the people for a general insurrection.—The arms in the town were secreted, ready for the moment of action; the discontented assembled every night, and attended to his instructions; and he raised all the rabble of the country, by the ample supplies of money with which he was furnished on the north side of the River. Col. Liniers, a French officer in the Spanish service, and on his parole, successfully employed himself in collecting people at Colonia.—Terror was established, and every person who refused to contribute his assistance to this conspiracy, was threatened with immediate death.——I have traced this from very unquestionable authority, and so rapid was the progress of the revolution, when it first shewed itself, that it was not till the 31st July that I learned by a dispatch from the general, which reached me at Ensenada, on my return from Monte Video, that he was apprehensive, from the information he received, an insurrection would shortly be made.—I heard at the same time from Capt. Thomson, that 17 of the enemy's vessels had just arrived at Colonia, and it was reported that force was still to be increased from Monte Video, I sent orders for the Diomede to be brought to Ensenada, and for Capt. King, of the Diadem, to come up with the remaining few marines, the two companies of blues, and as many other men as could, in any degree, be spared from the ships, for the purpose of arming some vessels to attack the enemy at Colonia, as it was impossible to prevent his crossing from the north shore whenever the wind was fair.—On the 1st of Aug. in the afternoon, the Leda anchored off Buenos Ayres, about 12 miles distant; and on my landing on the 2d, which I did as soon as the weather would admit of a boat getting on shore, I found the general had just made a very successful attack on about 1500 Spaniards, under Pueridon, 5 leagues from the town, with 500 men, in which he took all the enemy's cannon (I think 9 pieces) and several prisoners.—On the 3d, I attempted to return to the Leda, in the Encounter, which Capt. Honeyman brought within a few miles of the shore for this purpose, as it blew very strong: but the wind freshened so considerably from the eastward, that we could not get to windward.—On the 4th, in the morning, it was very thick weather, and the gale increased so much, that it was impossible to weigh.—About noon, Capt. King arrived in a galivat, with 150 men from the Diadem, for the purpose of arming and commanding the few small vessels we had collected in the harbour; but he was not able to ger there till the following day.—On the 5th, in the morning, it moderated, and I reached the Leda, when I received a report from Capt. Thomson, that in the gale of the preceding day, the enemy had crossed from Colonia totally unobserved by any of our ships, except the schooner under the command of Lieut. Herrick, who was lying in the narrow gut leading to Couchas and St. Isidro; but the easterly wind had thrown so much water in the river, that the enemy were enabled to cross over any part of the Parmas Bank, without the necessity of making a greater detour, by going higher up the river.—On the 6th and 7th it blew a hurricane; the Leda was lying in four fathoms, with two anchors down, and her yards and topmasts struck.—On the 8th I heard from Capt. King, that 5 of our gun boats had foundered at their anchors; that the Walker had lost her rudder; and that the launches and large cutters of the Diadem and Leda were lost.—The torrents of rain that fell during the 6th, 7th, and 8th, had rendered the roads totally impracticable for any thing but cavalry, and consequently, Gen. Beresford was most seriously disappointed in his determination to attack the enemy at a distance from the town; in which, had it taken place, I entertain no doubt that his army would have added another trait of its invincible spirit under his dispositions.—The enemy, however, by his inexhaustible supply of horses, suffered little inconvenience from the state of the roads, and he was, therefore, enabled to approach the town by several directions, without giving the British army any opportunity to attack him.—On the 10th, in the evening, the Castle was summoned, and on the following day I landed, while our remaining vessels were firing on the Spanish posts, and I learned that, exclusive of the Spanish army, which was divided into many columns, occupying the various avenues of the town, the inhabitants were all armed, and sheltered on the tops of the houses and churches, with a design of carrying on a war of ambush.—Under these circumstances, and the manifest disposition of the enemy to prevent an engagement, it was determined to embark the

wounded that night, and cross the Rio Chello, for the purpose of moving towards Ensenada; but this measure was, in a great degree, frustrated by the weather, which became very violent during the night, and consequently retarded the progress of embarkation, though the enemy added a considerable number of men to the houses and churches near the Castle, and advanced by all the streets, not under the influence of its fire; in short, Sir, his object was to avoid, by every means, a general action, and to place his men in such a situation that they could fire at our troops, while they remained in perfect security themselves.—On the 12th, at day light, I understand a smart fire began from the enemy's advanced posts, but was soon returned with great effect from our artillery, which was planted towards the principal streets leading to the Great Square, and for a short time the enemy, by his immense numbers, shewed a greater degree of firmness than on any other occasion, and pushed forward with 3 pieces of artillery, which Colonel Pack, of the 71st, soon charged and took from him. During this time, however, reinforcements crowded the tops of all the houses commanding the Great Square from the back streets, and our troops were considerably annoyed by people they could not get at. The enemy commanded the Castle in the same way, with the additional advantage of a gun on the top of one of the churches, which I consider an idelible stigma against the character of the Bishop, not only from his situation, but the professions he made.—I can easily conceive how the feelings of Gen. Beresford must, at this moment, have been on the rack; disappointed in his last efforts to induce the enemy to a general engagement in the Great Square, his gallant little army falling fast by shots from invisible persons, and the only alternative which could present itself to save the useless effusion of so much valuable blood, was a flag of truce, which was hoisted at the castle about one o'clock.——In an instant, there were near 10,000 men in the Great Square, pressing forward, in the most outrageous manner, to get into the fort, and even firing at our men on the ramparts; so much so, that it was with extreme difficulty the British troops were prevented revenging this insult; indeed the general was obliged to tell the Spanish officers, if their men did not retire in the course of one minute, he must, as the only measure of safety, haul down the flag of truce, and recommence hostilities; this firmness had the desired effect, and he then sent his conditions to the Spanish general, and they were instantly acceded to.—I inclose a copy of the capitulation, and I trust the high and independent language in which it is couched, and the terms dictated by General Beresford to an officer at the head of myriads of people, will do him infinite honour in England, and obtain for him his Majesty's most gracious approbation.—I have received and annexed a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, by which it appears that there are two officers, two serjeants, one drummer, forty-three rank and file killed; eight officers, seven serjeants, ninety-two rank and file wounded, and nine missing; making a total of one hundred and sixty-five; scarce any of those misfortunes were occasioned, except from the inhabitants on the tops of the houses and the churches.—The enemy confesses to have lost about seven hundred killed and wounded, in the short conflict in the streets; and if it had not been for the inhabitants, I have little doubt that the Spanish troops would have been completely defeated, although seven times the number of the British forces.——Nothing is more difficult than to give their lordships an idea of the number of men in arms; but from the best accounts we can obtain, it is thought Pueridon, and the other principle people engaged in this plot, had collected from eight to ten thousand men in the country; that Liniers may have brought over from eight hundred to one thousand; and the town furnished, though armed in various ways, about ten thousand, under the secret arrangements of the magistrates.——When every vessel that could escape from Buenos Ayres had joined, I proceeded towards Ensenado, to receive the detachment of marines; Lieut. Groves, of the Diadem, was obliged to quit the Belem schooner, as she would not work out; one gun boat and a settee, a prize, were also left in the harbour, with the Justina, a small English merchant ship that had followed the expedition from St. Helena. Capt. Thomson of the Neptune, who was in the castle, was made a prisoner, and Lieut. Burgh, of the Raisonable, with Mr. Ramsay, a midshipman, and seven men, who were in the settee, as her boats could not hold them. Lieut. Herrick, in the Dolores, the other armed schooner, worked out in a manner which, coupled with his conduct on the whole of this business, does him great credit.

To be continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"Is it believed, that the debates in this House are conducted with a view to the public good? I admit, for "the sake of argument, that the side of the House, with which I have the honour to act, are no more "actuated than the other by motives of a pure and disinterested nature; though, while I make the admis- "sion, my conscience acquits me of the crime. Is it not in every one's mouth, that the object of one "party is to keep their places, and of the other to supplant them? And, if such an opinion is entertained, "how is it compatible with respect?"——MR. GREY'S (now Lord Howick) Speech, 26th March, 1797, when, after a fruitless motion for a reform of parliament, he notified his intention of seceding from debate.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.——I. Irish Catholics. II. Poor Laws. III. Slave Trade. IV. Lord Wellesley. V. Westminster Election.——I. There are, before the House of Commons, bills for granting an additional sum for the education of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, and for removing, as far as relates to officers in the army and navy, the restrictions, of which the Catholics complain, as to promotion to the higher ranks in those services.——As to the former, there appears to be no reasonable objection to it; for, no one can imagine, that the ignorance of the priests will at all tend to reconcile the people of Ireland to the present state of things, while the not granting of a sufficiency to educate the priests must necessarily increase their hatred of the government, and which hatred is already but too great. It was observed by Mr. Bankes, that the grant was improper, because it went to the *establishing* of the Roman Catholic religion; whereas he was willing to *tolerate* it only. But, do we not grant annually a pretty large sum of money to the dissenting *Protestant* ministers? This is certainly the case; and, yet we are not endeavouring to *establish* their religion in preference to our own. Besides, there is this difference in the two cases; that, the Protestant dissenting ministers can easily obtain an education in any part of the kingdom; whereas the Roman Catholic priests must be educated in the seminary in Dublin, or they must be sent abroad for the purpose; or, indeed, as Sir John Newport observed, they must, in the present state of Europe, be educated in Dublin, or not at all. As to a measure of this sort tending, as it does in the opinions of some persons, to retard the happy day when all the Catholics of Ireland shall be converted into Protestants, that day is becoming farther and farther distant. We go the wrong way to work in every thing relating to this matter: and especially in the regulations relative to the *residence* of the Protestant clergy. That a man who resided continually in his parish might possibly make some progress in the conversion of his parishioners will be readily believed; but most men will be very backward in believing, that a minister, who resides and spends his income in London or at Bath or Cheltenham, can do much, in the way either of precept or example, to convert the Irish from the "*damnable* errors of popery," in which their and our forefathers lived and died. There is, to be sure, something very whimsical in the Romish religion, whether as to doctrine or discipline; and it does vex one to see even sensible people submit to be governed by such shockingly ignorant creatures as are, sometimes, to be found amongst the Romish priests; but, we should not be too hasty in condemning in the lump; and, when I look at many of the priests of most other churches, or sects, I am, for my part, by no means disposed for a crusade of conversion, than which, as directed against the Irish, the bringing of Africans away from their country, in order to convert them in the West India Islands, is, in my opinion, a far more rational scheme ——As to the provision relating to the officers of the army and navy, they, surely, ought to be permitted to become field officers and generals, when we have so many *Hanoverian* Majors and Colonels in our service, and stationed in the heart of our country. Yet, if Roman Catholics may rise to the highest ranks in the military service, without any breach of the "Coronation Oath," why Roman Catholics may not be permitted to have seats in parliament, or at the Council, or on the Bench, is a question worthy of being submitted to Mr. Reeves, who is the master casuist in all matters affecting the royal conscience. It does, however, sound rather awkwardly, that this emancipation, as the Catholics persist in calling it, should be extended only to men who have arms in their hands. Perhaps it may go further. Who knows but the ministers may, at last, fulfil

one of their pledges! They have begun with the negroes; and, though they should have begun with the whites, let us hope that they will, for once, think of their promises and vows, and do something, at last, to furnish their friends with an instance to quote in their favour.——II. The bill for amending the Poor Laws was, on the 23d instant, read a second time, and ordered to be printed. The bill is then to be sent to the quarter sessions in the several counties, that it may there be examined, and that the several sets of justices may give their opinion upon it. If this be proper, in this instance, why not in other instances? And, if the approbation of the justices be to be obtained, why not appeal to the whole of the people? I dare say, that, in the four counties of Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Surrey, where the majority upon the several benches consist of police magistrates, who are *paid* for their services, and who are *liable to be removed at the will of the ministry:* in those counties, I dare say, the plan will meet with an instant and cordial approbation. Nor, considering of what description, generally speaking, the other magistrates are, is it to be much feared by Mr. Whitbread, that his bill will be very vehemently condemned.——Mr. Morris, upon the day just mentioned, expressed his disapprobation of every part of the bill, except that which provided for the *education* of the poor; and, he wished much to have an opportunity of speaking upon the subject in this stage of the progress of the bill, in order that his objections *might go to the quarter sessions along with the project.* Thus, then, this is a direct acknowledgement, from a member of the House, that he is speaking to the people out of doors as much, at least, as to those within doors; and yet the House possesses the power of punishing, in any manner they please, any man who shall publish the speeches of the members! As to what Mr. Morris's objections would be, I shall not presume to anticipate. Mine go to the whole of the plan, as far as I can, at present understand it, except that part which removes, in some degree, the restriction as to settlements; but, these objections I shall refrain from stating, until I have an opportunity of seeing the bill itself. In the meanwhile, however, I cannot help again reminding my readers, of the curious effect which a change of situation has upon some men's minds. Mr. Whitbread, while his friends were out of office; while they and he (for, though he has not yet touched, he will touch) saw no prospect of getting possession of emolument and power: *then* Mr. Whitbread saw nothing but the parliament that wanted reforming; to the corruption and profligacy of the *great* he ascribed all the disgrace and misery of the nation. But *now* he finds that he was beginning at the wrong end; and that he should have set out with reforming, not the parliament, but the people." Now that all his relations are gorging with the public money up to the very palate, he finds out that a mark of disgrace ought to be affixed upon all those who receive aid out of the parish taxes.——III. The bill for abolishing the Slave Trade was again discussed on the 23d and 27th instant, on the former of which days, upon a motion for going into a committee upon the bill, the House divided, 283 for it, and only 16 against it.——As to the merits of the case, it is useless to say any more. But, there were two or three new arguments and observations that appear to be worthy of notice. My Lord Howick, not content with displaying his powers in repeating all that Brissot and Grenville Sharpe and others had said about the injustice and inhumanity of the traffic, concluded with an *authority*, namely, that of the joint voices of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, "who," said this regenerated lord, "forgot all rivalship here, and joined in favour of the "measure. Their opinions, on this subject, are a legacy, which they left to the "House, and which forms a monument to "their memories, the most lasting and most "splendid."—A figure of rhetorick somewhat more complete than this might have been conceived in a *classical* mind; but, as to *monuments*, my lord, we know full well that Pitt's memory is to have one of another sort. We know, too, that we are to pay for it. We know further, that you and Mr. Fox voted and spoke against it. And, my lord, there are persons who say, that, had they been in your place, they would have begged their bread from door to door rather than remain in a ministry, who suffered Mr. Fox to sink obscurely to the grave, while all manner of funeral and sepulchral honours were heaped upon Pitt. But, my lord, it is precisely because these silly persons are not in your place that they say this. If they had tasted of the all illuminating elexir, as your lordship and several others have done, they would have perceived, as clear as day-light, the important fact, that the office of one living minister was worth the fame of ten dead ministers. Yes, my lord, these "illustrious persons" did agree upon this subject of the Slave Trade; and so they did upon the subject of a reform in parliament; and your lordship agreed with them. Was not that a "legacy," too,

which they left to the House? Or did they, respectively, cancel their wills, as to that point, the moment they came into office? The moment they tasted of the potent elixir aforesaid? That Pitt cancelled his will, as to this legacy, we know very well; and, if Mr. Fox did not do the same; if he has actually left us the legacy, why do not you and his other executors pay it us without delay? You will not, I hope, affect to treat the question of parliamentary reform as one of little importance: I do hope you will not; because, in that case, I shall have to perform the painful and disgusting task of reminding you of all that you and others said of the House, at the time when you gave notice of your *secession*, declaring that while the House remained constituted as it then was, you should think it useless to honour it any more with the delivery of your sentiments; and, really, my lord, as far as my powers of judging go, there is no alteration in the constitution of the House, except that you and your friends, who formerly sat on the Opposition side, are now seated upon the Treasury Bench.——But, my lord, in talking of *legacies*, did it never occur to your lordship, that there was another legacy, which Pitt, whom you have now discovered to be "an *illus-*" *trious statesman*," left to the House, or rather to the people; namely, the *sedition bills*, resistance, open, *violent resistance* to which, Mr. Fox, you, Mr. Erskine, Mr. Tierney, and others, declared to be merely *a question of prudence?* This was a thumping legacy indeed; and, your lordship and your colleagues are so good as *to let us enjoy it!* You may sneer, my Lord Howick. You may put on that supercilious look again and again. But, you and I, my Lord Howick, are of about the same age; and if we live but a very few years, we shall see the day when, as an answer to such observations, sneering will be quite out of fashion.——It must, my lord, in looking at the aforementioned division, have made your heart jump for joy to find the morality and piety of the House so greatly improved since the days, when, upon the question of the Slave Trade, the "illustrious Pitt" used to be left in a *minority*; when he who had power to do every thing else, had not power to obtain a division in his favour upon this subject. Yes, in the House of Commons, indeed, he had; but, not in the House of Lords, though, as you will please to observe, that House consisted of nearly the very same persons as at this day. This is very strange indeed. Their lordships must certainly have acquired some new lights upon the subject since that time; for, to suppose, that they have now passed the bill upon the same grounds that they before rejected it, is something too shocking to think of. What a wonderful faculty of stating and arguing your lordship and your colleagues must possess! Pitt, income-tax Pitt, though he could pass the sedition bills; though he could sell the land-tax; though he could alienate part of the real property of the Church; though he could keep the act of Habeas Corpus suspended for seven years at once; was not able to accomplish, with respect to the Slave Trade, in an administration of twenty years, what you and your colleagues have accomplished in an administration of about half as many months! Well, then, my lord, if you have such power, why not do some at least, of the many other things, which you promised to do for us? You will call this *harping*; but, it is harping which every honest man approves of, and which will stick to you as long as you are a minister.——Of the other speeches Mr. Roscoe's was worthy of notice. He suggested, that what the nation might lose, in point of commerce, from the abolition of the Slave Trade, it might gain by an extension of our trade to the East Indies. Does it appear to this gentleman, then, that colonies in Hindostan are more likely to benefit this country than colonies at one-sixth part of the distance? Does he think that continents are better suited to us than islands? Did he never hear of any slavery or murder being committed in the East Indies? Or is not the colour of the people's skin in that country quite dark enough for him? Perchance he would wish to keep the cruelty at as great a distance as possible. The people in the East Indies are not, perhaps, driven to their work like cattle, as it has been called; but they are lashed by the taxgather, who unites, in the same person, the office of absolute judge of life and death; and, let history say, whether more persons have not suffered death from English rapacity in the East Indies, in any one year out of the last thirty, than have ever so suffered in the West Indies, since the Slave Trade was first heard of.——The Solicitor General spoke on the side of the bill, and concluded with the following compliment to Mr. Wilberforce: "When he "looked to *the man* now at the head of the "French monarchy, surrounded as he was "with all the pomp of power, and all the "pride of victory, distributing kingdoms to "his family, and principalities to his follow-"ers, seeming when he sat upon his throne "to have reached the summit of human "ambition, and the pinnacle of earthly "happiness, and when he followed that "man into his closet or to his bed, and con-

" sidered the pangs with which his solitude " must be tortured and his repose banished " by the recollection of the blood he had " spilled, and the oppressions he had com- " mitted; and when he compared, with " those pangs of remorse, the feelings " which must accompany his hon. friend " (Mr. Wilberforce) from that House to " his home, after the vote of the night " should have confirmed the object of his " humane and unceasing labours; when he " should retire into the bosom of his happy " and delighted family, when he should lay " himself down on his bed, reflecting on " the innumerable voices that would be " raised in every quarter of the world to " bless him, how much more pure and per- " fect felicity must he enjoy in the con- " sciousness of having preserved so many " nations of his fellow creatures, than the " man with whom he had compared him; " on the throne to which he had waded " through slaughter and oppression."—— Upon which, as the reporter of the debate says, there were " *three distinct and univer-* " *sal cheers;*" just such, I suppose, as are heard, when a company of placemen, pensioners, and taxgatherers, otherwise called the " friends of government," drink the king's health! But, this scribbling sycophant must have meant, that the folks in the gallery cheered thus. Surely so grave and reverend an assembly as that of our lawgivers never could have hooted and hallooed at strains so pathetic! The same reporter says, that the preceding speech (Sir John Doyle's) was interrupted by " *loud and con-* " *tinued bursts of laughter.*" He must mean, in the gallery. It is impossible that such wise, grave, reverend, and almost holy men, as Mr Calcraft and General Fitzpatrick and Mr. Wynne and Sir Menasses Lopez and all the Smiths and all the Thorntons and the like; it is impossible, that even the funny stories of Sir John Doyle, with whatsoever labour selected from Joe Miller and the Encyclopedia of Wit, could have made such men laugh, while their enlightened and feeling minds were intent upon this great work of liberty and humanity. But, to return to the speech of the Solicitor General, it may be thought by some persons, that the compliment to Mr. Wilberforce would have lost nothing in its worth, if it had not proceeded in the way of comparison; for, there are those, who can remember having heard some of the present ministry describe the subjects of Prussia and Russia as being men not quite so free as they might be. This was, indeed, at a time when those ministers had not tasted the elixir; but, that circumstance, though of primary importance with those who understand these things, is too often overlooked by the mass of mankind; and, therefore, it is not very surprising, that uninformed persons should regard " the " *man* at the head of the French monarchy" as being, at this moment, also actually engaged in the righteous work of emancipation; more especially when they revert to the language that was made use of, in the House of Commons, relating to the partition of Poland. Nay, there really are people, who pretend, that the oppressed wretches of certain of the states yet unconquered by Napoleon, experience some mitigation of their oppression in consequence of the dread which their rulers have of throwing them into his arms, and of, thereby, losing their prey; and that, in this way, even " the man at the " head of the French monarchy," though he does, it must be confessed, dispose of kings and kingdoms pretty freely, is an instrument in the hands of Providence for " the relief " of suffering and degraded humanity," as Mr Fawkes called it. This is, doubtless, an erroneous opinion; but, it shows that something may be said in this way; and, therefore, the compliment of the Solicitor General would have been better, had it been more simple.——As to the blood that Napoleon has " waded through to the throne," I cannot see for what purpose it was introduced, except, indeed, for the novelty of the figure. There may have been several persons murdered by him; but I have never yet seen any proof of the fact. And, I think, if we come to talk of deposings and takings-off, that Mr. Wilberforce has heard of the Nabob of the Carnatic, the Nabob of Oude, the Nabob of Furrackabad, the Nabob of Tanjore, the Polygars, the Zemindars, and the unfortunate Whisker-men. Yet I never did hear, that Mr. Wilberforce expressed, at any time, in any one single instance, a feeling of horror, or a sentiment of disapprobation, upon the subject. Is it that the princes and people of Hindostan are not white enough, or not black enough? What are the princes of Germany to me, or to you, reader, more than the princes of Hindostan? The deposing of the latter gives me rather more pain than the deposing of the former; because, the deposings in Hindostan add to the taxes of England, and tend to increase the quantity of bank paper and the number of paupers. Why, then, should we make such an outcry in one case, and be so perfectly tranquil in the other? Ah! Mr. Solicitor General! we may eulogise ourselves and one another, but, you may be assured, that the world will form a just opinion of us.——Mr. Wilberforce,

who concluded the debate, went over his old ground; and, Mr. Malthus, the check-population philosopher, having, upon a former occasion, been quoted as an authority in favour of negro-slavery Mr. Wilberforce said, that *it happened*, that he had had a conversation with that gentleman only ten minutes before he entered the House; and that he had declared, that his meaning had been misunderstood, and that he had just prepared a short appendix to his work, in order to explain his ideas upon the subject; whence was drawn an inference by Mr. Wilberforce, that, if *Pliny* and others had had a like opportunity, they would have explained themselves too, and disclaimed the doctrines imputed to them. For my part, I have ever considered the check-population philosopher as a defender of negro slavery; and, it is very probable, that the best explanation he could have given would be merely this: "when I "wrote my book the ministry were opposed "to the abolition of the slave trade; now "the ministry are for the abolition; and, if "Pliny were here, and wanted a snug place "or pension, he would be for the abolition "too."——Mr. Wilberforce concluded, as the reporter informs us, with the following compliment to the juvenile aristocracy, "the "rising hope of the country," as Mr. Sheridan styled Lord Barrymore and his associates at the Westminster Election. "The Ho-"nourable Gentleman," says the Reporter, "pronounced an elegant eulogium upon the "display of character and talent which the "House had this night witnessed on the side "of humanity and justice, particularly on "the part of the younger members; whose "lofty and liberal sentiments recommended "and enforced by the elevation of their "rank, and the *purity of their form*, must "tend to produce the happiest effects upon "all classes of the community. Such an "indication of mind and feeling must afford "gratification to any reflecting man, and "diffuse the most salutary lessons through-"out the country; must shew to the peo-"ple, *that their legislators, and especially "the higher order of their youths*, were for-"ward to assert *the rights of the weak "against the strong*; to vindicate the cause "of the oppressed, and that where *a prac-"tice was found to prevail, inconsistent with "humanity and justice*, no consideration of "profit could reconcile them to its conti-"nuation."——In the first place, Mr. Wilberforce, I do not believe, that those youths of "pure form" have any *profit* at stake in the abolition of the Slave Trade; and, nothing can be more easy, or more common, than to express and act upon lofty sentiments of generosity, at other people's expence; as in the case, for instance, of the late parliament making the insulted people of this country pay the debts of Pitt, and that, too, observe, when the principal creditors were members of that same parliament; and in which act of sublime generosity you, too, had your share. But, Sir, is there no case of oppression to be found without going to the West Indies for it? Cannot these lofty minded youths find any other instance, in which they can convey a salutary lesson to the country? What think you of the Income Tax, Sir? This is a tax, which takes by means the most inquisitorial, ten pounds from every hundred of a man's income, from whatsoever source that income may arise, and, in its operation, it extends so low as to reach an income of fifty pounds a year. Thus, you, whose income arises from land, pay ten pounds in the hundred upon the rent of your land, and my neighbour, who is a carpenter, pays ten pounds in the hundred upon the fruit of his labour. "Well," you will say, perhaps, "I pay according to my "large income and he according to his "small income." But, Sir, the difference, the wide difference, is this; your's is a freehold estate that will descend unimpaired to your children, while his earnings must cease with his life, and even with his health. With you it is a tax upon interest; with him it is a tax upon capital. To obviate the effect of any confusion of ideas which a crafty statement might produce respecting the rise which such tax produces in the price of labour and in the profit of the tradesman, I shall suppose the case of a life-hold estate. You pay ten pounds a year out of the rent of an estate of a hundred pounds a year in perpetuity; and the same is paid by the man who has such an estate only for his life. Your children will still possess the whole of your estate after your death; but, the children of the man of life-hold estate are not only left without such estate; but are deprived of the tenth part of the income, which might have been saved for them, during the life of their father. The case of officers in the army is still more obviously hard. Suppose an officer, no matter what his rank, has a wife and children. If he die not of wounds received in battle, there is, I believe, no provision made for either wife or children; and, at any rate, the allowance is so small as to be scarcely sufficient to support life. Yet this man, out of his scanty pay, which is merely for life, is compelled to contribute in as great a proportion as you contribute from the mere annual *rent* of your free hold estate. There is another case, which I will

not *suppose*, because I know, and I *feel* its existence. A man, who has, till lately, been a day-labourer from the earliest of his working days; who was married about twenty years ago; who, unenlightened by the check population philosophy of your friend Mr. Malthus, has had fourteen children, has now ten alive, and has never, in his life, received aid from the parish, though, until within these six years, he has never had any thing but the fruit of his bare labour whereon to subsist; this man, who, by the assistance of a friend, now occupies a small farm, is just beginning to taste the reward of his laborious and virtuous life; is just beginning to look beyond the means of mere existence, and to raise his hopes to the providing of some little store against the day when it may please God to take him from his numerous and affectionate offspring; this man, Mr. Wilberforce, who has always worked hard, still works harder, and, until very lately, has always lived harder, than any of the sooty objects of your philanthropy; this man, the moment he begins to rise above mere misery, is served with bundles of inquisitorial papers; is compelled to render a strict account of his gettings; and, when he comes to sit down at the close of the day, with a room full of children, the youngest of whom is upon his knee, perhaps he has to perform the mortifying and humiliating task of putting his own hand to the deed which takes from him one tenth part of those gettings, while he knows that men of freehold estate, like you, pay only in the same proportion out of their annual rents. Here were a case, Sir, for the exercise of humanity and justice; here were a case, indeed, for the youth of lofty sentiments of generosity to stand forward to "assert the rights of the "weak against the strong, to vindicate the "cause of the oppressed, to set at nought "profit when opposed to justice and humanity." But, though I know well, that there are some few of the youths of high rank, who see these matters in the same light that I do, they are not amongst those who *talk* so much about humanity and justice, and whose ardent minds ramble in search of objects to the other side of the Atlantic. And, as to you, Sir, did you not assist in making the law which imposed the tax upon income? Yes; nor do I recollect that you opposed; nay, I know that you supported, the laws for silencing parliamentary reformers, though you yourself had, in conjunction with Pitt, led the way in demanding a reform of the parliament, as being the only means of putting a stop to that bribery and corruption, which, as he and you asserted, were the principal cause of all the wickedness and misery existing in the country. How many a man has counted the death watch in the solitary dungeons of the Cold-Bath Fields prison for having endeavoured to accomplish what you and Mr. Pitt represented as necessary to the very existence of the nation! They were not negroes, to be sure; they were of our own skin and our own country; but, were, merely for those reasons, not objects of humanity! But, Sir, I will quit the subject for the present, and revive it when I come to speak of that famous philanthropic establishment, the colony of *Sierra Leone*, which the philanthropists, now that they find that no money is to be gained by the speculation, are desirous of turning over to the unfortunate nation.——Addressing myself, as I now do, to the philanthropists by trade, *out of doors*, I must confess, that, amongst all the evils that I apprehend from the abolition of the Slave Trade, I do perceive one great and solid good; namely, that there will now be an end to their cant; that the ground-work of their delusions, of their base and hateful hypocrisy, will now be removed; and that, like the hired "Anti-jacobins," they must now starve, or seek for some honester means of procuring a livelihood. That they may, indeed, like the above said "loyal" persons, endeavour to keep up the notion of the still-existing object of their hostility, is possible; but, the imposture will soon become too glaring not to be detected by every man of common sense; and, as to the ideot part of the community, they are no more than so many flies in the producing of political effects ——

IV. With respect to Lord Wellesley, it was, in a former sheet of this volume, observed, that Sir Thomas Turton had given notice of a motion for the *Carnatic Papers*, which had before, in the year 1802, been moved for and afterwards printed upon the motion of Mr. Sheridan, at an expence to the public of many hundreds of pounds, that gentleman having given a solemn pledge, that, unless the then ministry took the matter up, in such a way as to wipe off from the nation the stigma of having approved of the measures which led to the untimely death of the deposed Nabob, he would so take it up. On the 26th of last month, the motion was made by Sir Thomas Turton, who paid some very high compliments to Lord Wellesley and Mr. Sheridan, which the latter returned, and which, taken all together, may enable us to guess at what will be the *result* of this inquiry.——

Sir John Anstruther did not like to suffer the characters of the executive officers in India to be complimented away by the praise which Sir Thomas and Mr. Sheridan had bestowed upon each other. He said the Court of Directors had approved of the revolution in the Carnatic; and deprecated the *revival of old charges*, many of the mischiefs resulting from which he himself had witnessed in India; alluding, perchance, to the charges against Mr. Hastings, *in the prosecution of whom he was a most active manager*, a fact of which Mr. Robert Thornton did not fail to remind him. Mr. Grant and Mr. Thornton contended, that the Court of Directors never approved of the revolution in the Carnatic; and they truly so contended.——Sir Arthur Wellesley said, that this House had, by a law, approved of the whole transaction. This was one of Pitt's old sweeping arguments. Mr. Tierney, the famous reformer of abuses, lamented that the subject had now been brought forward, as he could see *no good that it would produce*; and much mischief might arise from holding out hopes *of a transfer of property*; that is to say, of restoring the property to those, from whom, by the revolution, it had been taken. What an excellent argument for the revolutionists in France, and in all other countries! What a complete quencher for all those, who talk of the injustice and rapacity of Napoleon! ——Lord Folkestone contended, that blame lay somewhere, and that, as to the stating precisely, in this stage of the inquiry, the nature of the charge (a statement which had been urgently pressed upon Sir Thomas Turton), it was not possible to make it, until the whole of the papers had been examined.—— The "Right Honourable" Hiley Addington, said, that the quantity of papers moved for relative to India Affairs, within the last year, surpassed in bulk all the papers moved for, relative to those affairs, for the six years preceding; a fact which he thought necessary (but for what *reason* he did not say) to state to Sir Thomas Turton, whom, he was pleased to say, he really did sincerely acquit of being actuated by any motives of *party* or of *vanity!*——"Mr. S. Stanhope "thought it a most extraordinary mode of "opposing the hon. baronet's motion, by re"fusing to assent to the production of the "papers called for, until the object had been "distinctly stated, which object the papers "in question were alone to ascertain. He "complained of a radical defect in the pre"sent state of the government in India, and "*sincerely believed that more governments* "*had been subverted by it in the East, than* "*by Buonaparté in the West.*"——Sir T. Turton, in reply, said, "that when it "appeared, from the arguments upon both "sides, that it was a question whether the "Court of Directors approved or disappro"ved of the conduct of their servants in "India, he did not think a stronger argu"ment than this very doubt could possibly be "advanced in favour of the motion he had "submitted to the House—his object was "substantial justice, and in the pursuit of "that, however deficient in other respects, "he should not be found defective in zeal, "diligence and perseverance. As to the "voluminous papers with which he had "been threatened from the other side, if "such papers contributed in the least to the "defence of the accused, he himself should "gladly second the motion for their produc"tion. He had been urged to state distinct"ly the object of his motion; it was im"possible to state, in a case of such magni"tude, on whom the evidence found in "these papers might especially bear; and "it was, therefore, in the present stage of "the business, impossible for him distinctly "to pledge himself, further than avowing "it as his intention to submit a motion com"mitting the House to a censure of the East "India Company, or its servants, in the as"sumption of the government of the Car"natic. The hon. baronet concluded with "an appeal to the feelings of the House, in "which he alluded to the *melancholy fate* "*of the deposed Prince, who, he could* "*prove, had perished in a dungeon.*"—— Mr. Fuller said a few words, expressive of some surprize that Mr. Sheridan did not speak on this subject—"WHAT! IS MORALI"TY DUMB TOO!" "He wished these "matters to be referred to a judicial tribu"nal, instead of being discussed in a po"pular assembly, where it was subject to "the prejudice of parties."—— "Mr. She"ridan said a few words, and observed that "the hon. gentleman who alluded to him "had been a little precipitate in accusing "him of being culpably silent on this oc"casion, because he had spoken upon it "before the hon. member happened to be "in the house. As to the death of the "Nabob of the Carnatic, he never meant "to impute to the Marquis of Wellesley any "share in that event; but he had no hesi"tation in saying he had his firm belief *that* "*the young Prince did not die a natural death.*"——Well; but, with all these fine sentiments about *humanity* and *justice* and *national character*, the papers have lain dormant before the House of Commons, ever since the month of July or August 1803

an order for their production having been made, upon the motion of Mr. Sheridan, *more than a year before that, at which time the facts of the revolution were, by him,* fully stated to the House, who were told, that, until a strict inquiry took place, and until justice was done, there would remain a foul stain upon the national character! Five years is a tolerable while for a nation to remain quiet under such a stain, especially when it has so many *honourable* and even *right honourable* gentlemen to take care of it. But, the truth is, they have been so constantly occupied with weightier matters; with volunteer corps, of one of which Mr. Sheridan, aided by Major Downs, the undertaker, is colonel; with car projects; with catamaran projects; with parish bills and military, and finance plans; with laying on taxes; and with inveighing, in strains so indignant, against the insatiable ambition, the grasping rapacity, and the remorseless cruelty of Buonaparté, that they seem to have quite forgotten the the poor Nabob of the Carnatic! Laud we the gods, that their memory has now been refreshed, and that, too, by a gentleman, whom Mr. Hiley Addington does really "acquit of being actuated by any motive of "*party* or of *vanity!*"——V. The transactions relating to the *Westminster Election* are of great importance. On Thursday, the 26th of last month, the petition, inserted in my last, was presented to the House of Commons by Lord Folkestone. On the 27th, another petition was presented by Mr. Biddulph, from the independent, the public-spirited, and every way excellent electors of the liberty of St. Martin Le Grand, who complained, in language most indignant, of the delay, which, upon the motion of Mr. Sheridan himself, had been ordered to take place with respect to the consideration of the petition against his return. Since that, witnesses have been examined at the bar, relative to the charges alledged in Mr. Paull's last petition. The result, as far as it can be known, is as well known to the reader as to myself; and, the observations which I intend to make upon the evidence, as well as upon the conduct of the parties, must be reserved until I shall be in possession of the minutes of that evidence, as taken down and printed by the order of the House; because, upon any other statement of that evidence it would be unfair to comment; and because, until the whole of the proceedings are closed, it would be neither just nor prudent to offer any commentary upon any part of it. There have, however, appeared, in the Morning Chronicle and other papers, which, upon all occasions, praise the ministry, certain paragraphs reflecting upon the conduct of Mr. Paull, which must not pass unnoticed.—— These papers, the same papers that, one day, published a bulletin under the name of Lord Howick, and in two days afterwards, declared that the ministry had never authorised any such publication; these papers represent Drake, the principal witness, as a person of infamous character, and they accuse Mr. Paull of having selected such a man as a witness. But, in the first place, it appears, that the man voluntarily offered himself to Mr. Paull; in the next place, it is evident, that none but persons of infamous character will ever have any hand in bribery and corruption, and that, therefore, if, in such cases, evidence be obtained at all, it must come from some such source. But, when Mr. Paull was told, that the witness *had married a daughter* of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and, of course, *a sister of the Muster-Master General of Ireland*, who, though he be at home, is also a captain in a regiment serving abroad; when Mr. Paull was told, by this Mr. Drake, that he had been active in supporting his Right Honourable relation during the election; when he considered, that this was one of our *high-blooded* opponents, and that though he might have none of the blood royal of the house of Sheridan flowing in his veins, yet, that he was become bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of one who had, and might, upon that ground, fairly be reckoned as making one upon the list of the "juvenile aristocracy," who opposed us with so much zeal at the election, and whose characters had been so highly extolled by Mr. Sheridan; when Mr. Paull considered all this, it is not, I think, very surprising, that he should have thought Mr. Drake one of the very best witnesses that he could possibly obtain; especially when he heard, as the public has since heard, that Mr. Drake was a *pensioner upon the list of Lloyd's fund!* What! Were the circumstances of his having married a daughter of a Privy Councillor, and of his having been honoured with a pension from the discriminating rewarders of merit at Lloyd's; were these circumstances that rendered Mr. Drake's character an object of suspicion, and that argued a criminal intention in Mr. Paull to *accept* of him as a witness? Answer me this, you 'venal scribes! With *me*, indeed, these circumstances would have weighed nothing at all in favour of Mr. Drake; but, it does not follow that Mr. Paull, who must naturally

have a very strong desire to overcome his enemies, and who must have felt a still closer interest than I could have felt, should view the circumstances in question in the same light that I should have viewed them. ——Now, as to the general character of Mr. Paull and of Mr. Powell too, as far, at least, as relates to transactions of the kind here spoken of, I am tolerably competent to speak. By turning to page 814 of the foregoing volume of the Register, the reader will perceive, that I there explicitly declared, that, from that moment, I would take, personally, no further part, in the Westminster contest. I disapproved of any proceedings with a view of recovering the seat, though I was, in my own mind, fully convinced that Mr. Paull was entitled to it. At the time when I expressed my disapprobation, I adverted to a speech of Mr. Sheridan, as reported in DEBRETT's Debates under the date of the 26th of August, 1797, where he is represented to have said, that "he "could show him (Lord Hawkesbury) that "the proprietors of boroughs had acted "upon a system that must be cut up by the "roots, or this country could not stand. "He would say, that they had bought "boroughs, and afterwards voted away the "money and the rights of the people, as if "both had been their absolute property. "That there had been a man in that House "who had seven or eight seats in it; that "he was connected with the minister, and "that, without one foot of land in Ireland, "he was made an Irish peer. He could "show him persons, who could not, in-"deed, buy men and sell them, because "that was not yet to be done; but, who "bought and sold boroughs, and with "them bought and sold the dearest interests "of the people."——After adverting to this passage, which had first been published in the news-papers and afterwards in a book, I gave my reasons, which it would be quite unnecessary to state here, for exhorting Mr. Paull to remain content with "the post "of honour." Other persons were, however, of a different opinion; and, as I was fully convinced that the cause was just, I did, when it had been once undertaken, heartily wish it success; but, to good wishes my domestic arrangements for the winter necessarily led me to confine myself, and, I have known, and do still know, very little more of the transactions relating to the petition than what has reached me through those respectable vehicles, the London daily news-papers. But, of the conduct of both Mr. Paull and Mr. Powell, *during the election*, a season, when, if ever, one would think, men in their then situation would have been tempted to swerve from the path of morality, I was well acquainted with all they did, and their conduct was such as to convince me, that, into whatever acts of imprudence the former might, by the warmth of his temper, be, at any time hurried, they were both perfectly honourable men. Many were the instances, in which, upon the condition of paying a guinea or two, Mr. Paull was offered a number of votes. Every such offer he rejected; writing to some such offerers, and verbally declaring to others, that he would never give a farthing for the vote of any man; that he was resolved to stand or fall by the free and unbiased choice of the people, to whom he had tendered his services This was his uniform conduct. There was no ostentation in it It was next to impossible to disguise any thing from me, who was in his house during the whole of the election, and without whose knowledge no transaction of any importance could have taken place. One particular instance of his conduct will serve to illustrate his character, as connected with such matters. Amongst the persons, who, upon the issuing of his first advertisement, came flocking round him with voluntary offers of service, was one who testified uncommon zeal, and who, in a short time, brought him lists of hundreds of promised votes. In a few days, however, it appeared that this man was *a common informer*. When we received the first intimation of this, I really thought Mr. Paull would have dropped upon the floor. "Cobbett," said he, "I "am sick at the thought of this;" and he would actually have given an immediate order, that the canvassing book should be taken from the man, and that he should be forbidden to come again to the room of his committee, had I not remonstrated against this precipitate step as likely unnecessarily to throw this active man into the service of our enemies. "In the ac-"cepting of the *voluntary* services of com-"mon informers," said I, "you will still "keep at a due distance behind the pious "members of the society for the Suppres-"sion of Vice, as also behind the laws for "the detection of *frauds upon the revenue*." We did, however, take care to have no more to do with the man. We got rid of him by an intermediate hint; and I do not believe that he attempted to do us any harm. ——So scrupulous as this was Mr. Paull. So perfectly honourable!——What I have said of him I also say of Mr. Powell, who was a partner in all our councils, and whose heart, I am convinced, is as pure

as his manners are amiable and as his talents are bright; forming, in his whole moral character, not less than in his person, a striking contrast with the at once crafty and profligate man, whom I could name.——For me, who am at this distance from the scene, to assert positively, that neither of these gentlemen have, by the natural warmth of the one, or by the zealous friendship of the other, been led into any act of indiscretion, would be presumptuous; especially when I feel, that I myself, under similar circumstances, might have acted indiscreetly. But, it will require something much more authentic than news-paper clamour to excite, in my mind, even a doubt as to their honour; and I beseech the public, and my readers in particular, not to be in haste to form their opinions; but to wait until the whole of the proceedings are closed, and until we have been able to take a calm and impartial view of those proceedings. If it should clearly appear, that any dishonourable act has been intentionally committed by these gentlemen, I shall, how much soever I may lament the occasion, be amongst the first to condemn them; but, if it should not so appear, they will, in spite of the unanimous out-cry of the ignorant, the cowardly, and the corrupt, find me, I trust, the very last to desert them.

I should have noticed, in this number, how the last seven days' lies have again been succeeded by the account of another French victory, which, it appears, will lead the French army to Konigsberg; but, in my estimation of things, the fate of Westminster is of much more importance than that of Prussia, and of Russia into the bargain.

Botley, 5th March, 1807.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

RECAPTURE OF BULNOS AYRES. *From the London Gazette. Downing-street, January 27*, 1807.

[*Concluded from page* 35.]

On the 13th in the morning, the detachment marines, under the command of Lieut. Swaile, was embarked from Ensenada, and his two Spanish field pieces spiked and thrown into the river.—On the 14th, I sailed for this anchorage, where I arrived the following day, and immediately addressed the Governor of Monte Video on the subject of our troops.——On the 16th, in consequence of receiving by Colonel Liniers' aid-de-camp a letter from Gen. Beresford, I dispatched two of the transports to Buenos Ayres, where one arrived on the 17th; but from the prevarication of the Governor of Monte Video in the first instance, and his subsequent dishonourable conduct, no troops have yet been embarked.—Whilst I had the honour of being on board the Leda, I had every reason to be satisfied with the zealous attention of Capt. Honyman, his officers, and ship's company; and I cannot but express my extreme approbation of the conduct of all the officers and seamen, who were constantly employed in the small vessels and boats, under almost every privation, and in the very severe and trying weather which we experienced the last ten days.—I most sincerely regret, however, that my situation has imposed on me the painful duty of making this report to their lordships, especially as it is done principally by materials collected from different people, which they probably, in many instances, deduced from vague and uncertain conclusions; if however it should hereafter appear that I have failed in any instance to do ample justice to the conduct, energy, and prowess of Gen. Beresford, and the officers and soldiers under his command, it has been owing to the limited scale of my communications since the 12th, from the extreme jealousy of the enemy, and not from any indisposition to appreciate their merits in the most liberal manner; a sentiment which I have held on every occasion, and publicly marked it in all my former dispatches.——I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient humble Servant,—H. POPHAM.

[Here follows the terms of capitulation, and the return of killed, wounded, and missing.]

Diadem, Rio de la Plata, Oct. 9, 1806.

SIR,——On the 5th instant, off Lobes, we fell in with the Rollo, having a detachment of the 38th on board; she sailed from the Cape in company with the Melantho, which was to the westward of her. I took the troops out of the Rollo, and sent her to Rio Grande, for the purpose of purchasing any flour or biscuit, and ascertaining whether any quantity of the latter could be baked there.—On the 6th we returned to this anchorage, where we found the Protector, with the Adamant and Columbine transports, having on board detachments of the 38th, and the Diadem victualler. I lost no time in ordering all the men of war to complete their provisions to three months, for fear of any accident happening to the victualler.——On the 7th in the evening, the Medusa joined, with four of the Lancaster's convoy; and Capt. Bouverie reported, that the Lancaster was to the eastward with the remaining two ships, having the preceding night parted their cables. The Leda joined the same evening, and Capt. Honyman reported, that he had detained a Danish ship, bound to

Monte Video, having on board the Governor of Valdivia.—I intended to have dispatched the Wellington this evening, but Col. Vassal particularly requested I would detain her till the arrival of the Lancaster, as Col. Backhouse was a senior Lieut.-Col. to himself, and succeeding adventitiously to the command of the army, he would naturally be desirous of making a report to the Duke of York of the state of his force, and the arrangements he had made.—The weather was so hazy, and the current so strong to the southward, that the Lancaster did not join till the 12th, in the evening; on the following day, as it appeared to me, that the commanding officer of the troops intended to make his first attempt on Monte Video, and was anxious to see that place, I directed Capt. Rowley to take all the transports to Flores Bay, and proceeded on the 14th off Monte Video, and then to Flores, where we arrived on the 15th in the morning. From the to the 27th it blew so hard, that nothing could be attempted; on the 28th, in the morning, the wind was easterly, and every circumstance as favourable as possible, to try the experiment. and, as the pilots assured us a flat ran off from the rocks of the town for a mile, making precisely the same water alongside of them as at that distance, I ordered Capt. Edmonds, who very handsomely requested to remain till the experiment was tried, and to command the leading transport, not to attend to the ostensible orders of leading down in three fathom, but to haul in till he had small quarter less three, to ascertain whether the flat really run off as described, or not. Capt. Edmonds will explain the circumstance fully to their lordships: he bordered as near the shore as he could, for the safety of the frigates, and then was only within random shot, and therefore I would not let the Leda go down a second time, for unless the ships could have got well within point-blank shot, there was no chance of making a breach for the army to land in the town. Although the enemy fired for more than an hour on our ships, in consequence of their being but little wind, I am happy to inform you that only one man was wounded.—As I now saw it was impossible to get close enough in to make any breach in the south wall with the men of war, I proposed to Col. Backhouse to take Maldonado, which I should have attempted early in the winter, if the marines had not been left at Buenos Ayres.—Maldonado is an excellent harbour, where the fleet can water, and get bullocks, which now really became very necessary to recruit our men — The island Gorreti, which forms the harbour of Maldonado, is very strong, and after the troops are landed to take the village, and the batteries on the sea coast in reverse, I shall propose to take the island by the navy, provided it does not surrender to my summons. ——I have the honour to be, *Sir*, your most obedient Servant,——HOME POPHAM.

Diadem, Maldonado Harbour, Rio de la Plata, Oct. 30, 1806.

SIR,——I considered it right to take possession of the harbour of Maldonado, as a safe anchorage for the ships now in the river, and those expected to arrive, independent of the supplies which that district could so abundantly furnish us with.—I, therefore, request that you will inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the moment I satisfied Brig.-Gen. Backhouse of the expediency of the measure, no time was lost in moving part of the 38th regiment to the Leda and Medusa, when they accompanied the Diadem to this place.—The frigates anchored about five o'clock, yesterday evening, to the westward of the westernmost battery; and Capt. Honyman informed me by telegraph, that the beach was smooth, and that the debarkation could be easily covered.—— At six, the troops from the Diadem assembled alongside the Leda, and a landing was immediately effected, without any opposition; but, as I thought it possible that the enemy might have a greater force than he shewed on the hills, and as the nearest transport was yet some distance from the roads, I ordered the marines of the Medusa, and a company of Blues, from each ship, to be landed, to support the army, who entered, and took possession of the village of Maldonado before eight o'clock.—— This morning I sent a summons to the fortified Island of Gorreti, which forms this harbour; and I inclose, for their lordships' information, a copy of it, with the commandant's answer, and my reply, which was accompanied by an assurance through Lieut. Wiseman of the Diadem, who was employed on this service, that I would not hold any further communicatfon with him, until his Majesty's colours, which I sent for that purpose, were hoisted on the fort.——This proposition was acceded to, and the Spanish prisoners were immediately embarked, consisting of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, and one hundred and four men.——Gorreti is a very strong position, defended by twenty twenty-four pounders, in four batteries, so placed as to command the roadstead, the eastern passage between it and the Peninsula, and the only two practical beaches for landing.—— The troops were disembarked as they arrived, and the transports ordered to be wa-

tered as fast as possible, and held in readiness for any other service.—It is impossible for me to conclude this dispatch, without assuring their lordships that I continue to receive the most cordial assistance from every officer and man in the squadron under my command; nor could I observe the least abatement of their zeal, under many considerable privations which they experienced during the whole of this winter.—I have the honour to be, &c.—HOME POPHAM.

Return of ordnance taken in the Island of Gorreti.——Twenty twenty-four pounders, mounted on field carriages, side arms, and ammunition, complete.—Four twenty-four pounders, not mounted.—200 stand of arms, and various other small articles.——HOME POPHAM.

His Britannic Majesty's ship Diadem,
Rio de la Plata, Oct. 30, 1806.

SIR,——His Britannic Majesty's forces are in possession of Maldonado, and with a view to save time, as the general is on shore, I summon you to surrender the island of Gorreti.—Any opposition on your part, to such a force as is now in this bay, must be fruitless; and if you do not allow the officer, who is charged with this letter, to hoist his Majesty's colours at the fort, and trust to the known liberality of the British nation, you will have to answer for all the serious and inevitable consequences of an attack, whenever the general and myself think it expedient to make one. (Signed) HOME POPHAM.——To the Commandant of the Island of Gorreti.

His Majesty's ship Diadem, Rio de la Plata, October 30, 1806.

SIR,——The island must surrender immediately.—The British nation always treats its prisoners with honour and liberality.——Private property is held sacred by British officers.—The Spanish officers and men at Gorreti shall immediately join the prisoners already taken. (Signed) HOME POPHAM.——To the Commandant of the Island of Gorreti.

TRANSLATION.

SIR,——The honour of the Spanish arms not permitting me to surrender at discretion, as you desire, by your letter which you sent me, dated the 30th instant, I trust you will grant me the terms which accompany this, to vindicate my honour with my superiors. Our Lord preserve you many years.

Island of Gorreti, Oct. 30, 1806.

Terms made in the Island of Gorreti, the 30th Oct. 1806.—I. The garrison to march out with all military honours, keeping their arms, and the officers, serjeants, and corporals, their swords.—II. All their effects to be embarked, and carried to the Main by the British boats, there not being any on the island.—III. The garrison to be permitted to proceed to Monte Video, on condition of not bearing arms until exchanged.—IV. The remains of artillery and stores shall faithfully be delivered up.—V. No person to be permitted to enter the island before it is evacuated, except those intended to take possession.——AUGUSTIN DE LERGS.—To the General of Great Britain.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Twenty-second Bulletin of the Grand French Army. (Concluded from page 92.)*

The Emperor had all along by him, besides his imperial guard, a large body of troops, as a reserve to act in unforeseen events.—Marshal Soult having got possession of the wood, which occupied him two hours made a move forwards. At that instant, the Emperor gave orders that the division of French cavalry in reserve should begin to take post, and that the two new divisions from the army of Marshal Ney should take station upon the field of battle by the rear.—All the troops of the reserve were advanced to the foremost line, which being thus strengthened, threw the enemy into disorder and they instantly retired.—They retrieved themselves for about an hour; but were cast into dreadful confusion, at the moment when our division of dragoons and cuirassiers, having the Grand Duke of Berg at their head, were able to take a part in the engagement. These brave cavaliers, aware that the fate of the battle, especially at the conclusion of the day, depended upon them, bore the Prussians down before them in great confusion wherever they met them. The Prussian cavalry and infantry could not withstand the shock. In vain did they form themselves into a square; five of their battalions were put to the rout; artillery, cavalry, infantry, all were surprised and taken. The French came at the same instant to Weimar as the enemy, who found themselves pursued for six hours.——On our right wing, Marshal Davoust did wonders. Not merely did he maintain his ground, but he followed fighting for the space of three hours against the great body of the enemy's troops from the defiles of Koefen.—This officer, to a distinguished bravery joins a vast deal of firmness, the first recommendation of a warrior. He was supported by Generals Gudin, Friant, Morand, Daultranne, chief of the general staff, and by the steady intrepidity of his brave light corps.—The result of the battle is from 30,000 to 40,000 prisoners of war, 300 pieces of cannon, immense magazines and quantities of provisions. Among the pri-

soners are more than twenty generals; among others, several lieut.-generals; one is lieut.-gen. Schmettau. The amount of the loss of the Prussian army is enormous; it is estimated at above 20,000 killed and wounded. Marshal Mollendorf is wounded; the Duke of Brunswick and General Ruchel are killed, and Prince Henry of Prussia is wounded desperately According to the accounts of deserters, prisoners of war, and flags of truce, the disorder and confusion in the remainder of the enemy's army is at the utmost.—On our side, we have only to lament the loss of Brigadier General De Belli, a brave soldier; and the wound of Brigade General Couroux. Among the killed are Colonels Verges of the 12th infantry of the line, Lamotte of the 30th, Barbenegre of the 9th regiment of hussars, Marigny of the 28th chasseurs, Harispe of the 16th light infantry, Dalembourg of the 1st dragoons, Nicolas of the 61st of the line, Viala of the 81st, and Higonet of the 108th.—The hussars and chasseurs displayed a valour on this day, which entitles them to the highest praise. The Prussian cavalry were never able to stand against them, and all the affairs they had with the infantry were fortunate.—Of the French infantry we shall say nothing. It is known, long since, that it is the best infantry in the world. The Emperor declares that the French cavalry, after the experience of the two last campaigns and last battle, has not its like.—The Prussian army has, in this campaign, lost every point of retreat in its line of operations. Its left wing, followed by Marshal Davoust, begins its retreat to Weimar, at the same time that its right wing and centre take their retreat from Weimar toward Naumburg. The confusion was, therefore, extraordinary. The King was forced to retreat across the field, at the head of his regiment of cavalry.

Twenty-Third Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

The Duke of Weimar passed the Elbe at Havelberg. Marshal Soult proceeded, on the 29th, to Rathnau, and on the 30th to Wertenhausen.—On the 29th, the column of the Duke of Weimar was at Rhinsberg, and the Prince of Ponte Corvo (Bernadotte) was at the same time at Furstenberg. There is no doubt that this corps, consisting of 14,000 men, have already fallen into the hands of the French army, or are at this moment in the act of surrendering. General Blucher also left Rhinsberg in the morning of the 29th with 7,000 men, in order to proceed to Stettin, but Marshal Lannes and the Grand Duke of Berg had three days march in advance of him. This column is therefore now in our power, or will be captured within 48 hours.—In the last bulletin, we mentioned that the Grand Duke of Berg, in the affair of Prentzlow, obliged the Prince of Hohenlohe, and his 17,000 men, to lay down their arms. On the 29th, an enemy's corps of 6000 men likewise capitulated to General Milhaud, at Passewalk. This gives us 2000 horses more, with their saddles, harnesses, and hangers. There are, besides, more than 6000 horses, which the Emperor has still at Spandau, after having mounted all his cavalry.——Marshal Soult having arrived at Rathnau, fell in with five squadrons of Saxon cavalry; they solicited a capitulation, which was granted. This produced a farther supply of 500 horses for the army.—We have taken, up to this period, 150 stand of colours, among which are some embroidered by the hands of the beautiful queen herself; a beauty which as proved as disastrous to the people of Prussia, as that of Helen did to the Trojans.—The states of the Duke of Brunswick are taken possession of, and it is believed that the Duke has fled to England. All his troops are disarmed. If he deserves the hatred of the French people, he has no less merited that of the Prussian nation and army; of the nation, which accuses him of being one of the promoters of the war; of the army, which complains of his manœuvres, and all his military proceedings. The reliance so improperly placed on the young, *gens-d'armes* is pardonable: but the conduct of this prince, in the 72d year of his age, exhibits an example of folly, the necessary consequences of which to himself can awaken no regret. What indeed is there in age to command respect, when the ostentation and inconsiderations of youth are joined to all the frailties of declining years?—The capitulation of the 6,000 men mentioned above to have taken place on the 29th was concluded between Brigadier Hagle, commanding the regiment of Truenfels, and the column detached by Prince Hohenlohe, and Lieut.-Col. Guillaume, of the 13th regiment of horse chasseurs, who signed it in the name of Gen. Milhaud. It was stipulated that the whole corps should lay down their arms in the presence of the 13th regiment of chasseurs and the 9th dragoons, and surrender themselves prisoners of war. The officers were, however, allowed to retain their horses and baggage, and to depart on their parole.

Twenty fourth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Stettin is in our possession: while the left wing of the Grand Duke of Berg's corps, commanded by Gen. Milhaud, forced a Prus-

sian column of 6000 men to capitulate at Passewalk, the right wing commanded by General Lassalle, summoned the town of Stettin to surrender, which it did on a capitulation, the terms of which are subjoined. Stettin is a town in a good state for defence, well armed, and provided with palliadoes. We found in it 160 pieces of cannon, and considerable magazines, with a garrison consisting of 6000 fine troops, and a number of generals, who were made prisoners of war. Such is the result of the capitulation of Stettin, an event which can only be accounted for by the utter dismay which the destruction of the great Prussian army has produced on the Oder, and over all the territory on the right bank of that river.—Of the whole of that great army, 130,000 strong, not a man has crossed the Oder. They were all either taken or killed, except those who still wander between the Elbe and the Oder, but who will within four days be made prisoners of war. It is unnecessary to dwell on the importance of the reduction of Stettin, which is one of the first commercial towns of Prussia, and which secures to the army an excellent line of operations.—As soon as the columns commanded by the Duke of Weimar and General Blucher, which are cut off on the right and left, and pursued on the rear, shall surrender, the army will take a few days rest.—Nothing has yet been learned respecting the Russians. We long much to see 100,000 of them arrive, but the reports of their march, we are afraid, are mere gasconade; they dare not meet us. The battle of Austerlitz is still before their eyes. But what all intelligent persons must despise, is to hear the Emperor Alexander and his directing senate declare, that it was the allies of Russia who were defeated. It is well known over all Europe, that there is scarce a family in Russia that does not wear mourning, and it is not merely the loss of their allies they deplore. Besides, 195 pieces of Russian cannon which were taken, and are now at Strasburgh, were not the cannon of their allies. The 50 Russian standards which are hung up in the church of Notre Dame at Paris, are not the colours of their allies. The crowds of Russians who died in our hospitals, or are imprisoned in our towns were not the soldiers of their allies.——But the Emperor Alexander, who commanded so great an army at Austerlitz and Wischau, and who now displays so much ostentation, did not, it seems, command the allies. The prince who capitulated, and bound himself to evacuate Germany by forced marches, was doubtless no allied prince. When mean deceptions like these are resorted to, it is impossible for one to hear them stated without a shrug of the shoulders. Such, however, are the consequences of the weakness of princes, and the corruption of ministers. It would have been a more plain and a more honourable course for the Emperor Alexander, had he ratified the treaty of peace which his plenipotentiary signed, and thereby given repose to his country. In proportion as the war continues, the illusion of the power of Russia will be exposed, and that false idea will at last be completely removed. It was the policy of Catherine to produce a great impression by the display of her power; and she succeeded no less in that object than the present ministers will, by their extravagant efforts and folly, succeed in rendering the influence of Russia contemptible in Europe. —On the 21st, the King of Holland arrived with the advanced guard of the army of the North at Gottingen. On the 26th, Marshal Mortier arrived at Fulda, with the two divisions of the 8th corps of the grand army, commanded by the Generals Lagrange and Dupas.—At Munster, in the county of Main and in other Prussian states, the King of Holland found magazines and artillery. At Fulda and at Brunswick, the arms of the Prince of Orange and of the Duke have been removed. Neither of these princes will reign again. They were the principal instigators of this new coalition.—The English would make no peace—they shall make it; but France will include more coasts and states in her federative system.

Twenty-Fifth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Berlin, Nov. 2.—This day General Beaumont presented to his Majesty the Emperor, fifty new flags and standards, lately taken from the enemy. He rode through the principal streets of the town with his dragoons, bearing these testimonials of victory. The number of standards taken since the battle of Jena, amounts, at this moment, to 200.—Field Marshal Davoust having invested and summoned Custrin, a principal fortress of Prussia Proper, that place has surrendered, and 4000 prisoners have been made there. The officers return home on their parole, but the privates are to be sent to France. This fortress, which was well provided, is situated in the middle of a morass, and possessed considerable magazines. It is one of the most important conquests of the grand army, and gives us the command of all the places on the Oder.—Field Marshal Ney is about to commence the regular siege of Magdeburg, and it is probable that that fortress will not make much resistance.—On the 21st, the Duke of Berg had his head quarters at Friedland. It appears from his manœuvres that

he intends to attack the column commanded by the Prussian General Bila. General Becker had an action with General Boresart's brigade of dragoons, on a plain in the front of the little town of Anklau. The enemy, both cavalry and infantry, were thrown into complete confusion, and our troops forced their way along with the Prussians into the town, which was compelled to capitulate. The number of prisoners taken in this place was 4000, the officers were dismissed on their parole, and the soldiers were forwarded to France. Among the prisoners we found the troops composing the Royal Hussar Regiment of Guards, who, in the Seven Years' War, were presented with tyger skin cloaks by the Empress Catherine, as a mark of her approbation of the conduct of that corps.—The military chest belonging to General Bilon's corps, and a part of its baggage, had been removed over the Perne, and were on the territory of Swedish Pomerania. The Grand Duke has demanded this property. On the 1st of November, the Duke had his head-quarters at Dimnin.—General Blucher and the Duke of Weimar being cut off from Stettin, made a movement as if they meant to return towards the Elbe, but the Field Marshal had calculated on this manœuvre, and there is no doubt but that both corps will fall into our hands.—The Field Marshal has concentrated his corps at Stettin, where more cannon and magazines are daily found. —Our troops have already advanced into Poland. Prince Jerome, with an army formed of the Bavarian and Wirtemberg troops, proceeds to Silesia. His Majesty has appointed General Clarke, Governor of Berlin and of all Prussia, and has already laid down the principles according to which the internal government of the country is to be administered.—The King of Holland advances into the Hanoverian territory, and Marshal Mortier into that of Cassel.

Proclamation of the Emperor and King.

Soldiers!—You have justified my expectations, and worthily answered the confidence of the French people. You have supported privations and fatigues with as much courage as you have shown intrepidity and coolness in the midst of combats. You are the worthy defenders of the honour of my crown, and of the great people; as long as you are animated with this spirit, nothing will be able to withstand you The cavalry have vied with the infantry and artillery: I no longer know which part of the army to give the preference to. You are all good soldiers. These are the results of our labours.—One of the first military powers of Europe, who so lately dared to propose to us a shameful capitulation, is annihilated. The forests and defiles of Franconia, the Saal, and the Elbe, which our forefathers would not have crossed in seven years, we have crossed in seven days, and fought in the interval four engagements, and a great battle. We have preceded at Potsdam and Berlin the renown of our victories. We have made 60,000 prisoners, taken 65 stands of colours, amongst which are those of the King of Prussia's guards, 600 pieces of cannon, three fortresses, and upwards of twenty generals. Nevertheless, more than one half of you regret not to have fired a musket shot. All the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, as far as the Oder, are in our power.—Soldiers, the Russians boast of coming to us. We will march to meet them, and thus spare them half of the road; they shall again find Austerlitz in the heart of Prussia. A nation which has so soon forgotten the generosity we showed it after that battle, in which its Emperor, court, and the wreck of its army were only indebted for their safety to the capitulation we granted them, is a nation which cannot successfully cope with us.—Nevertheless, while we march to meet the Russians, new armies, formed in the interior of the empire, come to take our place, in order to keep our conquests. My whole people have risen, indignant at the unworthy capitulation which the Prussian ministers, in their delirium, proposed to us. Our roads and our frontier towns are full of conscripts, who burn to march in our footsteps. We will be no longer the sport of a treacherous peace, and we will not lay down our arms until we have obliged the English, those eternal enemies of our nation, to renounce the scheme of disturbing the Continent, and the tyranny of the seas.—Soldiers. I cannot better express to you the sentiments I entertain for you, than by telling you that I bear in my heart the love you daily show me.—From our Imperial Camp at Potsdam, 26th October, 1806. By order of the Emperor. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

Letter from H. I. and R. M. to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Empire.

Monsieur L'Eveque, the success we have just gained over our enemies, with the aid of Divine Providence, imposes on us, and on our people, the obligations of giving solemn thanks to the God of Armies. You have seen by the last note of the King of Prussia, the necessity under which we lay to draw our sword, in order to defend the most precious wealth of our people, honour. Whatever repugnance we may have had, we have been driven to the last extremity by our enemies; they have been beaten and

confounded. On the receipt then of the present, assemble our people in the temples, chaunt a *Te Deum*, and order prayers to be put up to God for the prosperity He has granted our arms.—This letter being for no other purpose, I entreat God, M. L'Evêque, to have you in his holy keeping.——From our Imperial Camp, at Weimar, Oct. 15, 1806. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

'His eminence the Archbishop of Paris waited on his Imperial Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, in order to concert with him on the execution of the orders of his Majesty. It was determined that the *Te Deum* should be sung in the Metropolitan Church, on Sunday, the 19th of the present month, at 12 o'clock; and that the same ceremonial should take place as was observed last year, when *Te Deums* were sung as thanks for the memorable victories of Ulm and Austerlitz.

26th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Berlin, Oct. 31. The brigade of light cavalry and dragoons, under General Rivaud, forced 7000 infantry, and 5 regiments of cavalry, to lay down their arms, on the 28th of Oct near Passewalk. On the same day, the light cavalry of the reserve of the Grand Duke of Berg, under Gen. Lasalle, arrived before Stettin, and forced the governor to capitulate. There were found large magazines, and 160 cannon. The garrison of 6000 men are prisoners of war. A column of 8000 men, under Gen. Blucher, and one of 10,000, under the Duke of Saxe Weimar, are surrounded between the Elbe and Oder, and must soon surrender.

27th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Berlin, Nov. 6, 1806.——Marshal Mortier, who commands the 8th corps of the Grand Army, arrived at Cassel the 31st of October.—The Prince of Hesse Cassel, Marshal in the service of Prussia, and his son, a general in the same service, have withdrawn from it. The Prince, in answer to the note which was transmitted to him, demanded permission to march at the head of his own troops, along with those of France, against our enemies. Marshal Mortier replied, he had no orders touching such a proposition; but that the Prince having armed, after the declaration he had made through his minister, M. de Malsbourg, at Paris, the least further armament on his part would be considered as an act of hostility, as the Prussians had not violated his territories, but on the contrary were received with pomp therein by the Hereditary Prince: and that from the period of the Hessian territories being evacuated by the French, until the battle of Jena, there was nought but armaments going forward at Cassel; and that in point of fact, the Hereditary Prince was more desirous of marching at the head of Prussian troops, and to insult the French by all sorts of provocation.——He will pay for his frenzied conduct by the loss of his dominions. There is not a principality in all Germany that has been so uniformly the enemy of France. For many years its sovereigns sold the blood of their subjects to England, in order to fight with it against France in the two worlds. By this traffic of his troops the Prince in question has amassed great treasures part of which, it is said, are shut up in Magdeburg, and part remitted to foreign countries. This sordid avarice has caused the catastrophe of his House, the existence of which on our frontiers is incompatible with the safety of France! It is at length time to extinguish that which may cause the unhappiness of 40 millions of people, and bring trouble and disorder to their very doors. The English may yet corrupt certain sovereigns by means of their gold, but the loss of the thrones of such sovereigns will be the inevitable consequence of such corruption. On the contrary, the allies of France will prosper and be aggrandized.—The people of Hesse Cassel will be more fortunate; eased of the expense of vast military establishments, they can follow the peaceful occupations of agriculture; freed from a great part of their taxes, they will be governed upon generous and liberal principles, as is France and her allies. If the French had been conquered, their country would have been dismembered; it is just, therefore, that the serious consequences of war should attach to those who provoked it. In this terrible game the chances should be equal. The Emperor has ordered the fortresses of Hanau and Marbourg to be destroyed; all the magazines and arsenals to be removed to Mentz, all the troops disarmed, and the sovereign arms of Hesse Cassel every where to be taken down.—These measures are not dictated by an insatiable ambition, nor a thirst for further conquests. The cabinet of the Thuilleries is induced to act so by its conviction of the necessity of putting an end to a contest such as the present, and causing a durable peace to succeed to this insensate war, instigated by the miserable and low manœuvres of agents, such as the Lords Paget and Morpeth.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 11.] LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 14, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

"SIR WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNNE said: I conceive it my duty to state to the House an opinion, which "the conduct of the petitioner (Mr. Paull) seems to justify. I have observed him, on different occasions, "since the evidence was ordered to withdraw, going out of the House, and, from expressions, which I "heard fall from him, I feel convinced, he has been communicating with the witnesses."——COURIER newspaper, 3d March, 1807.

"MR. WHITBREAD said he had never had his eye off that part of the House since the commencement of this "investigation; and assured the House that Mr. Paull had never gone out."——COURIER newspaper, 31 March, 1807.

TO THE

FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER VIII.

GENTLEMEN,

In my last letter (at page 321 and the following), I had the honour to submit to you some remarks upon the measure, which had, on the 20th of February, been, by the House of Commons, adopted with respect to the time when the petition against the return of Mr. Sheridan was to be taken into consideration by the House. By way of postscript to that letter, I inserted the petition of Mr. Paull, dated on the 25th of February, and presented by Lord Folkestone, charging Mr. Sheridan and his agents with tampering with the witnesses intended to be brought forward against him. Upon the proceedings, in the House of Commons, consequent thereupon, I shall now have to bespeak your indulgence, while I offer you a few observations.

But, before I proceed to this the chief purpose of my present letter, give me leave to recall your attention, for a moment, to the ground upon which Mr. Sheridan's motion for postponement was made and supported. That ground was, that his counsellors, the counsellors whom he had engaged to defend him, were *absent upon the circuit*. That nothing could be more futile than this pretence, and that it was a mere trick to shift off the day of trial, and of Mr. Sheridan's possible ejection from his seat, was, I think, fully proved to you. But, Gentlemen, a case, admirably calculated to remove all doubts as to the true character of that measure, has, in that same House of Commons, within these few days, been decided. On the 6th instant, a motion was made, that the order for taking into consideration the petition against the return of Mr. Baring, for Taunton, should, be discharged, and that a new order should be made for taking it into consideration on a day more distant than the one before named; which motion was made upon the ground, expressly stated, that the petitioner's agents were compelled *to be absent upon the Western Circuit*.—— Mr. Baring complained, that he had not had sufficient notice of this motion. But, Lord Henry Petty said, that, "independent of a want of sufficient notice, the intervention of the circuit *was* "*never allowed by the House as a proper* "*ground for delaying the examination of* "*controverted elections;*" and, accordingly, the motion was rejected! Thus, you see, Gentlemen, that the very ground, which was quite sufficient for the putting off the trial of Mr. Sheridan's election, he being already seated and being upon the side of the ministry, was no ground at all for putting off the trial of a petition, presented by a person, who was opposed to a ministerial member. Mr. Whitbread would tell you, perhaps, that he did not speak upon this last occasion, nor did his worthy associate, Peter Moore, or his worthy relation, Lord Howick, who supported the motion of Mr. Sheridan. But, if they did not, their brother minister did; and they well knew what would be the consequence of his speaking. It was to this House, Gentlemen, that Mr. Paull's petition was presented! This is the House that would not suffer the petition of the parish of St. Martin Le Grand to lie upon their table! This is the House by whom Mr. Paull was reprimanded, and of which Mr. Sheridan and General Fitzpatrick are members!

With respect to the proceedings consequent upon Mr. Paull's last petition, the last of the many efforts which he has hitherto made for the maintenance of your rights, and the rights of the people of England in general, I shall, at present, touch upon only two or three topics, and those not immediately connected with the merits of the case; because, I am resolved not to en-

ter upon those, until I have had full time to examine and to analyse the whole of the evidence, as printed by order of the House, and as furnishing the means of forming a just judgment upon his late decision, with which you will, in all probability, have been acquainted before this sheet will reach your hands.——The first topic, to which I beg leave to draw your attention, is, the *reprimanding of Mr. Paull.* And, here, I shall first take the account of that famous transaction, as I find it reported in the Morning Chronicle of the 3d instant; and, you will not fail to recollect, Gentlemen, that all these daily prints, through which the reports, in the first instance, find their way to the public, were opposed to us at the late election, treated us with every species of unfairness, slandered us in the most foul and base manner, leagued themselves with play-actors, prostitutes, and saints, with Cripplegate and Newgate and Hellgate and their sister Billingsgate, to frustrate your views, to deprive you of the real use of your election rights. You will bear in mind, that it is from these detestable prints that the account of the proceedings in question must, as yet, be taken. With this fact in your minds, you will be able to form a correct judgment of the transaction as related in the following report.——"GENERAL "PHIPPS moved, that the standing order "of the House should be enforced by directing the Petitioner to withdraw with "his counsel, he having appeared to him "*to have gone out to communicate with the* "*witness.*——THE SPEAKER observed, that "it was undoubtedly competent to any "hon. member to enforce the standing order, though by the courtesy of the house, "when parties and counsel were ordered to "withdraw, they were usually allowed upon removing from the bar to remain still "in the house.——SIR GILBERT HEATHCOTE hoped that the hon. member would "not press his motion, and that Mr. Paull "would have an equal measure of justice "with his right hon. friend.——The whole "of the evidence respecting the letter was "then ordered to be expunged, and the "counsel were called in, and again instructed by the Speaker to confine their "examination to facts connected with the "charges of tampering with witnesses, or "attempting to suppress evidence.—— "SIR W. W. WYNNE said, "Mr. Speaker, "I conceive it my duty to state to "the house an opinion, which the con"duct of the petitioner seems to justify. "*I have observed him,* on different occa"sions, since the evidence was ordered "to withdraw, *going out of the house,* "*and from expressions which I heard fall* "*from him, I feel convinced he has been* "*communicating with the witness.*"——"MR. PAULL, who, as a petitioner, was "entitled to a seat under the gallery, immediately came forward and addressed "the chair—"Mr. Speaker, I feel myself "called upon by the principles of honour "and the impulse of a manly spirit, to "deny the gross charge that has been "made against me, by the hon. baronet; "I must say, *it is both unfounded and* "*unjust.* The situation in which I am "at present placed, forbids me from "making any further comment; but I "could not continue silent, when such "an accusation was made against me, in "addition to the numerous calumnies and "misrepresentations, in which the right "hon. gent., my opponent, has this "night so frequently indulged himself."——"THE SPEAKER observed that the "house would judge for itself what it was "proper for it to do after the proceeding "that had just taken place, and which appeared to him so extraordinary that he "should abstain from denominating it. He "wished also to collect the sense of the "house as to its practice, in the case of petitioners who prayed to be heard by themselves or their counsel, whether having "made their election to be heard by their "counsel, they did not relinquish their right to "be heard by themselves.—LORD HOWICK "had been so surprised at the extraordinary "conduct of the petitioner, that he had "only been *prevented by his feelings* from "calling the attention of the House to the "gross, *insolent,* and *outrageous* proceeding. He thought the House was called "upon to adopt some measure, in vindication of its own *dignity*; and recommended "that the petitioner should be brought to "the bar, and acquainted by the Speaker "with the sense entertained by the House "of the impropriety of his conduct.—— "LORD A. HAMILTON urged in mitigation, "not in justification of the petitioner, "the feelings that must have been excited "by the statement made by the hon General under the gallery.——GENERAL "PHIPPS and SIR A. WELLESLEY stated, "that they had *thought* Mr. PAULL had "withdrawn out of the house; though it "*might have happened,* that, from their situation, *they could not see him,* whilst he "still remained below the bar.——MR. "WHITBREAD had *never had his eye off* "*that part of the house* since the commencement of this investigation, and *assured the house that Mr. Paull had never* "*gone out.*——LORD HOWICK thought

" that the course proposed was the *most* " *mitigated* proceeding that could be adopted.——Mr. Fuller said a few words in " mitigation, and Mr. Baker considered " the conduct of the petitioner so improper, " *indecent*, and *outrageous*, that he submitted to the house whether it would not be " better that the house should *not have any* " *direct communication with him*, but that " whatever was to be done on the occasion, " should be done *through the Sergeant at* " *Arms*.—The motion of Lord Howick was " then agreed to, and the petitioner and " his counsel having been then called in, the " Speaker addressed him in the following " terms:——" Mr Paull, I am directed by " " the house to acquaint you, that in its " " judgment you have been guilty of great " " impropriety of conduct, and commit- " " *a gross outrage upon the privileges of* " " *the house*. I am also directed to ac- " " quaint you, that you having made your " " election to be heard by your counsel, " " are no longer entitled according to the " " practice of this house, to be heard by " " yourself. I am also directed to inform " " the counsel, that they confine their ex- " " amination to matters of fact respecting " " the tampering with witnesses, and sup- " " pressing of evidence."——Gentlemen, let us " read, mark, learn, and inwardly di- " gest" this; let us bear it constantly in mind. One of the objects of my inserting it in this place is, that we may, at all times, have it at hand. The hireling crew (in the gallery, I mean) may sneer at us for all this; but let us be patient, and indulge the hope, that they will not *always* be in a situation to sneer at us.—The *right*, as it is still called, of *petitioning*, has been highly estimated by those (most of them placed or pensioned) who have written upon our "invaluable constitution;" though, at first sight, and to vulgar observers, there does not appear to be any thing very valuable, any thing very worthy of boasting of, in the being permitted to *pray*. Prayer is recommended to the penitent sinner, the guilty culprit; and, the wretch who has neither clothes to cover him nor straw whereon to lay his head nor bread wherewith to sustain his miserable existence, is permitted to pray; nay, he prays without permission, and he suits his words to the occasion. Observe, that I do not say, that to approach the House of Commons in the form of *a prayer* is not proper; though, I must think, that the persons praying, when they consider that it is "their *representatives*" that they are addressing, might be excused, if, in complaining of grievances sadly oppressive, they were not to express themselves in language excessively humble, cringing, and degrading. But, Gentlemen, let the language be what it may, we can none of us, though permitted to *write* a prayer, utter the prayer to the objects of our supplication with our own mouths. It must be so uttered by some one of the members, upon whom we may (*by some means or other*) prevail to become our propitiator, that is to say, before we can bring our prayer before the House, we must obtain the special consent and approbation of one of its own members. Having succeeded so far, our petition is allowed to be read by a clerk, who sits at a table in the middle of the House; and, a very great comfort it is to one to know, that one's prayer has passed through the lips of a man who wears a black gown and a three-tailed wig, and who, as it were for the purpose of preserving *clean hands*, always writes in gloves. But, though read, it is not yet certain, that our petition will be attended to. Attended to, did I say? It must first undergo the ceremony of a motion and of a vote, it must have a majority in its favour before it can be permitted to *lie upon the table*; and, when it has arrived at that honour, another motion and another vote of the majority is required before any thing can be done in consequence of this our humble prayer; for "humble" it must be, that being a quality absolutely indispensable. It may so happen, that in the end the petitioner may be called to the bar of the House; and being there, how he is liable to be treated you have seen in the case of Mr. Paull, who ought now to be dearer to us tenfold than he was before. His conduct, the whole of his public conduct, has been such as it is our duty, and our interest, to shew our approbation of. There is a deadly struggle between us and our implacable enemies: one or the other must and will fall; and he has, upon our side, offered himself as the first sacrifice.

The next topic which I wish now to touch upon is, the evidence of Mr. Hart, evidence which was *effaced*, upon the motion of *Lord Howick*; and had it not been effaced, I should not now have commented upon it. This Mr. Hart was the person, who, as a reputed *common informer*, I spoke of in my last Register, at page 370, and who, as appears from the report of the debate of the 5th instant, was called, as a witness *upon the side of Mr. Sheridan*. You will please to observe, Gentlemen, that, all along, during the examination of Mr. Paull's witnesses, continual objections were made by the House to the entering into any matter tending to anticipate the evidence upon the trial of Mr. Sheridan's return, and that, to Mr. Paull's counsel, repeated instructions were give to

keep strictly and solely to the subject of tampering, as alleged against Mr. Sheridan and his agents. Yet (and I beseech you to mark and to remember the fact,), Mr. Hart's evidence, which related solely to matters during the election, was taken by the House; and, as to its being afterwards *effaced*, of that we shall speak more by-and-by. Mr. Sheridan's *avowed* object in bringing forward Mr. Hart was to shew, that Mr. Paull had employed vile agents against him; and, for this purpose, he had possessed himself of certain notes, written by Mr. Paull to Mr. Hart, during the election. I have, at page 370, truly given the whole of the history of this connection with Mr. Hart, whom I, however, think a much honester and worthier man than many an one of *several hundreds* that I have known in the world, and that I could now point out to you. But, yet, when Mr. Hart was called to the bar, Mr. Paull must have felt great anxiety, because he was not permitted to explain the nature and duration of the connection between him and the witness. But, Gentlemen, the man whose breast speaks peace need be afraid of nothing; no, not even at the bar of the House of Commons petitioning against a ministerial member. Mr. Hart stated, and he truly stated, that he had never had any knowledge of Mr. Paull until the Westminster election, when he voluntarily offered his services; that he was not of Mr. Paull's Committee; that he was no agent of Mr. Paull's; that he never had, in his life, received, either directly or indirectly, a sixpence of money from that gentleman. Mr. Sheridan, who you will perceive was at once an advocate for himself, a judge, and a juror upon this case, asked Mr. Hart, "were you not frequently in Mr. "Paull's *carriage*, during the election?" The answer was: "No. I was once, "from accident, in Mr. Paull's carriage." It "was on my representing to him, that, at "the distance of two streets, there were "twenty voters, upon whom I wished him "to call without any delay. He leaped ra-"pidly into his carriage, and I followed "him, without being asked." Such was the purport of his evidence; indeed such it appears to have been, almost word for word. Now, mark. Every question, which in the most distant manner, related to the *election*, Mr. Paull and his counsel were strictly forbidden to put. All the questions put to Mr. Hart related to the election *solely*. All the answers were in Mr. Paull's favour; and the whole of Mr. Hart's examination was, upon the motion of Lord Howick, ordered to be *expunged!*——As to the *notes* of Mr. Paull to Mr. Hart, they were merely expressive of approbation of his zeal; approving of the cards that he had got printed and circulated; and saying that Mr. Paull would canvas the places that he had pointed out to him. Now, mark again. These notes, which had been procured by Mr Sheridan from Mr. Hart, were produced to Mr. Paull by Mr. Sheridan with solemn pomp; they were instantly acknowledged by Mr. Paull without his first reading them; but, Mr. Sheridan, when called upon to give them *in evidence*, declined, upon saying, *that it never had been his intention to use them!* First the notes are obtained from Mr. Hart; they are caused to be proved by Mr. Paull, with a view of shewing his *intimacy* with Mr. Hart; Mr. Hart is then called in, but gives no evidence that is not creditable to Mr. Paull; and then, when Mr. Paull naturally wishes to be called to the bar in order that the nature and duration of the alleged intimacy may be explained, Mr. Sheridan, in order to prevent this explanation, puts up the letters, produced before by him and proved by Mr. Paull, and says, "*I do not mean to make use of them!*" To you, Gentlemen, a bare statement of these facts is quite sufficient.—— But, it is further to be noticed, that this connection with Mr. Hart; this having accepted of the voluntary services of Mr. Hart, was intended to cast an odium upon the character and upon the general conduct of Mr. Paull. But, Mr. Sheridan, after being acquainted with the imputed character of Mr. Hart (which Mr. Paull was not), finds him out; possesses himself of Mr. Paull's notes to him; and brings him up as an evidence upon his own side. Mr. Paull, the moment he was informed of the imputed character of Mr. Hart, did, as I stated at page 370, instantly order him to be discountenanced, and absolutely refused ever to speak with him again, though at the evident risk of doing much injury to his election. You, Gentlemen, will want nothing but the facts to guide you in forming a judgment upon the conduct of the two men.——As analogous to the case of Mr. Hart, and as illustrative of Mr. Paull's conduct during the election, suffer me to remind some of you, and to inform others of the case of *Mr. Le Maitre*, who had voluntarily come to the committee room, and was there engaged in endeavouring to trace out for us a better mode of canvassing, when Mr. Paull recollected that he was one of the persons, who had been *accused* of having had a share in what was called "*the pop-gun plot.*" Mr. Paull, without a moment's hesitation, ordered that he should be sent

away from the room, with an order to the door-keeper not again to admit him. Against this I remonstrated. I observed, that this was to sanction the abominable principle which the hired "Anti-Jacobins" were daily preaching up; that, at this rate, there never would, and never could be an end to those mutual animosities, by the means of which Pitt had ruled the nation for seven years with the Habeas Corpus Act suspended; that, though Mr. Le Maitre had been accused, he had been found not guilty, and that, at the very worst, he was only one of those reformers, whom Mr. Grey (who has now changed his name to that of Lord Howick), Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Sheridan, and others, had justified, and some of whom had actually been acquitted in a court of justice, upon the opinion of the judge, expressly declared, that they had acted merely upon the principles inculcated formerly by Pitt and the Duke of Richmond; that Mr. Le Maitre might have been a jacobin, but that Redhead Yorke, who had lain, under such a charge, some years in jail, was now a remarkably loyal man, and received, I believed, some of the public money annually, having lately conducted a paper called "THE PILOT," under the auspices of the Secretary of the Treasury, even during the administration of those famous "king's friends," Mr. Addington and Lords Eldon and Hawkesbury; that Mr. Huskisson, a member of the late ministry, a bosom favourite and a *creditor* of the late "heaven-born" person, who lent £40,000 of the public money to Boyd and Benfield, was a member of the Jacobin Club at Paris, where he preached the destruction of titles and of tithes; that this gentleman, who has now a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year out of the public money, and Mr. Windham were, at one and the same time, members of the Mother Club of the Jacobins at Paris; and that, considering the age of Mr. Le Maitre, and taking into view all the above mentioned circumstances, it would be excessive folly, not unmixed, I was afraid, with some degree of baseness, to turn our backs upon him. Notwithstanding this remonstrance, however, which was, too, if I recollect right, backed by Mr. Powell, Mr. Paull insisted upon the step being taken, and to me, though much against my will, fell the the task of communicating his wish to Mr. Le Maitre, who behaved upon the occasion as a man who deeply felt the imputation cast upon him, but whose public-spirit triumphed over his private feelings.—To those amongst you, Gentlemen, who were intimately acquainted with our proceedings, the statement of this fact was not necessary. You know, that the whole of Mr. Paull's conduct was fair, honourable, and open. And, as to *notes*, I, probably, wrote five hundred during the election; and, I hereby give perfect liberty to every person in possession of letters, notes, or cards of mine, upon the subject of that election, or, though in the remotest degree, connected with it, to make them public, at any time, or in any manner, that they please. I should in vain attempt to recollect whom I wrote to or what I wrote; but, though I cannot trust to my memory, I can safely trust to those principles, upon which we all acted in that glorious struggle against the combined efforts of our profligate though powerful enemies.

In calling your attention to the third topic which I had in view, I feel that something more than a mere rhetorical apology is necessary. What I have to say here, relates principally to my own conduct; but, I beg leave to assure you, that, though I am not without a desire, and a very anxious one too, to stand well in the opinions of the sensible and honest part of my countrymen, and particularly in your opinions, I should not, at the present time, make any remark upon the part of Mr. Homan's evidence, which related to the circumstance of *Mr. Drake's having been at Botley*, did I not think that my silence upon the subject might, possibly, in one way or another, prove, in some degree injurious to our public cause ——Mr. Homan, on the 5th instant, informed the House of Commons, that, at a recent meeting between him and Mr. Drake, at which meeting, observe, Mr. Sheridan also was present, Mr. Drake told him (Mr. Homan), that he had just returned from Hampshire, where *he had been hunting with Mr. Cobbett*, who lived in a *pig-stye*.——As to the place, in which a man lives, the thing, especially as connected with transactions like those of which we are now speaking, is of very little consequence; and, if Mr. Drake were, in a quiet moment, to ask his heart which was most to be envied, William Cobbett in a pig-stye, or Richard Brinsley Sheridan, with "Right Honourable" thereunto prefixed, in Somerset Palace, I do, I must confess, not think so badly of the heart of Mr. Drake as to entertain much fear that the answer would be unfavourable to me; so that, it is hard to say, considering the natural confusion of the mind of the Bishop of Killala's nephew, what distinct rational object he could have had in view, in thus gratuitously treating his honourable and right honourable hearers with a sally, which, in all probability, escaped from Mr. Drake over

a bottle. But, Gentlemen, Mr. Drake's *going a hunting with me* is quite another thing; and, though Mr. Sheridan was, as the newspapers inform us, so candid, so very candid, as to observe to the House, that, notwithstanding the rumours that were afloat respecting Mr. Cobbett, he had reason to be satisfied, that I had not had any hand in the "abominable conspiracy," which had (good man!) been carrying on against him; though this virtuous person had the excessive candour thus to compliment me at the expense of Mr. Paull, Mr. Powell, and at the expense of your and the nation's cause, I cannot so let the matter pass. His compliments, as I had the honour to declare to you, at the Crown and Anchor, I despise. Nor should I (for there is no accounting for tastes) be but very little anxious about the opinions of those, to whom, upon any occasion, he might immediately address himself. But, to you, Gentlemen, you, the free and independent, the unplaced, unpensioned, unbought, unsold, and unperjured electors of Westminster, I owe a full and true account of Mr. Drake's visit to me; and that account I will now give you.——Some time about a month ago (for I cannot, at this moment, lay my hand upon the letter), Mr. Paull wrote to me, stating, that the principal witness against Mr. Sheridan, whose name was Drake, found himself so annoyed by applications on the part of Mr. Sheridan and his agents, that he had expressed a wish to retire to the country, until near the day of trial; that, to this wish, he, Mr. Paull, had consented, with the unanimous advice of his legal advisers; and, he added a request, that I would provide a lodging for him until the time before mentioned. Owing to my being very much engaged, the letter (it being at the latter part of the week) was not sent for to Bishop's Waltham, until two days after its arrival there. When I got it, I wrote for answer, that, though I was sure, that nothing dishonourable would be thought of, either by him or Mr. Powell, and, though the characters of Messrs. Plomer and Warren were a sufficient guarantee for the legality of the step proposed to be taken; yet, that, such was my aversion to every thing secret or covert, that, with all my regard for him, with all my gratitude towards him for his unparalleled exertions in the public cause, and with all my anxiety for his success, I could not consent to have any hand in this affair. This letter was scarcely gone from my House, when Mr. Drake arrived, accompanied with other persons, in a post-chaise. They went to an inn in the village, and Mr. Drake came to me alone, bearing a short note from Mr. Powell, merely introducing the bearer to me. After a few words of introductory conversation, I spoke to him, as nearly as I can now recollect, in the following words: "It seems very strange to me, "Sir, that you, who are a gentleman by "profession, and who bear about you ho-"nourable wounds, should not have found "yourself possessed of firmness sufficient to "drive from your door the importunate ap-"plicants of whom you speak. It has been "my way, through life, to have a hand in "nothing that seeks disguise; therefore, "for the reasons which I have more fully "stated to Mr. Paull, I will have no hand "in this affair; and, though it is extremely "painful to me, though it is the first time "and I trust it will be the last time in my "life, that the like has occurred, or will "occur to me, I will not even offer you re-"freshment, and, I further think it right to "inform you, that if you remain in the "village this night, I shall, in my next Re-"gister, think it necessary to disclaim any "share in the transaction. I would recom-"mend to you to go back immediately to "Alresford, and there wait for the instruc-"tions of Mr. Paull or Mr. Powell; and, "though I will ask you no questions touch-"ing your evidence, I most earnestly exhort "you to speak the truth, let the conse-"quence be what it may." To which he answered, that nothing should tempt him to deviate from the truth; and here we parted; he going towards the inn, and I to my work in the garden, at which I was when he arrived. After he was gone, however, I must confess, that the reflection of having been, for the first time in my life, guilty of what might, I was afraid, be considered as a breach of hospitality, and that, too, towards one, who, whatever his faults might be, had been half shot to pieces in the service of his country, gave me great pain; and now that I am fully acquainted with all the circumstances, now that I see the unfounded clamours that have been raised against this gentleman, I am convinced, that, in being over-scrupulous, I acted wrong; a conviction, the feelings arising from which are by no means assuaged by the reflection, that a suspicion may, possibly, have been entertained of my having wished to secure a reputation for purity at the risk of that of my friends; than which, however, I trust you will believe, nothing could be further from my heart.

I remain,
Gentlemen,
Your faithful friend,
And obedient servant,
Botley, March 12, 1807. WM. COBBETT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The articles, which would have come under this head, must, on account of the foregoing letter, be postponed till my next. I must, however, beg leave to refer my readers to *the petition of the Honourable Cochrane Johnstone*, which, thanks to Mr. Whitbread, has been presented to the House of Commons and ordered to lie upon the table. Every man in the kingdom should read this petition.——I also beg leave to point out to the particular attention of the reader, the letter, signed A. O upon the important subject of *the poor*, in the writer of which excellent letter, the check-population philosopher, Mr. Malthus, has met with a formidable opponent, who will, I confidently hope, continue on till he has completely put down the hard-hearted doctrine of this misanthropic economist.

POOR LAWS.

Sir,——As the proposed alteration in the system of the Poor Laws, must naturally engage your attention, as well as that of the public; and, as the authority of Mr. Malthus has often been referred to, and has great weight with many people on this subject, it may not be amiss to inquire, how far the reputation which that gentleman has acquired, as a moral and political philosopher, can be safely reposed on as the foundation of any part of a system which is directed to objects of national utility, and requires close, comprehensive, and accurate reasoning. You, Sir, are not ignorant, that a name will do more towards softening down prejudices, and bolstering up a crude and tottering system, than any arguments whatever. It is always easier to quote an authority than to carry on a chain of reasoning. Mr. Malthus's reputation may, I fear, be fatal to the poor of this country. His name hangs suspended over their heads, *in terrorem*, like some baleful meteor. It is the shield behind which the archers may take their stand, and gall them at their leisure. He has set them up as a defenceless mark, on which both friends and foes may exercise their malice or their wantonness, as they think proper. He has fairly hunted them down, he has driven them into his toils, he has thrown his net over them, and they remain as a prey to the first invader, either to be sacrificed without mercy at the shrine of cold, unfeeling avarice, or to linger out a miserable existence under the hands of ingenious and scientific tormentors.——There is a vulgar saying, "Give a dog a bad name, and hang him." The poor seem to me to be pretty much in this situation at present. The poor, Sir, labour under a natural stigma; they are *naturally* despised. Their interests are at best but coldly and remotely felt by the other classes of society. Mr. Malthus's book has done all that was wanting to increase this indifference and apathy. But, it is neither generous nor just, to come in aid of the narrow prejudices and hard-heartedness of mankind, with metaphysical distinctions and the cobwebs of philosophy. The balance inclines too much on that side already, without the addition of false weights. I confess I do feel some degree of disgust and indignation rising within me, when I see a man of Mr. Malthus's character and calling standing forward as the accuser of those "who have none to help them," as the high-priest of "pride and covetousness," forming selfishness into a regular code, with its codicils, institutes and glosses annexed, trying to muffle up the hand of charity in the fetters of the law, to suppress "the compunctious visitings of nature," to make men ashamed of compassion and good nature as folly and weakness, "laying the flattering unction" of religion to the conscience of the riotous and luxurious liver, and "grinding the faces of the poor" with texts of scripture. Formerly the feelings of compassion and the dictates of justice were found to operate as correctives on the habitual meanness and selfishness of our nature: at present this order is reversed; and, it is discovered that justice and humanity are not obstacles in the way of, but that they are the most effectual strengtheners and supporters of our prevailing passions. Mr. Malthus has "admirably reconciled the old quarrel between speculation and practice," by shewing (I suppose in humble imitation of Mandeville) that our duty and our vices both lean the same way, and that the ends of public virtue and benevolence are best answered by the meanness, pride, extravagance, and insensibility of individuals. This is certainly a very convenient doctrine; and, it is not to be wondered at, that it should have become so fashionable as it has.* While the prejudice infused into the public mind by this gentleman's writings subsists in its full force, I am almost convinced that any serious attempt at

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* The late Sir W. Pulteney, whose character for liberality is well known, was firmly persuaded that the author of the Essays on Population was the greatest man that ever lived, and really wished to have bestowed some personal remuneration on Mr. M. as his political confessor, for having absolved him from all doubts and scruples in the exercise of his favourite virtue.

bettering the condition of the poor will be ineffectual. The only object at present is to gain time. The less it is meddled with either with good or bad intentions, the better. Tampering with the disease "will but skin and film the ulcerous part, while foul corruption, mining all within, infects unseen." I have not confidence enough either in the integrity, the abilities or the power of our state-doctors to be willing to trust it entirely in their hands. They risk nothing if they fail. The patient is in too desperate a state to bring any imputation on their skill; and, after all, it is only trying experiments *in corpore vili*. The only thing they need be afraid of is in reality doing *too much* good. This is the only error which would ever be forgiven by those whose resentment they have most reason to dread. This however there will be no danger of. The state of public feeling, the dispositions of individuals, the narrow jealousy of parties, and the interests of the most powerful bodies of the community will, I suspect, suffer little effectually to be done for bettering the condition, exalting the character, enlightening the understandings, or securing the comforts, the independence, the virtue and happiness of the lower classes of the people. But, I am not equally sure that the means employed for this very purpose may not be made a handle for stifling every principle of liberty and honour in the hearts of a free people. It will be no difficult matter, as things are circumstanced, under pretence of propriety and economy, to smuggle in the worst of tyrannies, a principle of unrelenting, incessant, vexatious, overruling influence, extending to each individual, and to all the petty concerns of life.—This is what strikes me on the first view of the subject. I would ask, is Mr. Whitbread sure of the instruments he is to employ in the execution of his scheme? Is he sure that his managing partners in this new political firm of opulent patronage will not play the game into the hands of those whose views of government and civilisation are very different from his own? But, it seems, that whether practicable, or no, Mr. Whitbread must bring in a Poor Bill. The effect of it appears to me to be putting the poor into the wardship of the rich, to be doing away the little remains of independence we have left, and making them once more what they were formerly, the vassals of a wealthy aristocracy. For my own part, who do not pretend to see far into things, and do not expect miracles from human nature, I should wish to trust as little as possible to the liberality and enlightened views of country squires, or to the *tender mercies* of justices of the peace. The example of Scotland is held out to us as a proof of the beneficial effects of popular education, and we are promised all the same advantages from the adoption of the same plan. The education of the poor is the grand specific which is to cure all our disorders, and make the leper whole again; and, like other specifics, it is to operate equally on all constitutions and in all cases. But, I may ask, is the education of the poor the only circumstance in which Scotland differs from England? Are there no other circumstances in the situation of this country that may render such a scheme impracticable, or counteract its good effects, or render it even worse than nugatory? Is knowledge in itself a principle of such universal and indisputable excellence that it can never be misapplied, that it can never be made the instrument and incentive to mischief, or that it can never be mixed and contaminated with "baser matter?" Do not the peculiar principles and discipline of the church of Scotland, does not the traditional and habitual faith in the doctrines of religion, do not the general manners not of the poor only, but of the other classes of society, does not the state of cultivation, do not the employments of the people, the absence of luxury, and temptations, the small number of great towns, and the remains of ancient manners, tend to strengthen, to forward, to give consistency to, and secure the good effects of education? Or, will Mr. Whitbread say that he can supply the place of these with a beadle, a white wand, a spelling book, and a primmer? Supposing it practicable, will the adoption of a general plan of education have the same effect in our great manufacturing towns, in our seaports, in the metropolis, that it has in the heart of Scotland, or in the mountains of Cumberland? Will it not have the contrary effect? It is not reading in the abstract, but the kind of reading they are likely to meet with, and the examples about them leading them to emulate the patterns of sobriety and industry, or of vice and profligacy held out to them in books, that will do either good or harm to the morals of a people. In the country the people read moral or religious, or, at least, innocent books, and therefore, they are benefited by them; in towns, they as often meet with licentious and idle publications, which must do them harm. It is in vain to say you will give them *good* books, they will get *bad ones*. Will those hot-beds of vice, the factories of Manchester, &c. be less fruitful for having the *farina* of knowledge sprinkled over them? Will not corruption quicken faster, and spread wider for

having this new channel opened to it? Will a smattering in books, and the current pamphlets of the day, tend to quench and smother the flame of the passions, or will it add fuel to them? I do not scruple to assert, that religion itself, when it comes in contact with certain situations, may be highly dangerous. It is the soil in which the greatest virtues and the greatest vices take root. Where it has not strength to stop the torrent of dissolute manners, it gives it additional force by checking it; as the bow that has been long bent in the contrary direction, recoils back with ten-fold violence. It is for this reason that the morals of the people in the trading towns in the North of England are, I believe, worse than they are farther south, because they are brought up more religiously. The common people there are almost all of them originally dissenters. Again, it may be asked, will the poor people in the trading towns send their children to school instead of sending them to work at a factory? Or, will their employers, forgetting their own interests, compel them to do it? Or, will they give up their profits and their wealth for the sake of informing the minds, and preserving the morals of the poor? Oh! no. It may be replied, that it is chiefly for the peasantry and country people, who compose the largest part of the community, that this plan of education is intended. But they are the very people who do not stand in need of it, and to whom, if it does no harm, it will do little good. If working hard, and living sparingly are the chief lessons meant to be inculcated in their minds, they are already tolerably perfect in their parts. As for the rest, it is in vain to attempt to make men any thing else but what their situation makes them. We are the creatures, not of knowledge, but of circumstances. For all these reasons I cannot help looking at this general parallel between the benefits derived from education in Scotland, and those expected from it in this country as little better than a *leurre de dupe*. The advantages of education in the abstract are, I fear, like other abstractions, not to be found in nature. I thought that the rage for blind reform, for abstract utility, and general reasoning, had been exploded long since. If ever it was proper, it was proper on general subjects, on the nature of man and his prospects in general. But the spirit of abstraction driven out of the minds of philosophers has passed into the heads of members of parliament: banished from the closets of the studious, it has taken up its favourite abode in the House of Commons. It has only shifted its ground and its objects according to the character of those in whom it is found. It has dwindled down into petty projects, speculative details, and dreams of practical, positive matter of fact, improvement. These new candidates for fame come in awkwardly holding up the train of philosophy; and, like the squires of political romance, invite you to sit down with them to the spoon-fuls of whipt syllabub, the broken scraps of logic, and the same banquet of windy promises which had been so much more handsomely served up, and to satiety, by their masters. I know nothing of Mr. Whitbread personally. His character stands fair with the public, for consistency and good intention. But I cannot recognise in his plodding, mechanical, but ill-directed and unsuccessful endeavours to bring to justice a great public delinquent, in his flowery common-place harangues, or, in the cold, philosophic indifference of the sentiments he has expressed upon the present occasion, either the genius, penetration, or generous enthusiasm, (regulated, not damped by the dictates of reason), which shall be equally proof against the artifices of designing men, against the sanguine delusions of personal vanity, or the difficulties, the delays, the disgust, and probable odium to be encountered in the determined prosecution of such a task. The celebrated Howard fell a martyr to the great cause of humanity in which he embarked. He plunged into the depth of dungeons, into the loathsome cells of disease, ignominy, and despair, he sacrificed health and life itself as a pledge of the sincerity of his motives. But what proof has Mr. Whitbread ever given of his true and undissembled attachment to the same cause? What sacrifices has he made, what fatigues has he suffered, what pain has he felt, what privation has he undergone in the pursuit of his object, that he should be depended on as the friend and guardian of the poor, as the dispenser of good or ill to millions of his fellow beings? The "champion" should be the "child" of poverty. The Author of our religion, when he came to save the world, took our nature upon him, and became as one of us: it is not likely that any one should ever prove the *saviour* of the poor, who has not common feelings with them, and who does not know their weaknesses and wants. To the officious inquiries of all others, What then are we to do for them? The best answer would perhaps be, Let them alone ——I return to the subject from which I set out, and from which I have wandered without intending it; I mean the system of Mr. Malthus, under the auspices of whose discoveries it seems the present plan is undertaken, though it differs in many

of its features from the expedients recommended by that author. I am afraid that the parent discovery may, however, in spite of any efforts to prevent it, overlay the ricketty offspring. Besides, the original design and principle gives a bias to all our subsequent proceedings, and warps our views without our perceiving it. Mr. Malthus's system must, I am sure, ever remain a stumbling block in the way of true political economy, as innate ideas for a long time confused and perplexed all attempts at philosophy. It is an *ignis fatuus*, which can only beguile the thoughtless gazer, and lead him into bogs and quicksands, before he knows where he is. The details of his system are, I believe, as confused, contradictory, and uncertain, as the system itself. I shall, however, confine my remarks to the outlines of his plan, and his general principles of reasoning. In these respects, I have no hesitation in saying, that his work is the most complete specimen of *illogical*, crude and contradictory reasoning, that perhaps was ever offered to the notice of the public. A clear and comprehensive mind is, I conceive, shewn, not in the extensiveness of the plan which an author has chalked out for himself, but in the order and connexion observed in the arrangement of the subject and the consistency of the several parts. This praise is so far from being applicable to the reasoning of our author, that nothing was ever more loose and incoherent. "The latter end of his commonwealth always forgets the beginning." Argument threatens argument, conclusion stands opposed to conclusion. This page is an answer to the following one, and the next to that. There is hardly a sentence in the whole work, in which he seems to have had a distinct idea of his own meaning. The principle itself is neither new, nor does it prove any thing new; least of all, does it prove what he meant it to prove. His whole theory is a continued contradiction; it is a nullity in the science of political philosophy.—I must, however, defer the proof of these assertions to another letter, when, if you should deem what I have already said worthy the notice of your readers, I hope to make them out to their and your satisfaction.——A. O.

POOR LAWS.

Sir,——You appear to be sufficiently sensible, that the condition of the English peasantry, is extremely miserable. That the majority of them are entire strangers, not to the comforts only, but in a great measure to the necessaries of life, is a fact completely palpable to common observation. The incessant labour which they are compelled to sustain, and the numberless privations to which they are subjected, cannot fail of exciting compassion in any mind, not utterly devoid of feeling. It not unfrequently happens, that the father of a family, after enduring "the burden and heat of the day," on his return home in the evening, instead of enjoying that tranquillity and repose which he expects, and which his situation undoubtedly requires, is assailed by the most affecting and heart-rending cries of want, proceeding from his helpless, starving progeny. The quantity of food, which the produce of his labour enables him to purchase, instead of affording a comfortable supply for his family, serves only to whet, while it does not by any means satisfy, the painful cravings of their hungry stomachs. This is assuredly an awful and tremendous picture of human wretchedness; but, it is far from being overcharged. Allow me to inquire, from whence it originates, and whether, if it cannot be wholly removed, it may not be possible to alleviate it. The unhappy sufferer, you are well aware, charges his misfortunes to the account of those, who, being elevated above him in rank and fortune, although others are very probably much inferior to him, in point of intellectual and moral worth, treat him with the most insufferable insolence, cruelty, and contempt. That a very large share of blame, attaches to persons of this description, I feel most willing to allow; but, I do not think that they are chargeable with the *whole* of it. Obviously it is in their power, to allow the poor man an adequate compensation for his labour, to pay him that respect which is due to a fellow creature; and, by retrenching that enormous profusion of expenditure, which is every way adverse to their own enjoyment, to render his situation at once easy and comfortable. But, when may we expect to find the wealthy landlord, endeavouring to augment the happiness of his indigent, though sober and industrious tenant? When shall the rulers of a nation regard its interest, at the probable or even certain expence of their own? Assuredly not, so long as self-love continues to be the principal motive which influences human conduct. All forms of government, how multifarious and discordant soever they may be, have hitherto rested upon this basis. Unless, therefore, it were possible to devise a scheme, by which, while those individuals to whose care and direction the affairs of the nation are consigned, were resolutely pursuing their own interest, they could be made to promote that of the public, it is in vain to hope for effects

of this kind. But such a scheme is yet a desideratum in political science, and until it is otherwise, it behoves us not only to inform people of their duty considered abstractly; but what is infinitely more necessary, the duty of moral agents, placed *in their circumstances.* It is an axiom in morals, that the line of conduct which one man ought to pursue, would be quite unlawful for his neighbour, because their situations are extremely different. For example, do I know assuredly that the produce of my labour would enable me to maintain a family, decently, comfortably, and respectably? If so, then ought I to marry. But if on the other hand, I am fully convinced that the opposite of this is the case, it cannot possibly escape me, that the consequences resulting from such a conduct, must ultimately prove in the highest conceivable degree tragical. By entering into an alliance of this kind, I may give existence to human beings, whom it is morally impossible for me to supply with food, and still less so with education, and whose future lives must of course end in misery. Marriage *in itself* is an highly beneficial institution, and may be productive of an immense sum of pleasureable sensation; but, when it is not subject to proper restrictions, it becomes the veriest plague that ever cursed the human race. How frequently has the marriages of paupers entailed guilt, and its necessary concomitant misery, upon millions of innocent victims. Their children are immured to all those hardships, incident to cheerless poverty, from their earliest years, deprived of the means of useful knowledge, and doomed to earn a scanty subsistence within the walls of a manufactory, very probably, at the expense of every sentiment and feeling, which could secure them the respect of the wise and good. The consequence is, the girls for the most part become common prostitutes, the boys acquire habits of vice, which can never afterwards be eradicated, and both are counted the banes of civil society. Notwithstanding, however, of the authenticity of these facts, there are not wanting those who maintain, "that marriage is honourable *in all*," and who are perpetually exhorting the young and thoughtless of either sex, to form connections, which must inevitably embitter all their future days. The motives of such persons are confessedly virtuous; but they proceed, as it seems to me, upon an erroneous principle. Because the marriage contract is sanctioned by the command of the Deity, they suppose that it must on this account be the duty, as well as the interest, of each individual, capable of procreation, to enter into it. They inform us, moreover, that its natural and necessary tendency, is to check the progress of vice; and this is partly true. But they forget to consider, that if the number of marriages among the lower orders of society, tend *in effect,* although it may be not in reality, to increase the population above the level of the means of subsistence, vice and misery, in their most hideous and destructive forms, must of consequence be introduced. There is nothing which I more anxiously wish to see, than an healthy and happy population; but, I shall in vain look for it, while the duty of moral restraint is so partially understood, and so little practised. Then only, as it should seem, may we hope that the people of England will cordially unite together, in asserting their just, their inalienable rights, immunities, and privileges, when they shall begin to contemn and anathematise that inhumanity, which seems to delight in nothing so much, as peopling the workhouse. When parents shall feel solicitous, that their children should, if they are unable to leave them a decent competence, at least have the means of providing for themselves, independent of the dear bought assistance of the great, then may they bid eternal defiance to the whole host of placemen, pensioners, blood-suckers and earth-worms. An Englishman never acts in character, but when he can proudly say to the world, "I shall not die in your debt: my children, thank heaven, are amply provided for, out of the produce of my industry: they do not want your pity, and they scorn to purchase your assistance." This is alone the language of an independent mind; a mind, that will not stoop to receive a favour, at the expense of its honour.——It does appear to me, that the frequency of marriage among the English peasantry, is the real cause of more than one half of that misery under which they now groan. We all know very well, that self-love is the motive, which prompts by far the majority of them, to enter into that contract; a desire for promoting the welfare of the community, is seldom found to exist in their breasts. Your readers will readily remember, the opinions of the inhabitants of Lilliput on this subject. "Their notions," says Gulliver, "relating to the duties of parents and children, differ extremely from ours. For, since the conjunction of male and female is founded upon the great law of nature, in order to propagate and continue the species, the Lilliputians will needs have it, that men and women are joined together, like other animals, by the motives of concupiscence; and that their tenderness towards their young, proceeds

from the like natural principle: for which reason, they will never allow that a child is under any obligation to his father, for begetting him, or to his mother, for bringing him into the world; which, considering the miseries of human life, was neither a benefit in itself, nor intended so by his parents, whose thoughts, in their love encounters, were otherwise employed."——*Moral restraint* with regard to marriage, the only rational and safe check to population, is a doctrine, which is little understood, and still less relished, by the generality of mankind. But, until its salutary tendency is perceived, and it shall have in some degree regulated human desires, and passions, and appetites; we shall in vain expect any great amelioration of the condition of the poor. They may still continue to suffer every species of cruelty from their superiors, and linger out a wretched existence, while the varied and accumulated evils, incident to cheerless poverty, will as invariably continue to prey upon them. And, so long as the marriage contract is entered into, with a thoughtlessness and levity, unworthy of rational beings, these effects must result from it. Obviously enough, therefore, the solemn inculcation of the doctrine of moral restraint with regard to it, becomes the duty of every friend to the best interests of human kind. The design of our glorious constitution will continue to be frustrated, and a gloomy train of petty tyrants and stock-jobbers will exist, while self-love is the motive which regulates the actions of the majority of mankind; but, notwithstanding this, the peasantry of England still have it in their power to be happy. They may be independent, if they are not yet mean enough to choose slavery, and thus entail misery on posterity. This subject is assuredly deserving of serious and impartial consideration, as it evidently involves our welfare and happiness. If I have erred in the elucidation of it, or, if I have advanced any opinion, which is dissonant to the dictates of sober and enlightened reason, I shall be happy to be better informed. Meanwhile, I remain, with every sentiment of esteem and respect, yours, &c.—SIMPLICIUS.——*Aberdeen, Sunday, 1st. March, 1807.*

THE WIDOW'S VINE.

SIR,——The zeal with which you have, on many occasions, pointed out and stigmatized political profligacy and abuse in all its shapes, has very justly entitled you to the praise of an independent advocate and supporter of an enlightened and free press: and if in any case you have, by false intelligence, been betrayed into misrepresentation, you have with becoming candour been ready to acknowledge your error. This being, as I conceive, the character of your Political Register, you will not, I presume, incline to forfeit it in the instance which I now recall to your recollection. In the 4th number of the present volume, p. 127, is inserted a letter, under the *invidious* title "Oppression of Assessed Taxes," signed A. X. containing a charge as false as it is malicious, and tending to nothing less than to cast an unmerited odium on the characters of every Commissioner of the Property or Assessed Taxes, persons who act in these troublesome offices without fee or reward, under the authority of the law of the land, and the more solemn sanction of an oath. The whole letter is a scandalous libel of which it would well become the Board of Taxes to take cognizance. The facts of the case so grossly misrepresented in that letter are these: Mrs. L——, a widow, who carrys on the business of a saddler at Newmarket, in Suffolk, has a vine growing against her house, it is planted in the public foot-path, and the stem is guarded by a few boards to protect it from the tread of the passenger. This vine was of course pruned, from time to time, and probably by a gardener. Mrs. L. however, was never assessed for such a servant, till the Inspector, receiving information, that she did occasionally employ a gardener, he surcharged her, as his duty enjoined him, for a five shilling servant. On the day of appeal the case was investigated by the commissioners, who, not out of their gracious condescension, but because they thought themselves in justice bound so to do, released the widow from the surcharge, and this without putting her either to trouble or expense; for her attendance was dispensed with: and the tax for keeping a gardener was *not*, as is falsely stated, confirmed.——I make no further comment on this scurrilous scribbler, but, leaving him, if known, to your lash, and if unknown, to your contempt.——I remain, Sir, your constant reader,—A COMMISSIONER OF TAXES, *in the County of Suffolk, Feb. 21, 1807.*

PETITION OF THE HON. ANDREW COCHRANE JOHNSTONE, LATE COLONEL OF THE 8TH WEST-INDIA REGIMENT, AND GOVERNOR OF THE ISLAND OF DOMINICA; PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY MR. WHITBREAD, ON TUESDAY, MARCH THE 10TH, 1807:

Humbly Sheweth,—That your petitioner, previous to the month of October, 1803, had served as an officer in the army, upwards of 20 years; that he had risen in regular grada-

tion, from the rank of ensign to that of colonel; that of his time of service, 13 years had been spent in foreign stations, frequently under circumstances of great fatigue and danger; and, that, during the whole of the said service, he had never, upon any occasion, incurred the censure or displeasure of any one of his superiors, but had generally the satisfaction to meet with their marked approbation.—That brevet promotions in the army are made according to seniority of rank, and that for an officer to be passed over in such promotion is a deep disgrace to him. That, in the aforesaid month of Oct. 1803, a brevet promotion of major-generals took place, in which promotion the name of your petitioner was purposely omitted. That, sensible of the disgrace thus inflicted on him, and conscious that the infliction was unjust, he immediately applied to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, then and now commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces, to know the cause of punishment so severe and unexpected. That it was upwards of two months before he received any answer at all to this application, and that he was then informed of the cause of his punishment, by a letter from the Duke of York, dated on the 10th of Dec. 1803, containing the following words:—"It is an invariable rule of the service, not "to include in any general brevet promo- "tion, an officer (whatever may be his "rank) against whom there EXIST CHARGES, "the merit of which has not been decided; "but, whenever an investigation shall have "taken place, and, should the result prove "favourable to you, there will not be any "difficulty in your recovering the rank, to "which your seniority, as colonel, entitles "you." That, it was with great surprise, that your petitioner thus, for the first time, learnt, that there were charges *existing* against him; and, it was not without some degree of indignation, that he perceived, that he had been punished upon the ground of mere charges preferred in the dark; that these charges had never been communicated to him, and, moreover, that, even of the *existence* of which charges he was not informed, until upwards of two months after he had been *punished*, and had complained of his punishment. That your petitioner, upon receiving the letter aforesaid from the Duke of York, lost no time in most earnestly soliciting his Royal Highness to afford him information as to the nature and purport of the charges *existing* against him; but, that, unto his repeated entreaties for this purpose, no answer whatever was he able to obtain, until the 28th day of the ensuing month of May, when, after having been thus kept in a state of suspense and disgrace for six months, he was informed, by order of the Duke of York, that he, the Duke of York, had now called upon Major Gordon (the accuser) to state WHETHER HE MEANT to bring forward any charges at all against your petitioner; so that, as your Honourable House will perceive, your petitioner was now informed, not of the nature of the charges against him, but that the Duke of York had not yet ascertained whether there were in EXISTENCE the grounds whereon to form any such charges, though, as it will be perceived by your Honourable House, your petitioner had actually been *punished*, upon the ground, as stated by the Duke of York himself, that CHARGES EXISTED against your petitioner in the preceding month of Oct. That your petitioner, conscious that no criminal charge could, with truth, be preferred against him, impatiently waited for the day of trial, which, however, to the great vexation and injury of your petitioner, was delayed until the month of March 1805, though, according to the Duke of York's letter of the 10th of Dec. 1803, the charges actually *existed* against your petitioner in the month of Oct. preceding,—a year and a half before it was thought proper to proceed upon them. That previous, however, to the assembling of the court martial, before whom your petitioner was sent, stigmatised with having now been passed over in two general brevet promotions, some circumstances occurred, to which your petitioner humbly presumes to solicit the particular attention of your Honourable House. That your petitioner having stated to Sir Charles Morgan, the then judge-advocate-general, his objection to Mr. Oldham as a person to officiate as judge-advocate at the approaching trial, and which objection was founded upon the partial conduct of Mr. Oldham upon a recent occasion, Sir C. Morgan informed your petitioner, that, in consequence of such objection, he had had an intention of appointing some other person to officiate at the court martial; but that he had recently received an application from the Duke of York, specially requesting that Mr. Oldham might officiate; and that this had determined him (Sir C. Morgan) to employ Mr. Oldham upon the occasion. That your petitioner, at no loss as to the motive of this interference, adhered the more resolutely to his aforesaid objection; but that, though he, finally, and with much difficulty, succeeded in this point, he, to his great mortification, found that, immediately afterwards, the seat of the court martial, which was,

by the order of the Duke of York, actually assembling at Canterbury, whither, towards the end of Feb. your petitioner and several of his witnesses had repaired, was, all of a sudden, removed to Chelsea, notwithstanding the remonstrance of your petitioner, who, in a letter to the judge-advocate-general, dated on the 21st of Feb. 1805, stated, that "great inconvenience and expense "would be occasioned by this change, as "well as the impossibility of transmitting "timely notice of it to the witnesses, par-"ticularly those resident in distant parts of "the kingdom." That, in spite of all the disadvantages, by these and other means created, your petitioner was honourably acquitted upon all the charges preferred against him, notwithstanding so much study and preparation had been used in the producing of those charges; that, not only was he so acquitted, but there was not brought out in evidence one single fact tending in the slightest degree to shew, that the accuser himself could possibly ever have believed any one of the charges to be true; and that it was glaringly evident, that the whole of the accusation consisted of falsehoods invented for the sole purpose of injuring the fame and the fortune of your petitioner, and of giving the colour of justice to the punishment which had already been inflicted upon him. That your petitioner, upon the result of the trial being made known unto him, did, on the 18th of April, 1805, endeavour to obtain an audience of H. R. H. the Duke of York, in order to obtain, in the list of major-generals, that place to which his seniority entitled him, and in the obtaining of which he had, by his Royal Highness, been informed, there would be "*no difficulty, provided the "result of the court martial was favourable "to him.*" That your petitioner, having been refused access to the Duke of York in the first instance, having been unable by other means to obtain any satisfactory answer to his repeated applications, tendered the resignation of his commission as colonel, resolved no longer to remain in a service, in which he was so unjustly held in a state of degradation. That, as to the grounds upon which the application of your petitioner was rejected, your Honourable House will have observed, that the decisions of all general courts martial are communicated to the King by the judge-advocate-general, who, when he has thereupon received the commands of the King, communicates them to the commander-in-chief, together with the King's remarks thereon. That, in pursuance of this practice, Sir C. Morgan, having first laid the decision of the court martial aforesaid before the King, next communicated it to the Duke of York, subjoining thereunto, as coming from the King himself, a remark, that, as to the principal charge, the court had been inhibited by law from proceeding upon it, owing to the crime alleged having taken place more than three years previous to the date of the warrant for the trial, and that "His Majesty considered this lapse of "time to have been owing to an improper "conduct of the prosecutor." That, as your Honourable House will not fail to perceive, this remark was calculated to cause it to be believed, that, if no lapse of time had so taken place, and if the court martial had not thereby been inhibited from proceeding on the said charge, the said charge might have been established against your petitioner; whereas, the facts were; 1st, that the act charged, was alleged to have taken place previous to Sept. 1801; 2d, that an investigation into the conduct of your petitioner was contemplated by the Duke of York in Oct. 1803, and upon that contemplation he withheld the name of your petitioner from the brevet promotion; 3d, that between Sept. 1801 and Oct. 1803, only two years and one month had elapsed; 4th, that between Oct. 1803 and Aug. 1804, when the warrant for the trial was, at last, issued, your petitioner did make urgent and repeated requests to the Duke of York, that the trial might take place without delay; and 5th, that your petitioner, apprehensive that a plea of lapse of time might be made use of, for the purpose of leaving a blemish upon his reputation, expressly requested, in a letter to the adjutant general, dated on the 22d of June, 1804, that "no part of the grounds, "on which Major Gordon had proposed to "found his charges, should be kept back "from examination;" from which facts your petitioner is satisfied, that it will clearly appear to your Honourable House, that if the court martial was inhibited from taking cognizance of the charge aforesaid, the inhibition was to be ascribed solely to those concerned in framing and bringing forward the prosecution. That however to the most important fact, connected with the aforesaid remark of the King, it remains for your petitioner to pray the attention of your Honourable House; namely, that notwithstanding the lapse of time, the court martial actually did, before they perceived such lapse, fully investigate the merits of the said charge; that the charge was, by evidence the most complete, clearly proved, to be utterly false, and destitute of the semblance of foundation; and that it was not until *after such proof had been given*, that the court martial discovered

that they were, by law, inhibited from taking cognizance of it. That it was, nevertheless, upon the ground of the remark made by the Judge Advocate General, in the King's name, that the Duke of York, in a letter to your petitioner, dated on the 16th of May, 1805, refused to place your petitioner in that situation, as to rank, to which he was, by his seniority, entitled. That your petitioner, full of indignation at the injustice with which he had been treated, addressed a remonstrance to the Judge Advocate General, complaining of the aspersion cast upon his character by the putting of the remark aforesaid upon the records of the army, while, at the same time, the facts above stated by your petitioner were carefully concealed. That in answer to this remonstrance, the Judge Advocate General informed your petitioner, in a letter dated on the 26th of April, 1805, that "*since he had communicated to the Duke of York the letter in which the aforesaid remark was contained, he had seen occasion to recall that letter, and to substitute another in lieu thereof, leaving out the said remark, and that he had taken upon himself to explain to the King, the reason why this remark*" (made, as your Honourable House will perceive, in the King's name, and as coming from the King himself) "*was now omitted*" That, thus, as it must be manifest to your Honourable House, the Judge Advocate General has the power to communicate to the commander-in-chief remarks, in the King's name, upon the decision of every general court martial, from which remarks alone the commander-in-chief must, according to his letter above mentioned addressed to your petitioner, "*form his opinion upon the whole matter of each case*;" that the Judge Advocate General has the further power of altering such remarks at his pleasure, not only without the orders, but even without the knowledge of the King, in whose name they are made; that this Judge Advocate General not only holds his office during pleasure, but is, at the same time, so much under the influence of the commander-in-chief, as to be induced, at his bare suggestion, to change his intention as to the person whom he shall employ to officiate in his stead at a court martial; and that, thus, the fame and fortune of all the officers of the army, (an establishment, the annual expense of which is now more than 18 millions sterling) amounting, in number, to several thousands of gentlemen, connected by ties of blood, or otherwise, with no small portion of the rank and consequence and influence, in the whole of the community, are subject to the absolute will of *one irresponsible individual*. That, from this cause your petitioner has suffered most grievous injustice, indignity, and injury; that, after a life of faithful, zealous, and arduous services, he has been driven, as above shewn, to the alternative of abandoning his profession and his means of subsistence, or of retaining them accompanied with unmerited disgrace; and, that he, therefore, prays your Honourable House, the constitutional protectors of the people's liberties and properties against arbitrary power and oppression, to afford him redress, and to prevent, by such means as in the wisdom of your Honourable House it shall seem meet, the future recurrence of similar grievances. —And your petitioner shall ever pray.—— ANDREW COCHRANE JOHNSTONE.—*London, March* 2, 1807.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Twenty-eighth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Berlin, Nov. 7, 1806.—His Majesty this day was occupied in reviewing the dragoons of the division of General Klein, from 11 till 3 in the afternoon, on the esplanade of the palace. This division greatly distinguished itself at the battle of Jena, and broke several squares of the Prussian infantry.—General Savary, at the head of 500 of the first regiment of hussars, and of the 7th chasseurs, has defeated the Prussian General Husdunne, whom he made a prisoner, together with 2 brigades of hussars, 2 battalions of grenadiers, and several pieces of cannon, near Wismar, on the Baltic. This division made part of those corps which were pursued by the Grand Duke of Berg, the Prince De Ponte-Corvo, and Marshal Soult; and being cut off from the Oder and from Pomerania, appeared to have been driven from the coast near Lubeck.—Colonel Excelmans commandant of the 1st regiment of chasseurs in the division of Marshal Davoust, has arrived at Posen, the capital of Poland Proper. He was received there with the most enthusiastic joy; the town was thronged with people, and the windows crowded with spectators; the cavalry could scarcely proceed along the streets. The General of Engineers, Bertrand, Aide de-camp to the Emperor, has embarked on the lake near Stettin, in order to examine the different passes communicating therewith.—The battering-train, &c. for the siege of Magdeburg, was sent from Dresden and Wittenberg, by the Elbe. It is hoped this place will not hold out long. Marshal Ney is appointed to direct the operations of the siege.

Twenty-ninth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Berlin, Nov. 9, 1806.—His Majesty has ordered a contribution of 150 millions, to be levied in the dominions of Prussia, and those of her allies!—After the capitulation of the Prince of Hohenlohe, Gen. Blucher, who was marching the same route, changed the direction of his progress, and endeavoured to join the column of the Duke of Weimar, which had previously joined that of Prince Frederick of Brunswick Oels, son of the Duke of Brunswick. The 3 corps were then commanded by Blucher; some small corps afterwards joined them. For many days the division endeavoured to escape by these routes, which were as yet left open by the French troops; but the combined movements of the Grand Duke of Berg, Marshal Soult, and the Prince of Ponte Corvo, effectually frustrated the design. At one time the enemy attempted to throw themselves into Anklam, and afterwards into Rostock. Checked in these endeavours they tried to return towards the Elbe; but in this they were also prevented. They then advanced directly towards Lubeck.——On the 4th of Nov. they took a position at Crevismulen: the Prince de Ponte-Corvo cut off the rear guard, but could not make much impression upon the main body, as he had no more than 600 cavalry, while the enemy were very strong in that respect. Gen. Vattier, in this action, made 3 fine charges, supported by Generals Pactod and Maisons, with the 27th reg. of light infantry, and the 8th of the line. It is worthy of remark, in this action, that a company of éclaireurs, attached to the 94th reg. commanded by Capt. Razout, was surrounded by some of the enemy's squadrons, but the French light troops were not dismayed by the shock of the Prussian cuirassiers, they received it firmly, and kept up such a cool and well-directed fire upon the assailants, that they soon retreated. This description of the French forces acted most successfully against the Prussian cavalry throughout the whole pursuit. The Prussians lost 7 pieces of cannon, and about 1000 men.—But, on the evening of the 4th, the Grand Duke of Berg, who was advancing on the right, arrived with his cavalry against the enemy, whose ultimate object seemed, as yet, uncertain. Marshal Soult advanced by Ratzburg, and the Prince de Ponte-Corvo by Rena. They lay, from the night of the 5th to that of the 6th, at Schoenberg, whence the Marshal retired at 2 in the morning. The Prince advanced to Schlukup upon the Trave, and came up with a corps of 1,600 Swedes, who, at length, thought proper to retire from Lauenburg, in order to embark upon the Trave. A few discharges from our cannon, however, disabled the vessels intended for their embarkation. The Swedes, after a shew of resistance, laid down their arms. A convoy of 300 vessels, which Gen. Savary had traced to Wismar, was attacked in the river by the column under the Prince de Ponte-Corvo, and captured.—In the mean time the enemy fortified themselves in Lubeck. Marshal Soult advanced with such rapidity, that he arrived at the gate of Mullen as soon as the Prince was before that of the Trave. The Grand Duke of Berg, with his cavalry, was between these posts. The enemy endeavoured, hastily, to strengthen the old walls of Lubeck, and placed some guns on the bastions, hoping, by these means, to gain at least a day upon us, but he was mistaken, as the reconnoitring and the attack were almost at the same moment.—Gen. Drouet, at the head of the 27th light infantry, and the 94th and 95th of the line, carried the batteries with that coolness and intrepidity which peculiarly distinguishes the French troops! The gates were speedily forced, the bastions escaladed, the enemy put to flight, and the corps of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo entered by the gate of the Trave. The chasseurs, Corses, the tirailleurs of the Po, and the 26th light infantry, composed the advanced guard of Gen. Legrand, which had not, as yet, been engaged, and who were impatient to attack the enemy, advanced with the rapidity of lightning! Redoubts, bastions, ditches, all were cleared, and the corps of Marshal Soult entered the town at the gate of Mullen. In vain did the enemy attempt to defend the place, in the streets, the squares, &c. they were driven back every where, and those places were covered with the dead! The two divisions of the French troops, which had entered at different gates, joined about the middle of the town. Scarcely had the Grand Duke entered the place than the enemy were put to flight. He pursued them—4000 prisoners, 60 pieces of cannon, several generals, a great number of officers killed or taken. Such were the results of this brilliant victory.—Before day-break on the 7th, the cavalry were mounted, and the Grand Duke of Berg surrounded the enemy near Schwartan, with the brigade of Lasalle, and the division of cuirassers of Hautpoult.

To be continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 12.] LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 21, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

"The bringing in of Strangers for aid, hath been pernicious to most States, where they have been admitted, "but to England fatal. We do bless God, that hath given your Majesty a wise understanding heart to discern of those courses, and that such power produceth nothing but weakness and calamity. And we "beseech your Majesty to pardon the vehemency of our expression, if, in the loyal and zealous affections "we bear to your Majesty and your service, we are bold to declare to your Majesty and the whole world, "That we hold it far beneath the heart of any free Englishmen to think, that this victorious nation should "now stand in need of German Soldiers to defend their own King and the Kingdom."——REMONSTRANCE OF THE COMMONS TO CHARLES I. in the year 1628.

TO THE

FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER IX.

GENTLEMEN,

In the last letter which I had the honour to address to you, I gave the reasons for my not entering, at that time, into any examination of the evidence and reported proceedings, in the case of Mr. Paull's last petition. The same reasons will prevent me from doing it now; because, though the proceedings will, probably, be closed before this sheet reaches the press, there will not be time sufficient for me to say what I could wish to say upon the subject; and, there are several topics, upon which, in the mean while, I think it may be useful to address you.

The first of these topics is, the case of the Honourable Cochrane Johnstone, whose petition to the House of Commons you will find in the preceding sheet, at page 403, and who was, as you will there have seen, Colonel of the Eighth West India Regiment and Governor of the Island of Dominica, until the year 1803. When you have read that petition, gentlemen, you will be in complete possession of the merits of the case; you will be able to form a correct judgment as to the treatment which Mr. Johnstone has received, and also as to the conduct of all the parties concerned. It will, therefore, only remain for me to state to you some facts, and to submit to you some observations, relating to the *redress* which he is likely to obtain.—The petition was presented to the House of Commons on the 10th instant, by Mr. Whitbread; but, gentlemen, it is right that you should be informed, that Mr. Johnstone had, previous to that day, asked upwards of *two hundred and fifty* of the members to present his petition, and that, of that number, he found not one who would do it!——Mr. Whitbread, in presenting the petition, observed, that he understood it to have been refused by several members; but, "for "himself, he thought it his bounden duty, "as a member of parliament, to present any "petition, complaining of grievances, and "couched in proper and respectful language; "but, that he did not hold himself responsible for the accuracy of the allegations "contained in the petition, nor to make "any subsequent motion in consequence of "it." He, therefore, simply moved, that the petition should lie upon the table, which motion was seconded by Sir Edward Knatchbull who held the same opinion with respect to the duty of presenting petitions. The only two persons that spoke on the other side were Mr. William Dundas and Mr. Plumer, member for Hertfordshire, who contended, that every member of parliament was at perfect liberty to do as he pleased as to the presenting of any petition whatever, be the matter and manner of it what they might. And, to say the truth gentlemen, this is the doctrine, which has, for many years past, been acted upon——I am particularly anxious that you should have your memories refreshed as to the "*invaluable right* of petition," as it is called; and, therefore, I shall inquire a little into the use of this right.——The use of it is, or rather was, to afford to *every* man the means of making his grievances known to the king, or to the parliament, or both; in order that he might be enabled to obtain redress, in cases where he could obtain redress by no other means. Mr. Blackstone, who was a judge, and who, of course, every where praises the *laws*, speaks in high strains of eulogium of this right, which he contrasts with the right of petition in Russia, as established by a law of the Czar Peter, and, according to which law, "every "subject might petition the throne after "having petitioned, without effect, two "ministers of state successively; but if, in "petitioning the throne, he was found to "be in the wrong, he was *to suffer death*."

The consequence of which was, as Blackstone says, that no one dared to petition. The punishment of death, in case a petitioner was wrong, or was *made appear to be in the wrong*; in case he was confused and brow beat out of his senses, or was outsworn by perjured witnesses; the punishment of death, in such a case, would, infallibly prevent every one from even thinking of petitioning. But, the Czar might have rendered the prevention nearly as complete in theory, and quite as complete as to all useful purposes, by only inflicting the punishment of jail and fine, and by providing some other little preliminary precautions, which it would be useless to point out to you very particularly.——Returning now to the right of petitioning in this happy country, and especially the right of petitioning the House of Commons, the *law* says, that no petition, touching important matters in Church or State, shall, unless it obtain the consent of three justices of the peace, or the majority of the grand jury of a county, or, in London, of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, be signed by more than *twenty persons*, and that no petition shall be presented by more than *two persons* at one time. But, gentlemen, this being too much, it has been, by an order of the House of Commons I suppose, provided, that, to them, no petition shall be presented, *except by one of themselves*; so that, if the doctrine imputed, by the newspapers, to Messrs. Dundas and Plumer be sound, the right of petition is a right to petition one of the members of the House to permit us to petition the House itself; or, in other words, a right to pray to be permitted to pray! Nor, do I, indeed, see how the doctrine of Mr. Whitbread removes the difficulty; for, suppose none of the members will present your petition. What are you to do? Mr. Whitbread says, it is their "*bounden duty* to do it, provided the petition be couched in *proper* "and *decent* language," of which, observe, they are to be the sole judges; but, he does not say, that, if they refuse to perform this "bounden duty," any consequences follow with respect to themselves. So that, after all, the "invaluable right of petition," is a right to pray to be permitted to pray.—— This right, so largely exercised by Mr. Johnstone, produced, what? Not redress; no, nor even any motion for redressing his grievance, but merely the laying of his petition upon the table of the House. It was, the newspapers tell us, contended, by Mr. William Dundas, that the complaint was upon a subject, with which the House had no right to meddle; whence we are, of course, to conclude, that, in the opinion of this gentleman, at least, the House of Commons have nothing at all to do or to say with the species of power that is exercised over the officers of the army, a service which swallows up almost one half of the taxes annually collected in this taxed country. I have before asked, and I now ask again: if this country be, as we are told, from high authority, it is and must be, a *military country*, and if every man, having any command in that military, be placed, both as to fortune and reputation, at *the sole and absolute will of the king*, what *sort of government* must this country be under?—— Leaving you, Gentlemen, to answer this question; leaving you well to consider of the matter; leaving you to make up your minds thereupon, I shall now proceed to notice a speech, given by the newspapers, as made upon this occasion by *General Fitzpatrick*, the present Secretary at War, first laying that speech before you, just as I find it in the newspapers: "The Secretary at "War, although the honourable gentleman "had declared that it was not his intention "to follow up the presentation of the petition with any motion, would trouble the "House with a few words on the subject, "because an opinion had gone forth that he "(the Secretary at War) had pledged himself to bring forward a motion, founded "on the case stated in this very petition, and "he was therefore glad to have an opportunity of publicly refuting that assertion. "The fact was (as those gentlemen who "were members of the last parliament must "recollect) that when he had given a notice on this subject, he observed that in "other cases as well as the present, great "abuses had arisen in the administration of "military justice, from the practice of confiding to the Judge Advocate General the "high and important trust of receiving his "Majesty's pleasure, with regard to the "sentences of Courts Martial; and that it "was very improper that matters of such "consequence should be decided upon without a reference to the Commander in "Chief. At that period, therefore, he had "given notice, that in the ensuing session "he would bring forward some motion on "the subject. In giving that notice, he "had stated that the petitioner's, as it was "one of the most recent, was also one of "the strongest cases in point. Subsequently the change in administration had taken "place; he had entered into office, and in "consequence of the representations which "he had thought it his duty to make on the "subject, he was happy to acquaint the "House, that the practice complained

" would in future be discontinued. The " Judge Advocate General would still communicate to his Majesty the sentences of " Courts Martial, but the decision of his " Majesty thereon would be received by the " Commander in Chief, and be by him " communicated to the army at large. Of " the present case the Commander in Chief " had no cognizance but that which he derived from the Judge Advocate General. " One object of the petitioner, namely, to " recover his rank in the army, was by no " means a fit subject on which to institute a " discussion in parliament; and the other " object, to prevent the recurrence of such " a case, the statement which he had just " made shewed it had been already attained. He could not refrain from saying " thus much in refutation of the calumnies " that had been so liberally vented against " him."——As to the " calumnies" that may have been vented against this honourable, nay right honourable, man, we will speak by-and-by. But, first let us see how his doctrine about the powers of parliament, squares with what is, upon other occasions, asserted with regard to those powers. Parliament has, without any qualification, been called *omnipotent*; nor did I ever hear of any one who thought himself guilty of blasphemy in so calling it. We know that, to *us* ward, it has great powers, witness the taxes, which its acts compel us to pay. It can do almost any thing; but, it cannot, it seems, even make an attempt to afford redress to an officer of the army. That little department, upon which eighteen millions a year of our taxes are expended, is, as to the treatment of its officers, quite out of its jurisdiction. The parliament can, indeed, alter the laws for the raising and the dismissing and the trying and the punishing and the rewarding of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers; but, as to the management and treatment of the officers, it is, according to General Fitzpatrick, incompetent to meddle in the smallest degree; though, you will observe, gentlemen, that this same honourable man, did, before he came into office, give notice of a motion, which he meant to make in the House of Commons, touching the treatment of officers of the army, and even touching the treatment of this very Mr. Johnstone; and why did he give that notice; if the restoring of that gentleman to his rank (the withholding of which from him was the alleged grievance) was " not a fit " subject whereon to institute a discussion " in parliament?" *What did he mean to do* by that motion? He must have had in view some parliamentary enactment, resolution, or address, which would have had for its object the redress of Mr. Johnstone's grievance, or, at the very least, the prevention of similar grievances in future. If his intended motion had not one, or both of these objects, the inevitable conclusion is, that it was a motion intended merely for party purposes; a motion to assist in harassing the then ministers, and in driving them from their places. In the reported speech above-quoted, he would seem to affect to believe, that, from being in office, he has been able to effect, by his mere influence, that which he wished the parliament to effect. He says, " I am *happy* to inform the House, " that the practice complained of will, in " *future*, be discontinued. The Judge Advocate General will still make the report " of the proceedings of Courts Martial to the " king; but, the decision of his Majesty " thereon will, in future, *be received by the* " *Commander in Chief, and be, by him com-* " *municated to the army.*" Well, and what is this? What has this alteration done for the officers of the army? The decisions of the king used to be conveyed to the Duke of York by the Judge Advocate General, and now the Duke of York is to take them immediately from the king himself. A mighty change indeed! General Fitzpatrick told the House, *while he was out of place*, that he " could not conceive why the lives, for- " tunes, and characters of his Majesty's mi- " litary officers should not be entitled to as " solemn a consideration as those of every " other subject in the country." But, is this object now effected? Has the alteration, above-described by him, rendered the mode of deciding, in these cases, *more solemn* merely by causing the Judge Advocate General to cease to convey to the Duke of York the decision of the king? Have the " lives, " fortunes, and characters," of the officers of the army derived any security from this alteration? This mere alteration in the mode, by which the king's decisions *are to be* conveyed from the king to the army?—— But, before we proceed any further, let us see the whole of this famous general's speech, as it stands reported, under the date of the 28th of June, 1805, which speech I have once before published, but which, perhaps, Gentlemen, some of you may never have read, and which every one of you should read, because this subject is, of all others, the most important.—" I rise, Sir, " to mention a subject, on which it is my " intention hereafter to submit a motion to " the House; and I wish to take the pre- " sent opportunity of doing so, because it " relates to that military administration

" which is to form part of the business of " this day's discussion. The present advanced state of the sessions will prevent " my being able to bring forward any motion, though I *wish it much.* It is, however, a subject of such *extreme importance,* " that it is necessary for me to take some " notice of it. The House may be assured " I shall state it in form on a future occasion and *as early as possible.* The " subject consists of a very *gross and alarming evil*;—one which, I apprehend, " has but lately crept into the administration of the Military Law of this country. " I trust, the practice to which I allude is " an innovation of not many years standing. " I am informed it is. It respects the execution of the duties of the office of Judge " Advocate General of the army. I find, " that under the present practice, there is " in the office of Judge Advocate, the assumption of a power, which I conceive " is not consistent with that office, and *not warranted by the laws and constitution of this country.*—Every gentleman who " hears me, knows how great the extent of " the Royal Prerogative is with respect to " the Military Government. Every one " knows the power of his Majesty to dismiss, without a Court Martial, any person " who bears a commission in the army.— " I should be the last man to call in question the Royal Prerogative; but I am " sure no man will contradict me when I " say, that a Prerogative of such extent " ought to be exercised *under the advice of responsible Ministers.* The law of this " country enables his Majesty to appoint " Courts Martial for military offences. The " law places in his Majesty the right of " confirming or remitting their sentences, " but I do not believe that the law or the " constitution of this country could ever intend that the officer of the Crown, in the " exercise of such a prerogative, should be " the Judge Advocate of the army. I believe he is at present the sole adviser of " the Crown. I believe that this practice " has prevailed only during a part of the " time the Right Hon. Baronet has been in " possession of it.—Formerly the transmission of sentences of Courts Martial was " through the office of the Secretary at " War. The Secretary at War of course " became responsible for the advice he gave. " With respect to his decision, I am not " sure that I think that was sufficiently solemn for a decision of so important a " point. *I cannot conceive why the lives, fortunes, and characters of his Majesty's military officers, should not be entitled to as solemn a consideration as those of every other subject in the country.*—Every one " knows that those important concerns, as " they affect other classes of his Majesty's " subjects, are decided by his Majesty in " Council. I think the same solemnity " ought to be observed with regard to the " Sentences of Courts Martial; but that " will be a question for future consideration. " That this practice does prevail, and has " been attended with great hardship to individuals, I shall be enabled to shew in a " case that has lately occurred, *and has spread the greatest alarm throughout the whole army.* I allude to the case of " COLONEL COCHRANE JOHNSTONE, a gentleman, who, *after a Trial by a Court Martial, and an honourable acquittal, has, at the instance of the Judge Advocate, been exposed to the penalties and punishment attendant upon guilt.*—— " This is what I shall submit to Parliament. " I am aware that an appeal from the Sentence of any Court Martial to this House " is a delicate question; but in the present " case the appeal is in favour of the Court " Martial, and seeks redress against the " effects of *undue influence.* I beg pardon " for dwelling so long on the subject. I " have risen to give this notice, and *I shall bring forward the motion early next Sessions.* It will consist of two branches; " one will be a complaint against the " exercise of the office; the other will " refer to the means of defining the " power of the officer, and will suggest " some provisions as to the manner of " his conducting himself in future."—— Now, gentlemen, what was it that this honourable patriot out of place "*wished much*" to bring forward to the House of Commons? What was it that was of "*extreme importance?*" What was it that was "*a gross and alarming evil?*" What was it that was "*not warranted by the laws and constitution of this country?*" What was it that had "*spread the greatest alarm throughout the whole army?*" Why, forsooth, as the gallant and right honourable general *now* tells the House, it was the practice of the Judge Advocate General *being employed to convey the decisions of the King to the Duke of York!* Merely this! It was to do away this practice, that the honourable man now tells the House, he was going to bring forward a motion consisting of "*two branches.*" But, the honourable man, when he was out of office, told the House, that the concerns touching the lives, fortunes, and characters of other classes of his Majesty's subjects, "were decided upon by the King in Coun-

" cil; and, that he thought, *the same so-*
" *lemnity* ought to be observed, with regard
" to the sentences of Courts Martial." But, now, behold, he had nothing more in contemplation than merely an alteration in the mode of *conveying* the decisions of the King to the Duke of York; which alteration, he is " happy" to inform the House, will, *in future*, take place!——Now, gentlemen, as to the " *calumnies*," which have been vented against this honourable personage, though I have never seen, or heard of, any such, I admit the possibility of attributing to him acts of wickedness and of baseness of which he has not been guilty, and, of course, I am ready to acknowledge, that calumnies may have been vented against him; but, while, I unequivocally make this acknowledgment, I positively deny, that I ever took part in such calumnies, having never done any thing more, with respect to him, than state a few plain and undeniable facts, namely; that, when he made the speech, giving notice of his motion for the next session, he was out of place; that, soon after Parliament met again, he was in place; that, soon after he was in place, he gave notice, from the Treasury bench, that he should not bring forward the motion, of which he had given notice from the opposition bench; that soon after that he, who had sold his commission as captain in the guards twenty years before, and who had never served a single day since, had a regiment given to him, worth about fifteen hundred pounds a year; and, finally, that, as Secretary at War, it was with himself to sign and pass his accounts and vouchers as colonel of a regiment. These are plain, undeniable, historical truths; and, until such truths are styled calumny, it will not, I am persuaded, be believed that I, at any rate, have participated in venting the calumnies, of which this right honourable person is reported to have complained.——Here, gentlemen, I should take my leave of this subject; but, I cannot refrain from saying a word or two upon the conduct of the news-papers respecting it. They have *not published the petition* of Mr. Johnstone, and their excuse is, that " the case is *already* " *before the public*." Yes, it was already before the public, though not in the same authentic and solemn form; but, what had they to do with placing it before the public? Not one of them ever made any publication of it; not a line did they ever insert upon the subject; and, had not this work of mine been in existence, not a word of it would the nation have known unto this day; though, during the time, that this most important case has been crying aloud for publicity, the columns of these most corrupt prints have been daily filled with quack-advertisements, with accounts of ministerial dinners, royal airings, and paid-for paragraphs in praise of Madam Catalani. Yes, Gentlemen, as I had occasion to declare to you during the late election, I am convinced, that the proprietors and editors of these prints are the basest, the very basest of all mankind, their hirers only excepted.

The next subject, Gentlemen, to which I am desirous of turning your attention, your *constant* attention, is one which was frequently touched upon during the election; I mean, the *foreign troops* now supported by us, and kept up and quartered in the heart of our country. What sentiments our forefathers entertained upon this subject, and in what language they thereon remonstrated with their sovereign, you will have seen from the passage which I have taken for my motto. Those sentiments I entertain; I am confident you entertain them; and, I, for my part, live in hopes of seeing a House of Commons, by whom such sentiments will again, in such language, be expressed——In order that we may have a clear view of the matter in question, let us first hear what the constitution says with respect to the keeping up of foreign troops in this country. Mr. Blackstone, who, as I before observed, was looking out for a judgeship when he wrote his book, has the following passage upon the nature of our constitution as relating to the military. " To " prevent the executive power from being " able to oppress, says Baron Montesquieu, " it is requisite that the armies with which " it is entrusted, should consist of the *peo-* " *ple*, and have the same spirit with the " people; as was the case at Rome 'till " Marius new-modelled the legions, by en- " listing the rabble of Italy, and laid the " foundation of all the military tyranny that " ensued. Nothing, then, according to " these principles, ought to be more guard- " ed against in a free state, than making " the military power, when such an one is " necessary to be kept on foot, a body too " distinct from the people. *Like ours*, " therefore" (I beg you to mark this), " it " should wholly be composed of *natural* " *subjects*; it ought only to be enlisted for " a short and *limited time*; the soldiers " should live intermixed with the people; " *no separate camp*; *no barracks*; no in- " land fortresses should be allowed." This Mr. Blackstone died some years, I believe, before the days of Pitt's power; an e[illegible] very much to be regretted, because [illegible] have been so delightful to hear

(as he certainly would have done) all the introducing of foreign troops and all the camps and barracks of Pitt and Delancey. But, here we have his description of what the constitution was, in this respect, at the time when he wrote, which was just about the time that the present king came to the throne.——Not, however, to the opinions of any one are we to confine ourselves; for, besides the evident danger and disgrace of having foreign troops stationed amongst us; besides the absurdity of talking about popular freedom in a country where the king should have the power of introducing foreign troops at his pleasure,; the act of settlement, that act which contains the conditions, upon which the crown was settled upon the present family, expressly provides that "no "office of trust, civil or military, shall ever "be held by any one, who is not a native of "this kingdom, or who is not born of parents "natives of this kingdom." So that, if there were any doubt, if there could be any doubt, as to the introducing of foreign *soldiers*, it is impossible there can be any with respect to the introducing and keeping up of foreign *officers*. Yet, have we now several battalions of foreign soldiers in this kingdom, and these soldiers are under the command of foreign officers too, which foreign officers do, as a matter of course, occasionally take the command in the towns, barracks, and camps where they are stationed, and must necessarily, at times, command not only our native soldiers but our native officers also; and, it must be evident to you, that our fortresses, our dock-yards, and our arsenals, may be committed to their guardianship.——Gentlemen, in the year 1794, some Hessians were landed in the Isle of Wight, upon the ground of its being dangerous to their health to keep them on board of ship, until the time when the vessels would sail, they being destined for *foreign* service. In consequence of that landing, without the previous consent of Parliament, Mr. Grey (now Lord Howick) made a motion, declaring it to be unconstitutional and illegal for the King to introduce foreign troops without the consent of Parliament previously obtained, which motion was supported by Mr. Whitbread, Lord George Cavendish, Mr. Francis, Mr. Serjeant Adair, Mr. Yorke, Mr. William Smith, and Mr. Fox. The motion was opposed by Pitt, whose majority, of course, voted against it. Upon this occasion Mr. Francis said: "Not a word, indeed, does the *bill of rights* "contain about introducing a *foreign army*. "The men who framed it did not suppose "it possible, that it could ever enter into "an English heart to maintain, that the "King, by his prerogative, could, in any "circumstance, bring a foreign force into "Great Britain, without the consent of "Parliament. But, a distinction is taken, "which is supposed to be prodigiously ma-"terial. The ministers cannot introduce "foreign troops *in time of peace*. What "does this signify? They assert, that the "King can make war *when he pleases*, and "in time of war he can introduce foreign "troops; so that, if this doctrine be sound, "he can introduce foreign troops when he "pleases. If it be lawful, on that ground, "to bring in four thousand Hessians to-day, "why not ten thousand Austrians to-mor-"row, and twenty thousand Russians the "day following? A base, corrupt, and "abject people, when once they are pro-"perly frightened, will submit to any "thing for the sake of being defended. "The English nation will be threatened "with a French invasion, and, instead of "being called upon to defend themselves, "will be told, that they may be per-"fectly quiet, for that the King has subsi-"dized an army of Germans, and will take "care to protect them, without giving them "any further trouble. I trust that English-"men will look a little to the conclusion of "this doctrine, before it be too late."—— These were the sentiments of Mr. Francis, now, alas! *Sir Philip!* But, he ought to be spared for the sake of what he has done in times past. He has left us (for I regard him as defunct) many, very many excellent maxims and arguments; and to him we owe those statements, without which we were unable profitably to think upon subjects connected with that grand scheme of plunder and cruelty, the East-Indies.——In returning to the subject of the Hanoverian troops, you will perceive, gentlemen, that the consent of Parliament *has been obtained* in this case, or, at least, Acts of Parliament have been passed authorizing the raising and the keeping up of these troops. But, this does not do away my objection to it; for, gentlemen, to what measure did Pitt or any other minister, of late days, ever fail in obtaining the *consent of Parliament?* The Act of Settlement provides, that no foreigner shall hold, in this kingdom, any place of *trust*, civil or military; and, to suppose that this meant to exclude foreign officers from our army, while it left room for the introducing of both foreign officers and foreign troops into the nation, there to remain established, is an absurdity not, for one moment, to be tolerated.——The *expense* of these Hanoverians is enormous, in propor-

tion to their numbers. By an Act past in the year 1804, the King was authorized to raise foreign troops, not exceeding in number 10 thousand men, and also to grant *commissions* to foreigners to serve as *officers* or as *engineers*. And, here we will stop, for a moment, gentlemen, just to observe, that, by this act, that part of the Act of Settlement, above spoken of, was, in effect, repealed. That the Parliament had power to repeal it, I do not deny; but, then we ought never to be told of their *want of power to do any thing*, in the way of making laws. If they could repeal this, *to us*, the most important part of an act, which contained the conditions upon which the crown was settled on the present family, they surely had the power to afford Mr. Johnstone redress, and, by law, effectually to provide against similar grievances in future? This must be allowed us, unless it be contended, that the Parliament can do away no ancient provision, excepting only such provisions as were made for the protection of our liberties and lives. That there may be no hired anti-jacobin, no-scribbling slave, to maintain this last-mentioned proposition, I shall not assert; but, I am very certain, that you, at least, would reject it with indignation.—The 10 thousand Hanoverians, which were authorized to be raised by the Act of 1804, received an addition to their numbers last year, when, on the 22d of March, another act was passed, authorizing the King to augment the number to 16 thousand. This is a pretty little army of foreigners for us to have in the heart of our country; for the act expressly authorises the king to keep up 16 thousand of them *within this kingdom!*——In the accounts, laid before the House of Commons, of the disposing of the public money for the year 1805 (which is the last account of that sort that has yet been laid before the House), the sum expended upon the Foreign Troops *in that year*, is stated at £851,350. which, supposing the whole of the ten thousand men to have been enlisted before the commencement of that year, and supposing them to have been effective for every day in the year, makes rather more than 85 pounds, 2 shillings, and sixpence for one year for each man! Now, mark the contrast: it is stated, in the same account, that, the sum for defraying the charge, for the same year, of 135 thousand *effective* British troops including officer's pay and all allowances whatever, amounted to £4,635,188. So that, you see, supposing there to have been 10 thousand effective Hanoverians during the whole of the year, this 10 thousand men cost us nearly one *fifth* part as much as 135 thousand of our own countrymen cost us; though the number of the former is not a *thirteenth* part of that of the latter. I am not supposing, that the Hanoverians actually receive *higher pay* than our own soldiers; but, the various extra expenses attending them have been so great; and, indeed, so that we are compelled to pay the money, it is of little consequence who pockets or devours it. Yet, gentlemen, not one single member of parliament, not one single man amongst those, whom the king called "his faithful Commons," said a word against this charge; no, nor did any one, that I have ever heard of, ask a question about the matter!——What do we want with these foreigners? What necessity is there for their being kept up here? Are you; are any of us; is there a man amongst us so intolerably base as to allow, that the people of this kingdom are such wretched cowards as for it to be unsafe to entrust the defence of their country to themselves? If these Hanoverians were, indeed, hired by us to be sent to the *West* or the *East Indies*, or to *Gibraltar*, in order to spare the lives of our native troops, I should have much less objection to their being raised and kept up; but, not a man of them, that I have heard of, has been sent upon any such service. Their own country has been over-run, and is, at this moment, actually in the possession of the French. Where were *they* when the French took possession of their country? That they did not not sacrifice their *lives* in defence of it, we know; and I, for my part, have never heard of any battles that they fought in its defence. The newspapers did, indeed, inform us, that the Duke of Cambridge, "with no less fore-"sight than bravery, brought off the *plate* "from Hanover," and lodged it safely in England, to the great disappointment and mortification, no doubt, of those merciless plunderers, the French; but, even these veracious, so fruitful in accounts of battles, never told us of any battles that were fought in Hanover, which seems to have passed as quietly under the yoke of France, as if there had not been a single soldier in it.——In taking another view of this introduction of foreign troops, I beg leave, by way of preliminary to observe to you, that there has lately sprung up amongst us, a philosopher of the name of Malthus, who, from his sentiments, one would suppose to be a German too, and who contends, that the great cause of pauperism and of misery in this country, is, the *superabundance of its population*; wherefore he recommends, as the sole effectual remedy, the *preventing*, by one means or another, the labouring people *from having*

so many children. Now, gentlemen, instead of this, I should recommend the sending of all the Jews and Italians and Negroes and Germans and other foreigners out of the country; and, of course, I should, were it only upon this ground, taking its solidity for granted, strenuously object to the bringing of 10 thousand Hanoverians, with all their wives and children, into it; especially when I reflect, that every article, which goes to the clothing and the feeding and the lodging and the warming of them, must be produced by our labour, they having been brought amongst us for purposes far different from that of partaking in our toil. Widely different, however, appear to be the sentiments of many other persons in this country, some of whom scruple not to justify the introduction of the Hanoverian troops; the placemen and taxgatherers applaud it in unqualified terms; and, even amongst the officers of the army (to such a degree does sycophancy prevail) we find some, who, like *Captain Mellish*, of Covent-Garden notoriety, stick enormous whiskers upon their faces, with no other rational view than that of being taken for Hanoverians.

The third subject, and the last, upon which I propose to address you, at present, is, *the toasts at the last dinner given to Sir Francis Burdett*, relating to which toasts, I have received two letters, the substance of the former and the whole of the latter I will lay before you. A gentleman, who, with that degree of self-complacency, which, in such cases, is very common, if not very allowable, calls himself "A TRUE ENGLISHMAN," tells me, that, for many years, he has, "with pleasure and attention read my Register, and has, with few exceptions, admired it, and especially those parts thereof, wherein I have detected and exposed error, peculation, and corruption, in every department of the government; that, the unshaken loyalty which I so strongly expressed during the years 1803-4, and 5, did me great credit, and that he trusts, that my sentiments, in this respect, are unaltered; that he has, however, with some concern, remarked, that, since I have so warmly espoused the cause of Sir Francis Burdett, these effusions of loyalty have not been so frequent; that, Sir Francis Burdett may mean well, but, that his patriotism is too strongly marked with party madness; that he is convinced, that I retain the most ardent affection for our beloved king, in whose defence every true Englishman would shed the last drop of his blood, and that, therefore, he is surprised, that I have not expressed my abhorrence of the diabolical and "blasphemous" sentiment contained in the toast, "*our sovereign, the "Majesty of the people*," which sentiment none but a *traitor* would utter in this country; that, as I animadvert so freely upon the conduct of the greatest man this country ever produced (the late Mr. Pitt), "to whose administration we owe our existence as a "nation and all that we have enjoyed, do "enjoy, or expect to enjoy," he trusts that I will not be silent upon the subject of the toast.——Such is the first letter; and, to be sure, if one can, with perfect propriety, apply the epithet blasphemous to a political sentiment, it is that very sentiment, with which this letter concludes; for, gentlemen, what, upon matters of politics, can be uttered, more offensive and more insulting to the God of *truth*, than to ascribe our existence as a nation, together with all our enjoyments, past, present, and to come, to the administration of that man, who found the nation secure against all the world and conspicuously powerful when compared with her natural enemy, and who left her in jeopardy every hour, while that enemy, having conquered two-thirds of Europe, having got possession of all her coasts, from the Baltic to the Adriatic, was, at the moment when his administration ceased with his breath, actually in possession of the capital of Austria, the unfortunate sovereign of which had been urged to war by that very man; that man who found the annual charge upon us for the national debt 9 millions, and who left that charge increased to 29 millions; that man who found the annual poor-rates at 2 millions, and who left them at 6 millions; that man who lent £40,000. of the public money, secretly to two members of his majority in parliament, who lent it thus without interest, and without making the transaction known to his colleagues, or making any record or minute thereof; that man, who, in the very last year of his life, added nearly a million to the national debt in grants of new pensions and largesses to his adherents; and, not to weary you with the enumeration, who kept the Habeas Corpus Act, the act which was framed for the security of the persons of Englishmen, suspended for seven years at a time, and who caused to be prosecuted, as traitors, men whom the juries acquitted, and who were, from the Bench, declared to have sought nothing but that very reform, which this man himself had insisted upon as being absolutely necessary to the existence of the nation. If, Gentlemen, there be any thing, upon a political subject, which can properly be called blasphemous, it assuredly is, the ascribing to such a man our existence as a nation, together with all

our enjoyments, past, present, and to come. But, Gentlemen, of recrimination we stand not in need; nor will I ask this gentleman, who so much admired the ardour of my loyalty in 1803-4, and 5, whether he did not, during the whole of those years, with very little intermission, find a considerable part of every week's Register taken up in the *detecting and exposing of this very Mr. Pitt*; and, during the same years, the very same years, in *defending the conduct of Sir Francis Burdett*. I will waive these questions, and come at once to *the toast*, which is no other than the very toast, which was formerly given by the Duke of Norfolk, who is now a Lord Lieutenant and a Privy Councillor, which was drunk the other day at the rump of the Whig-Club by one of the king's "confidential servants," and to which I have, at a time like this, no other objection, than that it is not of plain and unequivocal meaning, which every thing ought to be that comes from the lips of honest politicians.——Of the only two remaining points that I have to take notice in this letter the first is, that it is, of all things in the world, the most unjust to accuse Sir Francis Burdett of "*party* rage." Enraged he may well be at seeing what is daily passing under his eyes; but, as to *parties*, though we have seen many, we have never yet seen one, that was not, at the bottom, hostile to him; and, for the best of all possible reasons, gentlemen, they being all bent upon fattening out of the public money, and he, in the opinions of all men of all classes, being known to be opposed to such fattening. The other point relates to the shedding of the last drop of every true Englishman's blood in support of the King; and first I would ask, this true Englishman, whether he has perceived, that there is any want, at present, of such support? The King has about two hundred thousand gentlemen in red and blue coats, or rather, jackets, to support him; and, of these, sixteen thousand are Hanoverians. These gentlemen have nothing else to do but to support him and his officers and his kingdom; and, under such circumstances, it does really seem quite uncalled for, if not impertinent, in a grey-coated individual to thrust himself forward with vows of devotion and sacrifice. When this true Englishman perceives any falling off in the power and influence of the crown; when he sees a Parliament so sturdy as to compel the King to give his sanction to acts of which he disapproves; nay, when he sees him giving up any point however loudly and whencesoever called for, then, indeed, his vows of devotion may possibly be reasonable and manly; but, as things now stand, the King is, happily, able to take care of himself; he has a numerous and well appointed army; his children are all amply pensioned; one of his sons is the Commander in Chief; his other sons have great commands; and he has the absolute power of cashiering, at pleasure, any one, or all, of the officers who are the cement of a force which costs the nation eighteen millions a year. These are not the marks of impotence, I take it; and, therefore, I once more beg my friend the true Englishman to keep his vows of devotion to himself, lest he expose himself to ridicule and contempt, as being, not the supporter of the weak, but one who shouts "*huzza for the strongest.*"——The other letter complains of a sin of *commission*, on my part, and is, as you will perceive, written in the true spirit of an inquisitor, or rather, of one of those despicable wretches, upon whom we may naturally suppose the *secret-service money* to be expended.—— "In your Register," says he, "Vol. XI. "page 230. you say: *the omission to drink* "*the King's health was a mere matter of* "*taste. The company* [at Sir Francis Burdett's dinner] *did not choose to do it, and* "*they scorned to be guilty of hypocrisy.* It "appears to me, that you mean, by these "two sentences, taken with the context, "to say, that, as the company did not *feel a* "*wish for the continuance of the King's* "*health*, they scorned to be such hypocrites "as to express a wish they did not feel. If "you are the *fair, impartial* man you "profess to be, you will *insert this letter*, "and give me an unequivocal answer to "the two following questions: 1st, is my "construction of your meaning a just one? "2d, Were you one of the 1,500 persons, "present at Sir Francis Burdett's dinner, "who scorned the hypocrisy of expressing "a wish for the continuance of the King's "health?—I have paid the postage of this "letter, in order that you may have no "just *excuse* for refusing the insertion of it. "—I am, Sir, your's, &c. D. R. A. Clif-"ton, 23d Feb. 1807."——First, gentlemen, let me hope, that you will join me in admiration of the reasonableness of this man, who insinuates that I shall have no just pretensions to fairness and impartiality, unless I publish a charge, against you and myself, of being almost, if not quite *traitors in our hearts*; and this charge preferred, too, by one who dares not put his name at the bottom of it. So far am I from thinking, that fairness and impartiality demand an insertion, in such a case, I am fully persuaded, that I should be justified in causing the letter

to be posted up at Cliftyn, and advertising to find out the black-hearted spy, who is the author of it, and to whose pocket I dare venture to say, I should be able to trace some part of the taxes raised upon us. But, gentlemen, there is nothing that we do, or that we wish, that need be disguised; and, therefore, though I protest against the right of any man to question me as to my *thoughts*; though that is a species of inquiry which even the infamous twelve tables of Rome would not have warranted, I will answer the two questions of this spy with perfect undisguise. You will, however, perceive, that he assumes, as admitted, in the latter part of the first question, that which the first question is intended to ascertain the truth of. The questions, stripped of this assumption, are: 1st, whether his be a right construction of my meaning; that is to say, whether I regard you as having tacitly declared, *that you did not feel a wish for the continuance of the King's health:* and, 2d, whether, I myself was at the dinner.——To both these questions I might give an answer in the single syllable, NO; but, that does not satisfy me. Not only did I not regard you as having tacitly declared, that you did not feel a wish for the continuance of the King's health; but, I declared, that your omitting to drink the health was a mere matter of *taste*; and, I added, that, to make it a rule to drink this health, upon all occasions, was the sure way to bring the thing into contempt, putting it upon a level with the "*God-save-the-king*" of a market-town bell-man, who, with that loyal and pious invocation concludes his notices relative to a dog's being lost, or the unexpected arrival of fresh herrings. But, gentlemen, I will evade nothing; I will suppose the giving of this toast to be a matter of sentiment; I will suppose, that the hired anti-jacobins, the placemen, and the tax-gatherers, when they give it, do really feel something more than the bell-man aforesaid; and, proceeding upon this supposition, let me ask, whether the toast implies any wish at all about the *health* of the King? I have sometimes thought, indeed, that, amongst those, who are quite as well off under the present king, as they possibly can be, I have observed the toast to be understood literally; nay, I have thought, that, now-and-then, there was not a little malice, towards another person, mixed with this wish for the continuance of the King's health. But, gentlemen, you and I, who know nothing of the King but what all the world knows; who cannot possibly entertain towards him any feeling of a mere personal nature; who know that he, as well as ourselves, is born to die; who, having no particular interests at stake upon his life, cannot possibly feel any anxiety about his health, other than that which public considerations may create: we, gentlemen, when we give the King's *health*, as it is called, give it, not as a sign of our wishes about that health; much less as a mark of *loyalty*, that is, of our fidelity to the King; for, to employ the toast in this latter sense would be to admit the necessity of giving some proof, or sign, of our not being traitors. No, gentlemen, when we give this toast, we give it as a *voluntary* expression of our admiration of the conduct of the king; and, gentlemen, I will declare, in spite of the insinuations of this spy, that, though my loyalty to the king is unshaken, though I would go as far as any man in the kingdom in the defence of all his just rights and prerogatives, and of course, in defence of his person if necessary, and for which rights and person I hope he will, in the day of need, have better defenders than spies, hired anti-jacobins, place-men, and tax-gatherers; though I always have been, and always am, truly loyal, I will declare, that, since the affair of Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, since the introduction of so many Hanoverian soldiers, and since an act was passed exempting the king's funded property from the income tax, while a tax of ten pounds in the hundred is laid upon the income of every one of his subjects, down to fifty pounds a year, not excepting the incomes of those who derive them from labour, study, or from venturing their lives in the army or the navy; since I have seen these things, gentlemen, and some others that I could mention, I will declare, that I have not felt quite so much of that admiration. But, because this is the state of my mind; because I do not choose voluntarily to come forward with expressions of my admiration of the king's conduct, am I to be suspected of *disloyalty*? Am I to be represented as a person who wishes to destroy the kingly government? Am I to be loaded with the reproach of endeavouring to throw my country into confusion? Verily, gentlemen, reproach so uncandid and unjust is not the means by which loyalty is likely to be cherished and preserved.—— Now, as to the 2nd question, *whether I was at the dinner*, I was not at it; but, though I was not there in person, my heart was with you; and, I am not sorry that an opportunity has been afforded me of thus publicly informing you, that, though at so great a distance, and though I could not have left home without great inconvenience for above two or three days, I should have gone to

London for the express purpose, had not your dinner been given upon the anniversary of a day which I had theretofore kept as a sort of festival, and which I could not have left unkept upon the occasion and for the reason referred to, without assuming to myself a degree of political importance far greater than that to which I could think myself entitled.——My inquisitorial correspondent is now, I hope, answered. Any remarks that he may choose to make under his *real name*, certified to be his real name by some reputable person known to me, I will insert in my Register; but, any repetition of his anonymous charges or insinuations I shall treat with silent contempt.

In my next letter, I intend doing myself the honour of addressing you upon the subject of the proceedings, in the House of Commons, relative to the last petition of Mr. Paull; and, in the meanwhile, I trust you will believe me to be

Your sincere friend
And obedient Servant,

Botley, March 19, 1807. WM. COBBETT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——After another three weeks of various rumours and of falsehoods, relative to victories of the Russians and Prussians, it appears, from an impartial perusal of all that has been published on both sides, that the victories, though pretty dearly bought, have been on the side of the French, who not only had kept the field of battle, but had, when the last intelligence came away, made considerable advances.—— We see, too, that the British merchants, residing in Russia, have been making a voluntary contribution for the defence of that empire. When steps like this are taken, it is pretty certain, that the parties taking them see some cause for alarm. These contributions will, I fear, prove not more efficacious than the proclamations of the Russian General to the Germans, the Polanders, and the French army; nor am I one of those who would seem to believe, that the Emperor of Russia's calling upon his people to rise in mass against the French will tend very much to his final success in the war. There is a *moral* cause constantly working for Napoleon. Every where he has found more friends than enemies; and, I am afraid, that the farther he goes, the greater will he find the proportion of the former. An officer of great merit and experience in our own army, in conversing with me, at the breaking out of the war between France and Prussia, seemed very confident of the success of the latter, observing that the French would find a great difference between Prussian and Austrian *discipline*. "Yes," said I, "were the war to be carried on upon the plains of Egypt, this "might be of some consequence as to its "event; but, unhappily for Prussia, the "war is to be carried on in the Prussian "states, and *the people* of those states are "to be umpires." By this time, he has been enabled to receive ocular demonstration upon the subject; and, I am persuaded that events will make him a convert to my opinion.——In the meanwhile, however, *we* have *made peace* with Prussia; and our ambassador has advanced 80,000l. for the purpose of defending the fortresses in Silesia, which fortresses were, it seems, surrendered to the French before the House of Commons had ratified the advance. This circumstance alone, however, is no proof of the impolicy of the advance; but, it appears to me, that, in the present state of things, to send the produce of our taxes to Prussia, or Russia is, in fact, sending them to increase the amount of the plunder of the French.——What may be the result of the ensuing campaign, upon the Continent, it would be presumptuous to predict; and it would be equally presumptuous to pretend to foresee in what particular way the general event will be brought about; but, for my part, when I look at what has passed within these seventeen years, taking the causes into view, it appears to me, that the whole of the continent will undergo a revolution, which might be a little retarded, but which would not be prevented, even by the death of Napoleon. Mr. Burke saw, and I see, no government to learn wisdom from experience; no, nor even from that severe teacher, adversity.

CATHOLIC BILL.——This bill, the introduction of which into the House of Commons was noticed some little time back, and which introduction, was, in that House, received with such general applause, has, it evidently appears, placed "his Majesty's "confidential servants" in an "unsatisfactory state;" and, as I hear to-day (having, of course, no intelligence later than that of *Wednesday*), it is probable they will have resigned their offices, before this sheet can have reached the public eye. The proceedings upon the bill were postponed, on Wednesday evening, by Lord Howick, without any time named for the resumption of them; and, unless they be resumed, there can be, of course, no alternative for the ministers, but that of resignation or indefeasible shame and disgrace. This will be perceived by all of them, and some of them,

at least, will not submit to everlasting disgrace. Lords Grenville and Spencer and Mr. Windham resigned in 1801, along with Pitt and Lord Melville, because they could not carry a measure of the same sort of much larger extent! and all the other conspicuous members of the present cabinet have both since and before, urged the adoption of that measure. Shame, therefore, eternal shame, must be imprinted upon the brow of each of them, if they now retain their places, without the carrying of this bill.——But, what do I see, in the daily newspapers, about the *cause* of stopping the progress of this bill? Why, the writers in those prints assert, in the most unqualified manner, that the cause is no other than *the king's disapprobation of it.* Well, the king may disapprove of the bill; but, is that any reason why it should not pass the two Houses of Parliament? What has the king to do with a bill, until the moment when it is presented to him for his approbation, or rejection? All laws, we are told, are to *originate* in one or the other of the Houses of Parliament, and when a law has passed the two Houses, and not a moment before, the king has to take cognizance of it. This is the language of the constitution of England; yet do the writers above-mentioned boldly assert, that the bill has been stopped in its progress by the will of the king alone; nay, some of them complain, that the king was not fully enough apprized of all the tendencies of the bill. So that, according to these writers, laws originate with the king. If this be the case, what pretty fables are those, which De Lolme, Paley, Blackstone, and others have written about the constitution of England; and about those fine *checks* and *balance*, that exist in the *three branches* of the legislative power! ——As to the merits of the bill itself, all that I shall say now is what I have said before, that if the Hanoverians are worthy of being entrusted with commands in an army, stationed in this kingdom, I can see no reason at all why any class of our fellow subjects should be therefrom excluded. But, every thing will, doubtless, work together for good. Only let us be patient and prudent, faithful and brave, and we shall be a free and happy people.——In the meanwhile I cannot help, however, indulging, for a little, in that train of melancholy reflection, into which the intelligence of this event has thrown my mind, and from which it is not in the power of philosophy wholly to withdraw it. To see my Lord of Howick, who was, but only the other day, standing up in the old place and in the old manner of Pitt, calling upon the House to do this, and not to do that, in order to preserve its dignity; to see Mr. Calcraft and General Fitzpatrick, who read so distinctly the several estimates that they have to lay upon the table, their hair so nicely powdered and their gloves so genteely drawn off from one hand at a time, while they occasionally press their delicate fingers upon the table, and gracefully bow to the honourable gentlemen on the other side; receiving and most richly merting the thanks of the smooth Mr. George Johnstone and his like; to see my Lord Henry Petty, who, backed and cheered by a daily increasing brood of "young friends," equal, in every qualification, to those of Pitt, and anxious, like them, to prove their natural attachment to the country, by drawing their nourishment from her paps, has brought forth and propounded to the House such magnificent plans of finance, occupying a bulk of book larger than the Bible; to see Mr. Whitbread, who, after years of study upon the means of filling the hungry bellies of the poor, had, at last, come forward with his spelling-books and his badges and his *bank* (lord save us!) for depositing their fortunes, while Mr. Malthus was in the lobby with his auxiliary scheme for the *checking of all population*, except that of placemen and pensioners; to see the number, the swarms, of new dependents and expectants, who were, but yesterday, the most blithe of God's creatures: to see these, all these, hurled at once from their enjoyments and their hopes; to contemplate the confusion in the daily-press offices, from the uncertainty of the proprietors and editors as to which side they shall take; to think, only to think of the quantity of hartshorn and of gin that must be absolutely necessary to keep up the spirits of disappointed wives and mistresses. Really it is too much for one to support without the aid of a glass of wine, and, accordingly, I have taken one to day, for the first time since the Westminster Election.——"Fired at the "sound, my genius spreads her wings," and I do feel, I must confess, some consolation in the prospect of another Westminster Election; for, if the ministry resign, that is to say, are turned out, I dare say, his Majesty, with his usual paternal goodness, will afford his loving subjects another opportunity of choosing their representatives. This will be a great good. An unmixed good. A good indisputable. A good that will make up for many and many an evil.——In this state of mind I wait, with resignation, for the arrival of the next lying newspaper.

HANOVERIANS ——It is with great satisfaction, that I have just perceived, that, if the

newspapers do not delude me with false hopes, these troops *are going abroad* to fight against the French. I do hope, that there will be no contrary wind. It is now blowing from the South West, and that it may continue in that quarter is my sincere prayer, until these gallant troops come within reach of our enemy, and have a chance of dealing him some deadly blows, as a preliminary to the re-conquest of their own dear country.——How happy they must be at going! What a pleasure it must be to them to have so fair a prospect of speedily participating in the "*deliverance of Europe*," as the Morning Chronicle calls it, and as it will not call it any more, if Mr. Perry should be turned out of place, which he will not, if he can possibly help it! Send them a fine voyage and great success, say I. May they never cease to fight, until they have delivered Europe; and the Englishman who does not join in this prayer must be the very basest of mankind.

CORRESPONDENTS.——Such is my arrear in this way, and such the state of my engagements, that I must say a word or two to correspondents, though contrary to my rule.—All those who have honoured me with communications, some of them a good while ago, may be assured, that they shall be inserted as soon as possible.——The present double number contains *six* letters. Two upon the *Poor-laws*, one of which is MR JOHN BONE's. There is one letter from Major Cartwright to Mr. Windham, upon the *Military Defence* of the country. One from Mr. Capel Loft, upon 'I shall not know what until the skill of my printers in decyphering hands writing have enabled me to read it through without the loss of a day's time; but which, from the first sentence indicating that the whole is against myself, I conclude not to contain any thing to "pain any other person's feelings." In answer, however, to the complaint made against me in this sentence; a complaint, that I have neglected the productions of this gentleman, while he has had a polite attention paid to him by all the other periodical publications of the day, I must beg leave to say a few words. I have received, in all, *three* communications from Mr. Capel Loft. The first, upon my word, I was unable to read. The second was a *poetical* performance; or, it was, at least, placed in lines, as every thing which is called poetry, generally is; and, as it professed, in the title of it, to be in honour of the gallant Lord Nelson, I sent it, without reading it, to my editor, for insertion; but he, being a Norfolk man, came to me, all the way from Panton Square to Fulham, with an expostulation against my lending my pages to the dishonouring of the memory of his famous countryman with doggerel. To the earnestness of this expostulation I gave way; but, I offered the piece to the editor of the POETICAL REGISTER, by whom also *it was rejected*. Now, I appeal to the reader whether Mr. Capel Loft's charge against me be just ——There are, in the present number, two letters upon the "*Learned languages*;" and, as I have *thirteen* more already by me, it will be impossible to insert them all by *Lady Day* next, which, as the reader will remember, was the time appointed for the learned bodies to close their defence of their calling. I will, therefore, extend the time, until *May Day*; but, with this distinct notification, that I will insert no letter upon the subject, which does not reach me on, or before, that day. There is nothing more irksome than a discussion drawled out; and, therefore, when May Day has arrived, my intention is to answer, as well as I am able, all and singular the arguments that have been, or that shall, before that day, be urged against my propositions; but, when I have done that, my resolution is, not to write any more myself, nor to convey to the public the writings of any other persons, upon the subject.——There is a correspondent, who complains of my *filling up*, as he calls it, my pages with *public and other official* papers, which, he says, he reads, long before, in the newspapers. But, he does not seem to consider, that these newspapers soon go to the lighting of candles and of pipes and to the wrapping up of the lace and muslin which servant maids steal from their mistresses; and that the official documents will need to be referred to, when what I myself write will have been forgotten, or, at least, have become useless.

ON THE BASIS, NATURE, AND LIMITS OF THE RIGHT OF CONQUEST.

SIR;—I have little hope of your inserting my letter: for although during my life, from a very early age, I have at all times been attentive to politics, as one of the first of studies, and one of the chief duties of those who have leisure and the means of considering such subjects, and have in very numerous instances, laid my thoughts before the public for many years, and in various periodical papers, you, and you *alone*, have uniformly rejected them—I should not, therefore, at this time, or perhaps at any, have written to you again, if any other person had appeared in your paper in answer

to a part of your paper of the 20th Dec. last.—I shall state it in your own words. "The "right, the indisputable right, of making "conquests, exists at all times, in all "nations, and in all cases, except forbidden "by some positive compact, into which the "conquering nation has previously entered. "In fact, arms are, after all, the reasons of "nations."—My objection is, that upon a most important subject this proposition is at once indefinitely and erroneously stated: that the only exception admitted is in reality inapplicable to the subject: and that were it not revolting by its unbounded latitude and obvious ill tendencies, hardly any proposition could be likely more to mislead, and to a more pernicious extent.—It is impossible to state a proposition more positively: and scarcely possible to state any practical proposition so extensively. And I think, hardly any proposition can be imagined more unfounded, or in its natural construction more inconsistent with the peace, order, and security of society.—It is stated, without any exception, but that of *positive compact*. Now *positive compact* is in those cases only necessary to create an obligation to do or forbear a thing, when *previously* to compact the act *would* have been *lawful*. It requires no compact to make *robbery* and *murder* and *tyranny* unlawful. Were a highwayman to present a pistol to your breast, you would be little satisfied by his informing you, that he had made you no promise or agreement not to take your property by force, or your life! And this would be equally true if two men were to meet in a desert, where neither were subject to any positive human law, and both were ignorant of any divine law. Against such acts the law of nature and reason (which is the law of heaven written in our hearts) interposes, with the aid of no other compact than that universally implied compact, that one being shall not injure another; shall not do as it would feel it unjust were another to do against itself. We are bound universally to do good: and, therefore, much more to forbear evil to one another. And, can it, without the most perfect absurdity, be said, that there universally exists a right to do that, which to resist, you yourself represent as an universal right and duty? And as the aggregate of national injury which one country can do to another, is, as it were, infinitely greater than that which one individual can, the duty of abstaining from national injury is heightened in proportion.—Add to this, that conquests are very dissimilar to disquisitions made by individuals in a settled society. So that your suggestions, that it is as lawful for nations to *conquer*, as it is for individuals to *acquire* property and renown, has no principle of analogy to support it. The individual is *not* permitted to gain property by *force*; and, if in private instances of acquisition he should seek to add renown to property by force, he would find the extreme of punishment and of infamy.—Think a moment with yourself what the state of society would be if conquest, in all nations, at all times, and in all cases, (therefore to the extent of one overpowering nation making a conquest of the whole earth, and those of the conquered nations reconquering upon it, and upon each other, whence, and how, and to what extent they could,) were an universally acknowledged right, consequently held as lawful as it is to *eat* or *breathe*; unhappily, the practice of nearly all nations, when they have had the opportunity and the power, has very greatly resembled this: but all nations have condemned it when practised by any but themselves. We have not, and we never can, come to the length, while society exists, and man is man, of admitting an unlimited right of conquest as an universal and indisputable right.—If it be said that your proposition means that *wars* are *not* universally *just*, but that *when* they are commenced, conquest to *any* extent, *will* be just under them, this will not be true. The conquest will be no otherwise just than the war which gave occasion to it was: on that side on which the war is *unjust* every conquest is an aggravation of the injustice. And even on that on which the war is most clearly just in its commencement, the *right* of conquest is *not* an unlimited right.——As to the exception, which by you is stated as the sole one, *positive compact*, it is manifest war and conquest cannot be previously *forbidden* by compact. For though, when war ceases, compact may regulate its consequences, and arrange means of security to retard its renewal, this is all it can do. Compact and force being reciprocally *contraries*: so that when force begins, compact ceases; and conversely.—On the principles of the law of nature, within which, as their common basis, the law of nations is necessarily included, war then only is just when it is founded in necessary self-defence. It is unjust when acquisition or glory are its motives. It is unjust, even when necessary in its commencement, if continued, or advantage made of it, beyond the limits of just indemnity and security. The acquisitions of nations are like those of individuals. Fraud and rapine are alike unwarrantable in either. Free compact, or peaceful and uninjurious *improvement* by skill and labour, are the proper and only

authorised sources of acquirement in its full extent. *Just acquirement by war* extends no farther than *compensation for such injuries suffered by the war* as are in their nature compensable, *and security against future.* This is fully and distinctly laid down by VATTEL: * whom the great Lord MANSFELD was accustomed to distinguish as the *best* writer on the *Law of Nations.*—— The effect of *treaties,* as to *war,* is merely this—*to quiet possession*; for the sake of the *general peace* of nations. Not to render *conquests* unlawful; for these are always contrary to the law of nations, if they do not spring from just necessity; or if they exceed the just and reasonable limits already stated. But as these limits cannot be strictly ascertained, and as it is for the general interest of nations, that when a war is terminated, and conditions of peace settled by treaty, those conditions should be observed. Treaties are made, not as *positive* compacts to bind a nation not to conquer (for treaties were *cobweb bonds,* indeed, to confine the *tiger* war) but to fix what conquest shall be returned, exchanged, or absolutely surrendered, even suppose a *case of treaty,*—that one nation shall not make war on a third. It does not affect the right of war between that nation so restrained and the third: for neither, independently of treaty, would have been justified in being the aggressor against the other: but it merely furnishes means and facilities, and, therefore, rights of interference in favour of the third; which, without the treaty, the nation so disposed to interfere, would not have possessed in the same manner. This I might have called a *casus foederis:* and even this will be far from saving your proposition, though it bears the nearest seeming application to it.—But, I have not troubled you with technical terms of the law of nations. You see, Sir, that I have not incumbered this letter with a term of the gallipot (as you call it) though of the most pure and elegant Latinity, the *uti possidetis.* At the same time, I am no enemy to *fixt* terms in negociations, whether in *Latin,* or in any language. And, I think, a language common to all learned bodies precisely the fittest from which to take such terms: and to employ them in preference to terms which one party may understand better than another. And the rather, as in a living language the import of words is always fluctuating. In the use of a *dead* language (perhaps you will be jocular on the term) I think there is no pedantry, (if used on proper occasions), but much propriety. And if pedantry be the undue value of that knowledge which we possess, and the employing of it in ridicule and unjust depreciation of that which we do not possess, (and no man can possess all desireable knowledge) these may be pedantry, and a very mischievous friend of it, in depreciating the dead languages. A proof of the propriety of the use of such terms, as those supply, arises most powerfully from the late negociation itself. All the disputes concerning what the real basis of it, in its commencement, was arising from the want of a fixed and definite term equally understood on both sides, and mutually adopted.—That the governments on both sides were sincere for peace, I take this opportunity of declaring myself fully persuaded. I think the terms progressively offered by France, and the circumstances in which they were offered, place this out of all doubt on her side. And, I think the wise, ingenious, pacific language, character and conduct of Mr. Fox, places it equally out of doubt on ours. And to me Lord Yarmouth seems not merely justified, but to have acted with a judgment, a promptitude, and a resolution, worthy of great respect in a sudden, delicate, and most arduous crisis. I speak this as a perfect stranger to him: but not to the negociation; which I have most attentively read. Had both sides said explicitly in the outset, we agree to take the *uti possidetis* as the basis, or we do not agree, or had settled any other basis in diplomatic language equally definite, it could at least not have been matter of any difficulty to ascertain which side to impute a departure from the basis. Lord Lauderdale I sincerely respect: but, this I must say, that I think there *was* an *opening* upon which there was reasonable hope of terminating the war by a peace honourable and satisfactory to us and to France; and which ought, under all the circumstances, to have been so to Russia; and, therefore, likely to have been *permanent.* The great mind of Mr. Fox, alike imbrued with classic wisdom, and the best information of our own times, saw and took his ground accordingly, that no peace could be expected to be permanent, which should be dishonourable or injurious to any of the contracting parties. But we were not to expect to carry every thing which our ally might wish, or might be supposed by us to make a point of carrying at our risque and expense. And I deeply deplore if we have so entangled ourselves (after such and so recent and multiplied experience of foreign alliances) that we could

* Law of Nations on the Principles of the Law of Nature. Anno. 1760. G. II. Ch. xiii. § 1, 2.

not do what was best for ourselves and the world, in the present unexampled situation of Europe, on account of our engagement to this ally.—This I thought previously to Mr. Whitbread's clear, powerful, and, as I apprehend, decisively argumentative speech. And, I am happy, that, as to the latter part at least you think so too. That no expression should have been introduced into the address, which by unnecessary censure might increase the impediments to a renewal of the negociation, and oppose a bar to that peace which it is the common interest and duty of all to suffer no prejudice, partiality, or passion to obstruct.——I am, Sir, &c.—CAPEL LOFFT.—*Froston, near Bury, Suffolk.*

POOR LAWS.

SIR,—The liberal system which you have adopted, of making your Register a medium of free discussion for subjects of national utility, I hope will secure me the speedy insertion of a few remarks upon a letter, which your correspondent C. S. has done me the honour to address to me, in your paper of the 11th inst.—In requesting this favour, however, it is by no means my intention to trouble you with an essay of sufficient length, to dignify it with the appellation of an answer to C. S.; my only object in writing being to exculpate myself from a charge that he has obliquely thrown out against me, and to divest my plan of a character, that must necessarily be imputed to it, if his strictures were to remain unnoticed.——I do not complain that your correspondent has misquoted me, or that he has not fairly reasoned the passage that he has quoted, but I cannot help thinking, that if he had read the context attentively, he would have seen that his objections were both unnecessary and ill-timed.—When the letter alluded to represents me to have asserted "*dogmatically*," "that it would evidently be for the "interest of the Institution" (called TRANQUILLITY, which I have proposed to the public) "to keep up the price of labour, by "the same means that the merchant uses "in favour of his goods, and the farmer of "his stock—withhold it from market"—it can hardly be supposed that the writer had any design of representing me, as *desirous of exciting a mutiny among the labouring classes, against the other classes of the community*; and yet your readers must possess a much greater portion of sagacity than any one of them whom I am acquainted with does possess, if, knowing no more of my object than they could gather from this abstract position, they can possibly have formed any other opinion. Now, Sir, the truth is, that I do not look with a grudging eye, to either merchants, farmers, or ministers of state, though I look with compassion upon the houseless and shivering wretch, whom a wise and just policy would regard as an object equally worthy of its solicitude. Had C. S. evinced the same acuteness, in examining the real tendency of my plan, as he has in combating the imaginary theory that he has attributed to me, he would have learned, that there is an amazing difference between increasing the comforts of one part of the community, and diminishing those of another; and that it is equally as mischievous to force labour upon the market unnecessarily, as it is to withhold it when it is required.—If I understand the object of this letter right, it is designed to prove, that there is not a sufficient number of useful labourers employed, to produce all the comforts and happiness that the soil and population of the country is capable of producing; and this is so clearly my own opinion, that I could not attempt to controvert the general argument of C. S. without contradicting myself. "No "plan," says your correspondent, "can "succeed in reducing the poor's rate, but "such as will convert multitudes of the "idlers, who compose our *unproductive*, "into *useful*, labourers, and furnish them "with land to work upon." And I am so clearly convinced of this truth, that the passage from which the quotation cited by him was taken, was written expressly to prove that a systematic arrangement ought to be adopted, for the purpose of procuring employments for *all persons* willing to maintain themselves by their industry. The particular apprehensions of C. S. appear to be excited by a fear, that too great a number of persons is employed in the management of the circulating medium, or, as he calls it, the coinage division of labour; but surely he will not attempt to persuade the public, that the national prosperity would be in the smallest degree promoted, by throwing these people out of their present occupations, for the mere purpose of reducing them to a state of dependence upon the charity of their friends. Yet such must be the tendency of reducing the number of persons employed in any of the occupations commonly called useless, until that most important of all facts to the political economist be ascertained—What quantity of labour is sufficient, in a given population, to supply necessaries in abundance for the whole? and until, in consequence of the information so obtained, some means be adopted to furnish employment for the *whole of the labour* not necessary to such supply.—I have read the letter

of your correspondent with great attention, but I have found it utterly impossible to convince myself that the public would be in the smallest degree benefited by the controversy, or even by the decision of the question, Whether, in certain cases, it might not be good policy to prevent too much labour from being forced upon the market; for there are so many previous inquiries that must necessarily be answered, before this question can possibly arise, that we should be going too far into the trackless expanse of conjecture, to render either of our theories useful.—If, however, I beg your correspondent to excuse me for *not* weighing his various *suppositions* with that nicety which their ingenuity entitles them to, I shall not think any such apology necessary for taking advantage of some *concessions* that he has made, and which being more of a practical nature, will be better understood. " I do admit," he says (column 559), " that the " balance of power between the labourer " and the employer, which is aimed at in " your plan, must be established;" and he adds (column 568), " till the laws of la- " bour secure to the labourer that portion " of food, raiment, &c. which is necessary " to prolong his life and health, the number " of poor must continue to increase." Now, Sir, this doctrine coming from a gentleman who avows himself to be a revolutionist, affords me much satisfaction, as it induces me to hope, that a numerous fraternity, which has hitherto been content to pursue the multiform phantoms of its own fancy, may in time be prevailed upon to unite with those vulgar beings, who wish to see some *real* reforms take place.—The doctrine of *this* revolutionist is strictly true; and if he is in the habit of attending any of the public assemblies or halls, where his lofty brethren are accustomed to harangue the people, it may not be asking too great a favour, to request him to exert a little of the ingenuity displayed in his letter, to prevail upon them, if possible, to reduce some of their threadbare theories to practice. They have been such edifying instructors, that the people have a vast desire to see what sort of workmen they would make. C. S. does not appear deficient of zeal in the cause, and he certainly does not want argument when he is once fairly set a going; if, then, he values his revolutionary relationship, on account of any opportunity it affords him of giving effect to his theories, I would recommend him to read his copy of the " Outline of a " Plan for reducing the Poor's Rate," more attentively, and not direct the attention of his friends to any detached passage, but endeavour to interest them in the general subject.—I do not consider this asking any favour of C. S. for he has evidently misunderstood the passage that he has quoted; and if in the first instance it was worth reading, it is now worth re-considering in connexion with the context.—Your readers, Sir, will easily see, that I should be grossly misappropriating time by entering upon this discussion, if you will permit me to state the leading objects of my plan, as introductory to the passage alluded to.—I have endeavoured to prove to the public, that the poor's rate is an unjust and unnecessary impost, which operates at once as a scourge to the industrious and careful, and a bribe to the idle and profligate; that, instead of being a credit to the country, it is a disgrace and a nuisance, and ought to be abolished. But though your correspondent will only allow me to have the same talent as a parrot, that of being able to chatter, without considering what I say, I happened accidentally, when I published this opinion, to be aware with him, that reforms might be so injudiciously applied, " as to make bad worse;" and therefore I suggested a mean of effecting that abolition in a way so gradual and slow, that its removal should be attended with no inconvenience.—It is a circumstance particularly favourable to the abolition, that no description of persons is strongly attached to the poor's rate; and it is still more so, that among the poor great numbers of them are willing to provide for themselves another way; so that it is even possible, that both the government and the people may, upon this occasion, be of one mind.—The measure that I propose, and which I am endeavouring to get adopted, is, to afford persons, with the very smallest incomes, an opportunity of depositing whatever they can spare, at all convenient times, and whether it be little or much, in an economical bank, to be under the guardianship of the most respectable persons that can be prevailed upon to become its trustees; and, in order to encourage persons to provide for age in this way, during the seasons of youth and vigour, I think *the Legislature ought to exempt persons, so providing for themselves, from parish assessments on account of the poor.* It is not enough to say, that the Legislature would act equitably by granting this indulgence, a very hasty consideration of the subject is

sufficient to satisfy any honest mind, that *the Legislature would be unjust, if it were to refuse it*; for the natural tendency of the poor's rate, as it operates at present, is to occasion more poverty than it relieves: and the people would be infinitely better off, if Parliament would be obliging enough to let them take care of themselves. This will be quite evident, if we consider the situation of forty poor housekeepers who contribute to a club for old age, under the delusive promises of Mr. Rose's Bill "for the relief," as it professes, "of Friendly Societies." Relying upon the credit and honour of Parliament, that they shall be both "encouraged "and relieved," if they raise a fund for their mutual relief in old age, according to the provisions of the bill, the poor men contrive (by abridging themselves and families of fifty shillings worth of comforts—often of necessaries) to contribute fifty shillings each to the said fund. This fifty shillings is, in many instances, all that they can possibly spare, without exhausting that health and strength, upon which alone they can rely for the means of continuing their occupations; for if they could spare ten shillings more, they would make ten shillings worth more provision for age; and no system, that deserves to be called either wise or just, would require a people to exert themselves beyond their powers. But mark how the present poor laws act.—As soon as the poor man has paid his fifty shillings to his club, the collector of the poor's rate attacks him for thirty shillings, and the man and his wife, who have been depriving themselves of comforts in order to provide for their own distresses, are now obliged to deprive their children of necessaries, in order to provide for the profligacy of others. The effects of these grinding exactions are, that, after a few years, persons of this description are incapable of continuing the double expense; and as it does not always happen that the overseers are persons of either feeling or prudence enough to see what course would be the most proper to be taken upon such occasions, they insist upon having the poor's rate at all risks, which leaves the poor people no choice, but to adjourn the contributions to their clubs, where the iniquitous principle of forfeiture, contrived by those make-shift institutions, for the purpose of swindling and oppressing the *poorest* of their members, obliges them at last to abandon the whole of what they have saved, through an inability to make their payments punctually. Repeated instances have occurred, where the chagrin and mortification consequent upon these unsuccessful efforts, have converted the most diligent and sober amongst the people into idlers the most negligent and debauched, who, without having defined their own feelings, seemed to be governed by a determination, that if the parish would not suffer them to make provision for themselves, they would not deprive themselves of a single glass of spirits, or any sensual gratification, for the sake of providing for others. Thus the overseers are *at last* obliged to go without their rates; and after they have, by selling their furniture and various other kinds of persecution, driven the people from a house to a garret, and from a garret to the parish funds, they libel the hard-worked and ill-fed poor of England, as a spendthrift and incorrigible race, for whom the half-starved charity of a parish workhouse is too good.—I understand it is intended to introduce a Bill into Parliament, in the course of the next session, to oblige people employing workmen and servants to stop three farthings or a penny per week out of their wages, for the purpose of making a future provision of some sort for them.—Should such a design really be entertained, I would seriously advise the Members of both Houses to read their Bibles beforehand, as it may afford them much instruction to learn from high authority, that persons may *weary themselves for very vanity*. Parliament certainly ought to pause before it adopts any more *compulsory* measures, after being aware, that notwithstanding all the discouragements of the present system, there are 704,000 persons in the kingdom associated *voluntarily* to provide for their future wants, by the best means that have *yet* been proposed to them. If this disposition receive all the encouragement it asks, it will effect every thing that the nature of things will admit towards improving the condition of the people, and it can hardly fail of success, unless Parliament should attempt *to govern too much*.—This remark characterizes the true nature of the dispute between your correspondent and me. He is of opinion that Government ought to interfere with every thing; and that instead of allowing the workman to get all the wages that he may think his services entitled to, "the right of "every man to do as he pleases with his "own property" should be taken from all classes without distinction, even so far as to dictate to every person what particular profession he should follow; whereas, I am endeavouring to prove, not only that labour and property ought to be left to find their own value, but that the possessors of both ought to be subject to even less controul in the disposal of them than they now are. I

do not deny that we have both the same ends in view; I admit that it is only about the means that we differ. He wishes to accomplish his end by means of a "Society for the *Suppression of Vice*;" I wish to accomplish the same end by means of a society for the *reward of virtue*.—With a view to accomplish my purpose, I tell every poor person (and I am always ready to prove it to every person that will take the trouble to examine my calculation) that a payment of five pounds at the age of 21, and two shillings paid weekly till the age of 56, will provide him an annuity of fifty pounds from thence, till the end of life, with an annuity of thirty-three pounds to his widow, if he should leave one at his death, after that period. Now it will doubtless surprize those libellers, who talk of the labouring people as being too far gone to be mended, and too worthless to deserve help, to be told, that there are some thousands of persons, with very trifling dependences, who are anxiously waiting to subscribe to such a fund, as soon as some nobleman or person of consideration can be found, who will think it worth his while to give his countenance to the measure, for the *mere simple* and *unaffected* honour of presiding over the interests of the people, and doing good without noise and tumult. Those who call themselves *men of the people, friends of the people*, and the like, would do well to ask their consciences, whether they ought not to assist the people in securing their comfort and independence in this way, in preference to relying upon the all-corrupting aid of parish charity. According to Mr. Rose, the keep of a poor person in a parish workhouse costs twelve pounds and three farthings per annum; and according to my calculation, a subscription of sixpence per week, from the age of twenty till fifty-six, would secure an annuity of a larger amount; so that if the people would but refrain from three glasses of spirits in a week, and deposit the value in this fund, they might make a better provision for themselves than they would find in the workhouse, without being beholden to charity.—Sir, I think the people could not adopt this course long, without greatly improving their condition; and I think that those apostles of public virtue and reform, who talk to the people about liberty and independence, can claim very little merit for the value of their professions, if they do not assist in the establishment of this institution, and encourage the people to embrace the advantages it affords them.—This proposal takes it for granted that the people have some surplus, after the whole of their absolute wants are supplied; but as I am opposed by the incontrovertible truth, that great numbers of the people are reduced to the most helpless state of misery and wretchedness, for want of being able to find employments, I propose to associate with my institution a general register office, under the patronage of the nobility, gentry, merchants, tradesmen, and friends of improvement of every description, to which persons seeking employments of every species shall be at liberty to apply, and where, by the aid of system and intelligence of arrangement, every fact may be ascertained connected with the difficult problem—How can the whole people be employed, with the greatest advantage to the state?—To arrive at any conclusion upon this point, it is necessary to take some immediate steps to facilitate the means of communication between persons requiring services and those who are willing to engage in employments; for at present we have no means of determining, whether any one profession be deficient of, or overstocked with hands; whether there really is employment enough to occupy the whole people; or whether beggary and idleness be the consequence of necessity or neglect. This is, in my opinion, the A. B. C. of the political economist; and until we have learned this lesson, all further discussion upon the subject of labour will rather deserve the character of an idle amusement, than an useful inquiry.—To conclude these observations, I wish it to be understood, that I by no means intend to shrink from the discussion, whenever the state of things shall render it necessary; but adhering to what I have written in the passage of my "Outline, from which C. S. has taken his quotation, I shall limit my endeavours for the present to the establishment of the institution, as being more immediately called for by the wants of the people. I must therefore repeat in this place, that, "as there is much reason to "believe that the distresses of the people "do not arise so much out of the scarcity "of employments, as out of the defects in "the means of procuring them, it would "be a waste of time to descant upon the "means of remedying an evil that may not "exist."—That I may not appear unthankful for the compliment that C. S. is pleased to pay me, "as a fellow labourer in the same vineyard," I would beg leave to solicit his co-operation in the establishment of an institution, which he acknowledges is calculated "to render the people independent of parochial charity;" and I flatter myself that he will see the propriety of first pro-

curing employment for all the idlers who are *now* suffering the distresses of wants, of collecting all the waste labour that is scattered abroad in the forms of beggary and vagabondage, and of increasing the amount of agricultural labour, if it should appear necessary, by the hands that are already unemployed, before he attempts to drive any description of persons from the professions in which they are now occupied. Should he, on the contrary, be of opinion, that we ought not to attempt any improvement within our reach, unless we can assure ourselves that we shall arrive at absolute perfection, I shall regret that a person of his talents is left among the number of those frothy reformers, whose volatile theories are only floated out in their declamatory harangues, to excite the giddy admiration of a mob; but judging from the nature of the case, I shall, as it regards myself, reject as much as possible all discussions *purely* speculative, and endeavour, if I can, to prevail upon my countrymen to embrace reform in a "tangible shape."——I am, Sir, your's, JOHN BONE.—*Office of Tranquillity, Albion-Street, Blackfriars, 17th Oct.* 1806.

POOR LAWS.

SIR,——Having made the condition of the above class of my fellow creatures the only political subject of my studies; and having, by every possible means within my reach, endeavoured to fix public attention on the cause of their wretchedness, I am particularly anxious to express my opinion on the bill lately brought into parliament by Mr. Whitbread: and your former indulgencies, with your singular liberality in giving insertion to the well-intended productions of individuals, however humble their merit, induce me to hope that you will permit the expression of that opinion to reach the public in the ranks of the numerous and invaluable articles which appear in the Political Register.——Mr. Whitbread's hope of success seems to rest itself upon the advantages of Education to the Poor, and upon that of a Funding System which they can call their own. He is informed, that the poor of Scotland can read and write, and that the workhouses in that learned land are not so numerous, in proportion to its population, as they are in the unlettered districts of England and Wales; and hence he appears to infer, that the enviable disproportion arises from the superior education of my poor learned brethren of ancient Caledonia: for, I see no harm in hinting, that I am a Scotchman by birth, parentage, and education; and one, too, I would willingly flatter myself, in whom there is no guile; particularly on the subject of my inquiry. The advantages of education to all classes of people are too self-evident to admit of a doubt in any other mind than that of those who would perpetuate ignorance, that they may plunder with impunity; but, like every other acquisition, its advantages are governed by circumstances, and therefore it can only be a remedy in the particular case in which the want of it is the cause of the evil complained of." Consequently, to apply it in any other would be irrational, and even mischievous, so far as it was the means of neglecting the application of the remedy that belongs to the case. And I flatter myself, I shall be able to satisfy my readers, that the subject of my title cannot be viewed in a more favourable, if in so favourable a light. Mr. Whitbread has adduced no argument that I have seen, to shew that the miseries of the poor of England arise from their ignorance of letters; he has only assumed, in the same unsupported-by-argument manner, that the poor of Scotland are better off, and that their learning is the cause of it; and, upon this baseless fabric of a vision he attempts to rear a system which is to ameliorate the condition of millions of the most useful members of society! O! blind leader of the blind! Education, however, is of use to the Scotch poor; it enables them to understand what is passing in other countries, and they emigrate in the pursuit of it, as naturally as the spark flies upwards. Is this the effect which our reforming schemer would produce by instructing the poor of England? Would he, too, as well as Mr. Malthus, the divine, thin or check population? Well! be it so; but let him favour us with the proof of his sense of moral and political justice and prudence, if he would. But is he correct in his conclusion from the advantages of education? Are the poor of Scotland better off, in point of comforts, than those of England? To this question I can speak from my own past knowledge, as well as from present authorities who cannot be deceived, who have no interest in mis-stating the case, and whom, therefore, I cannot suspect of the intention to exaggerate. On these grounds I can verify it upon oath, that I have known packs of hounds in England that are fed upon better food, and supplied with a better allowance of it, than generally falls to the lot of the poor; and that are lodged in a far better manner than that in which the poor are kenneled, particularly in the northern and western districts of my native country. Animal food of any kind is, it may be said, totally out of their reach; of barley meal they sel-

dom have sufficiency to satisfy their hunger; of clothes, of the coarsest of their own manufactory, they generally have not enough to cover their nakedness; and as to habitations, hog-sties in England offer an equal, if not a better protection against the inclemency of the weather, and the intrusions of noxious animals. Seldom a shower of rain falls which does not penetrate the sooty roofs of their turf-thatched huts; and which after traversing and tarnishing their care-carved faces, and descending from the chequered rags in which they lie, ascends again to their skins through the scanty morsel of straw that forms the bed on the earthen floor of the apartment in which they sleep.—Those are facts which will not be denied, by those of my learned country who have no motive of interest for denying them, and no reason to be ashamed as the authors of them, because they know them to be facts, and general facts too, in the particular districts of Scotland to which I allude. With the state of the poor in the eastern and southern districts, I am not so well acquainted, but I should think that the gradation of climate cannot operate much in their favour. Seeing, then, that the education of the Scotch poor is of no service to them farther than it stimulates them to seek for those comforts in foreign climes, which their own native country unnaturally denies them, it remains with Mr. Whitbread to shew, how it would promote the welfare and security of the British empire, as it rests exclusively on the exertions of a numerous and a happy poor, were it taught to the poor of England. Can Mr. Whitbread be ignorant of the inefficiency and inapplicability of education as a remedy to the political evils and state craft, which manufactures and multiplies the poor? If he be not, will he condescend to shew us, the witnesses of his consistency at the last Westminster election, how the reading of books, or a knowledge of the theories, maxims, and precepts they contain, can enable men of small capitals to secure trade sufficient to support their families, from the unfeeling grasp, of the large capitalists. How such knowledge is to enable an agricultural labourer, who has saved a few pounds, to obtain an acre of land to help to support his family from the avarice of its owner when the agricultural monopoliser, and speculator of "credit and capital" offers double the rent for it, which the other can give. How such knowledge is to enable the limited annuitants and small capitalists to secure their real incomes against the swindling principles of paper circulation, and the depreciation of money. How such knowledge is to enable any class of the community to defend themselves against the unrelenting and unfeeling demands of the tax-gatherer, but by a sheer robbery of the rest, either by the means of a monopoly of, or that of an extortionate price on, the articles in which they deal? And how, when man is thus made and suffered to live upon man, with more than cannibal ferocity, is education to enable the friendless labourer to stand out for the wages which is necessary to secure his independence of parochial charity? These, I am confident, and not ignorance of letters, are the first links in the great chain of social causes which render the condition of the poor wretched, and the morals of the rich vicious examples for them to follow. But, as to the immediate cause, as resulting from the first, it appears to me to be, that the number of those who are annually employed in useful labour, bears too small a proportion to that of those who are not so employed; or, in Mr. Whitbread's own terms, that the number of men who live upon men, bears too great a proportion to that of the men on whom they live. By a calculation which I have made, and for which, with the data thereof, I refer to the Political Register of the 23d of August, 1806, p. 295, it appears that the number of men-eaters bears the proportion of about 4-fifths, to that of the men who are annually eaten in England and Wales: that is, that the maintenance, in luxuries and necessaries, of the whole population of those parts of the united kingdoms, is made to fall upon about a fifth part of its number, by means of the numberless stratagems by which the men-eaters, of social order and religion, slip their heads out of the halters of productive industry, and live in idleness upon the industry of others. I do not, however, deny the necessity and policy of "man living upon man," but when four members live upon one man, as from the calculation to which I allude they appear to do, I am inclined to dispute both the policy and necessity of the case. As to the necessity of the case, I shall totally deny it, until some arguments are made use of to convince me of the contrary, and that I apprehend will never be made. And, as to the policy of it, I dispute it upon two grounds: first; because I cannot conceive how the exertions of one man, can properly supply the wants of five, including himself; and if I could, I would insist upon the injustice of the case, on the clear ground of unjustifiable oppression, or, excess of labour; and, second, because I see by ocular demonstration, that the whole of the labouring poor, and multitudes of those who live upon their labour,

are equally destitute of sufficiency of the common necessaries of life, to preserve their healths and prolong their lives; and that, in old age and infirmity, they have no alternative but to starve with hunger and cold, or linger out their miserable existence in that parochial grave of morals and industry, called the workhouse, which those who omissively or commissively skinned them, have prepared for their bones. I am, therefore, decidedly of opinion, that the poor cannot settle with the rich and the idle, on the principle of the *uti possidetis*, if that be a more intelligible term than *actual possession*; that any project which is sincerely set on foot for the amelioration of their condition, must contain in itself the sure and certain means of diminishing the number of idlers, and increasing that of the industrious; and of dividing the subjects on which their wants direct them to labour, on more equitable principles than those that are at present in practice. Till, then, this intention appears clear from their schemes, I shall be compelled, with sorrow, to consider all projectors, whatever may be their rank or station in life, as men who either know not their subject, or, have sinister motives in the pursuit of it. I cannot dismiss this subject, without making a few remarks upon Mr. Whitbread's "Poor's fund, and Assurance office." Abstractedly considered, the utility of these institutions cannot be called in question, for every view that can be taken of the case, operates in their favour; but, can they be made practicable under all the circumstances of the case? Can they be made to reach or remove any one of the causes of pauperism which I have pointed out, or produce the effect of the general remedy which I have just suggested, or lend any aid to produce it? I do not expect that any one will attempt to answer these questions or any of them in the affirmative. But, admitting the ability of the labourers to fund a part of their earnings, who, let me ask Mr. Whitbread, is to pay the annuity it yields, when they are past labour? By which I mean, who is to supply them with food and raiment, &c. when they have lost the ability of supplying themselves? Will idlers strip and work to do it? Will gentlemen's servants in livery, and out of livery do it? Will soldiers and sailors, placemen and pensioners do it? If these, or neither of them will, the labourers must; and if they must, I am at a loss to discover, what they would gain by supplying the aged and infirm poor as annuitants that they now lose by supplying them in the workhouse. In either case, they have the scanty reward of their labour and no more; and whether they are paid it by the keeper of the workhouse or the tenants of it left at liberty, can make no difference in their case; I should therefore be glad to know, what is the utility of this minor funding scheme? But, as it has a tendency to illustrate the nature and utility of funding systems in general, I must observe, that it appears to me, that this alternate reformer of the Parliament and the People, and yet no reformer at all, does not sufficiently distinguish between real and nominal funds to know what he is about. Could he invent a fund that would preserve the real savings of labour, that is not money, but the food and raiment, &c. which labour alone creates, and which the labourer may be able to lay by; then, indeed, his funding scheme would answer his expectation. But, as this is naturally impossible, as the necessaries required within the year, must generally be created within the year by labour and not by money, nominal funds are only bubbles, which make no real provision for adversity, and which must ultimately first and ruin those who depend upon them, without doing any good to those who do not; unless the ruined dependants be added to the fund of productive labour. From all the views, then, which I am able to take of his plan, I am honestly and unprejudicedly compelled to condemn Mr. Whitbread's scheme as a crude and an undigested notion, which betrays great want of knowledge, and which has no other tendency, than to prevent the application of the remedy which belongs to the evil, till it is too late to apply it.—Dated actually in the cellar, *March 10th*, 1807. C. S.——P. S. Having pointed out the necessity, as I conceive, of increasing our number of productive labourers, and of furnishing them with the necessary subjects to labour upon, as the first step towards the amelioration of the condition of the poor, it follows, as a collateral duty, that I should also point out the means of perpetuating to the labourer, and to the state as resting upon the basis of labour; the increase of comforts which the adoption of my plan seems to promise—but, as this article is already too long, I must defer this duty for the present.

NATIONAL DEFENCE.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM WINDHAM.

LETTER II.

SIR,——As ever since the writing of my letter to you, dated the 30th of November, I have been absent from my own study, and shall for some time longer continue on a cir-

cle of visits and engagements, without an opportunity of referring, except accidentally, to necessary books, I am under great disadvantages in discussing the very important question to our liberties, respecting *a proper military system for our country*. But as, Sir, your military opinions and measures appear to me to be utterly incompatible with national freedom, and leading directly to the entire subversion of the English constitution, I cannot allow myself to keep silence, and shall rather attempt an imperfect opposition than none at all. For succeeding in your system, you have not only the advantage of being a minister in whom apparently is placed an implicit confidence by his colleagues, you have not only the reputation of your own abilities, but you have, of course, in favour of your sentiments, a decided majority in an assembly wherein I never could discover, since the first modern undermining of the military branch of the constitution by Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Dundas*, any thing in the smallest degree approaching to a constitutional view of the subject: and, besides all this, you have, what never fails to accompany deep corruptions of a government, a ready aid and support from the voices and the pens of that very numerous class, who always take care to be of the same opinion with men in power. But, Sir, with all these advantages on your side, your case is really so weak, that it will require no great knowledge or skill to expose your system to the disapprobation of persons of sound judgment, who shall prefer truth and freedom to palpable error and political slavery.—I trust, Sir, that in thus opposing your views, and objecting to your measures, I shall not for a moment be suspected of favouring the designs of that remnant of the *Pitt* and *Dundas* faction by whom the present ministry is assailed; for it is only when you shall resemble them, that I shall blame you.——My objection to you in respect of your political *principles*, an objection, Sir, which possibly it may not be in your power to remove, is this, that you do not, as I conceive, admit as the ground-work of just government, the existence of human rights, and are persuaded that all government ought to depend upon the mere judgment and opinion of learned and sagacious men; that CONSTITUTIONS are so far convenient contrivances, that they amuse a people, and serve to keep them in subjection; but may be dispensed with by the rulers themselves, when they conceive such dispensing to be expedient; wherefore such CONSTITUTIONS as are *unwritten* are the best; as they give full scope to perpetual disputation, which is highly favourable to the exercise, to use the words of Mr. *Burke*, of the "*civil discretion*" of profound statesmen and men of genius. If, Sir, in these opinions I wrong you, it is unintentionally, and I shall be extremely happy to acknowledge my mistake the moment I perceive my error. I have however, judged it best for the public interest, plainly to speak my thoughts. If indeed, your mind and understanding be so constituted as I have judged, then in vain indeed must it be to hold up to you the English constitution, as a rule to you of right conduct; for in the very measures which according to the general apprehension should be flagrant and gross violations of it, you might, agreeably to your own ideas of political morality, be conscientiously acting upon principle as an honest man. If the nation conceive they hold their constitution, not on the tenure of court expediency, or of the "civil discretion" of men of genius, but on the solid foundation of human rights, then it is for them to consider, whether a man who holds the opposite sentiment, and acts upon the contrary principle, is a fit person to administer any part of their government. In my view, it would be as inconsistent for a nation, claiming liberty as a RIGHT, to be governed by a minister in whose creed human rights were not acknowledged, as for a christian community to have for its officiating minister a mahomedan or a pagan. Such mahomedan or such pagan might be a man of genius, of experience and integrity; but he could not be a proper minister for a christian community. That the notions of civil discretion betrayed a late learned and sagacious orator into the wildest inconsistencies in argument and conduct, might be easily proved *; and whenever Mr. *Windham* shall not condescend to take the ENGLISH CONSTITUTION and the principles of CIVIL GOVERNMENT for his guides, he must not hope to escape a like censure. Mr. *Cobbett*, indeed, Sir, tells us you are a sincere friend to the true liberties of your country; but *liberty*, among the asserters to its full extent of the doctrine of "civil discretion" is a word as much without a meaning, as that of *religion* among atheists. Now, as I am accustomed to judge of a tree only by its fruit, I must doubt the fact of your being a friend to the *liberties* of your country; and must continue to doubt until I shall see the manifestation of that fact, in your acknowledgement of those principles, civil and military, of the English constitution, on which our political liberty depends; but to confess the truth, I cannot but suspect that, equally

with your departed friend, you "hate the very sound" of all such abstract principles, which, according to my recollection, he was pleased to misrepresent, by miscalling them "metaphysical distinctions," and thereby artfully avoided giving those pledges for constitutional conduct which must have resulted from the admission of those principles of the constitution. As, however, the law would be a juggle, and the constitution a cheat, unless they rested on *principles*, to their *principles* will ever command my respect and attachment. Without guarding them at present against petty cavil, it may be concisely affirmed, that *political liberty is only enjoyed by those who make their own laws, and who moreover are at all times systematically armed and trained to war in their defence.* According to this concise definition, before we can allow you to be a friend to the real liberties of your country, we must know you to be an advocate for a substantial reform in the representation of the people in parliament, and for SUCH an arms-bearing of the English nation as necessarily results from those *principles* of our common law which relate to the *posse comitatus* or original militia, and which have been so lucidly unfolded by Sir *William Jones*. These, Sir, are the essentials, the fundamentals, civil and military of our constitution. With these in our possession and enjoyment, all else must be safe; without these, nothing is or can be secure. Observe, Sir, that, although I am not so licentious as to tamper with the principles of political liberty which it has pleased the Deity to make part of the law of nature, I am not contending for these principles being adopted and acted upon to the utmost extent of ideal possibility. I have had sufficient experience of the clamour of the selfish and the silly not unnecessarily to set them in full cry. Give us but, with honesty and sincerity, with a genuine love of liberty, and with an admiration of what is great and good in the science of government, the solid substance of these securities for our liberties, and I shall be content.——With respect, Sir, to your present ideas on the *civil* branch of our constitution, I shall not now make any inquiries, but confine myself to your military notions. These can only be gathered from your parliamentary speeches and legislative measures. On your error, as I esteem it, in labouring to establish a standing army in the highest degree dangerous to our liberties, I have, Sir, in general terms in my letter above referred to, already passed my judgment. Perhaps, Sir, when you shall have completed a standing army according to your ideas of the necessities of the state, and the right conduct of the war, you then intend to proceed more agreeably to the principles of the constitution than hitherto. Should this however be the case, I shall still think you err. You may furnish the instrument of our destruction; you may then be removed from your office, or you may die, and others may use it to subvert our liberties. But, it is not the ill use that may be made of an immense unbalanced standing army, but *its existence*, that is the *proof* of liberty having been lost, and despotism established. As I cannot approve of the establishment of despotism as a prelude to the security of our liberties, so at all events I must hold you to have begun at the wrong end of your work in reforming our military system. I believe also you are as wrong in policy as in principle; and as I can refer you for the grounds of this opinion to *England's Ægis*, where I think it must be seen that when we shall once again become, by the revival of the military branch of the constitution, a martial nation, with never less than *twelve hundred thousand* of the civil state in arms, the regular army must always overflow with recruits, whether bounties should be given or not, I must needs think such a revival of our martial energies ought to have been your first measure, and the foundation of your whole system. I do not so much mean first in time as in principle, for both parts of the system might have gone on hand in hand together, as you have contrived with respect to the two parts of your own system. —In taking a correct view of *a proper military system for our country*, I am in no fear of censure from any one who is a constitutional statesman as well as a soldier, when I divide the necessary force into *defensive* and *offensive*, or into *domestic* and *foreign*, as the case may be. For *defensive* purposes, we should deserve to be conquered if our civil state in arms could not alone set at defiance all the legions of *France* and her allies. For *offensive* purposes, or for defending the dominions of an ally, the regular army is our proper weapon. For all *domestic* services, such as preserving the peace, putting down insurrection, or quelling rebellion, the civil state in arms is the only proper support of the government and asserter of the authority of the laws: all *foreign* services, such as

* For a specimen see THE STATE OF THE NATION, by J. C. published by Jones. See also an appeal, civ. and mil. on Eng. Const. Index, and a letter to Edm. Burke, Esq. published by Wilkie 1775.

forming garrisons, and protecting our distant possessions, whether in war or in peace, belong of course to the regular army. These principles laid down, we have a rule for determining what shall be the strength of the army. It ought to be such as, in the judgment of *a parliament in which the people should have a fair, full, and substantial representation*, should be sufficient for liberally furnishing the demands of offensive war and all other foreign services, and not one man more. The necessary rotation and reserve would always keep at home a considerable force, which in my judgment should form the garrisons of Portsmouth, Plymouth, &c and from thence disseminate their recruiting parties over the island. As an exception to the general reasoning on a military distribution, I admit that the permanent artillery establishment ought to have a suitable augmentation, for supplying the armed population with gunners *. In no case whatever ought the military state, or standing army, to presume to interfere in keeping the peace, or otherwise to act in support of the civil magistrate; for, with a civil state in arms that might at all demand, all the legions of *France* and her allies, could not possibly need such assistance. Whatever may be forms and appearances, that government whose ultimate resort, for the execution of the law is in a standing army, is *a military government*. A military government is despotism. Were our constitution then fully restored to vigour, the magistrate who should so far betray his trust, as to profane the laws by calling upon a mercenary soldiery to carry them into execution, would be guilty of a crime of no small magnitude, and would merit a punishment of the utmost severity.—If then it be part of the definition of political liberty, that *the people must at all times be systematically armed and trained to war in defence of their laws*, we find that the English constitution, by which such arming and such training is *prescribed*, is in perfect unison with political liberty †. To those who wish to trace to its source the treacherous neglect of this arms-bearing and the first introduction of a standing army, I shall recommend an admirable *discourse on the establishment of a national and constitutional force*, written in 1757 by Mr. *Jenkinson*, now Earl of *Liverpool*; and those who would compare the sterling military energies of the constitution with contemptible counterfeits, may compare *Sir William Jones's Inquiry into the legal Means of suppressing Riots, as well as England's Ægis*, with the successive statutes of Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Dundas*, Mr. *Addington* and Mr. *Yorke*, Lord *Grenville* and the gentleman to whom this letter is addressed; for their systems of yeomanry, of volunteers, and of non-descripts of the civil state, whom they have severally selected for being trained to arms. In direct contempt of the constitution, and in as direct hostility to the national liberty, the military systems of all alike have consisted in building up an immense standing army as a *permanent* force; and in rendering all arming of the people only *temporary*; a mere provisional force, at *the discretion of the crown*. Although, Sir, those statutes of your predecessors were by express words only in force respectively for the then "present war," or "present hostilities," and so forth, while your own Training Act, 46 Geo. 3, c. 90. has no limitation of time for its continuance, yet as apportioning men to be trained, § 4 is not made obligatory upon, but only "lawful for, his Majesty;" the only real difference in the two cases is, that after the last mentioned statute shall at the *discretion* of the crown have ceased to operate, by the same *discretion* it may again be revived at pleasure; and at all times the number of men within the limit of 200,000, to be trained to arms is likewise wholly in the crown's *discretion*. When we reflect that, by an eternal law of nature, arms-bearing must ever be the distinction between freemen and slaves, it ought to surprise us that, when ENGLISH ministers have seen the necessity of a national arming, for preserving our existence as a people amidst the downfall of states and kingdoms, they should still in all that relates to the arming of Englishman, act with as much jealousy and distrust as when they arm the negroes of *Jamaica*; but, such has from first to last been the fact; and, perhaps, Sir, you will feel it as the strongest satire on your own Training Bill, that it is a twin brother of most correct resemblance, the very counterpart of a new system just introduced under that among the European governments which is the most barbarous and the most despotic, meaning the government of *Russia*.

——You must, Sir, be in possession of the *Russian* state paper which appeared in the Courier newspaper on the 29th ult. under the title there given it of a Manifesto. As the parts of it to which I allude are of importance in the present discussion, I must quote them at some length.—After certain recitals respecting the state of *Europe*, the

* Appeal, civ. and mil. on Eng. Con. 172.

† See England's Ægis. Index.

sudden "downfal of *Prussia*," and the menaces of "an hostile invasion" of *Russia* itself, his Imperial Majesty proceeds,—"At "the commencement of this inevitable war, "the whole burthen of which, after the total overthrow of our allies, devolves upon "*our country*, we consider it our first duty "to redouble our unceasing efforts for the "preservation of the tranquillity and integrity of our empire, by augmenting and "collecting *the armed force of a faithful, brave, and magnanimous people*, entrusted "to our administration by Almighty Providence. The miseries which have so rapidly overtaken *the neighbouring powers*, "evinces the necessity of recourse to unusual means, to great and vigorous measures, which can only be carried into effect by a zealous attachment to our country, by a manly firmness of spirit, and a "true sense of *national honour*. A people "really inspired and actuated by sentiments "of that description, *arming in a body*, "may raise an insurmountable rampart "against every hostile attack, however formidable. Neglect in providing for their "internal security, by such general armaments, DURING THE PRESENT CONTEST "with *France*, in opposition to her system "of plunder and rapine, has been attended "with *the most pernicious consequences to "Austria*, and not a little contributed to "*the downfal of Prussia*. THEIR FATE "WAS DETERMINED BY THE LOSS OF A "FEW BATTLES; AFTER WHICH THE ENEMY [illegible] NO OBSTACLE, AND DREADING NO OPPOSITION FROM AN UNARMED "POPULACE, suddenly forced his way "through the interior provinces, spread devastation and terror by his rapid and violent depredations, destroyed the scattered "remains of a routed army, and EFFECTED "A TOTAL OVERTHROW OF THEIR EMPIRES." Again. "The evident danger "that would arise in case (which God forbid should ever happen) the enemy might "penetrate into the interior of our empire, "*compel* us to adopt the most efficacious "measures to aver it, by the establishment "of a general TEMPORARY armament or "militia, which may be ready in all quarters and at a moment's notice, *to support "the regular troops*, and able to oppose to "the enemy at every step the invincible "force of the true sons of their country, "united for the preservation of *their most "valuable enjoyments*." And, again: "The innumerable proofs of patriotism and "of loyalty displayed in ancient and modern times by the nobility of Russia, &c. "convince us how cordially, zealously, and "efficaciously, it will co-operate with us "for the speedy and successful completion "of such A PROVISIONAL armament or militia, as is indispensibly required, and "now ordained for public security, according to the regulations annexed hereto. "We are likewise well assured, that our "faithful corporations, and every class of "citizens, as well as the *crown peasants*, "and *serfboors* through the country, will "redouble their efforts to bear the common "burthen of this important public duty for "the defence of our holy faith, and for individual preservation." By the regulations referred to, we learn that 612,000 of the population were to be immediately armed, in seven divisions; but, according to the genuine counsels of despotism, they were to continue "NO LONGER THAN THE PRESENT DANGER EXISTED."——Here then, Sir, considering this as a primary essay of an arbitrary sovereign towards the defence of a country upon right principles, do we behold the first ray of real wisdom which has beamed upon the continent *for resisting the invasions of Napoleon*. It is, indeed, but a slight and solitary ray, and of feeble lustre, but still as it has its source in wisdom as well as in necessity, and is the practical acknowledgement of a great prince that the defence of a country cannot always be confided to A REGULAR ARMY alone, it is instructive. The only sound principle of defending a state by THE PEOPLE IN ARMS, is indeed historically as old as the commonwealth of *Israel*; and the utter insufficiency of REGULAR ARMIES to that end is now so completely rivetted in the conviction of reasoning men, that from henceforth the old and true system must gain ground. Our great northern ally has now, to a certain degree, anticipated the counsel which, a fortnight before his manifesto came to my knowledge, I had recommended for adoption in my letter of the 13th ult. to Lord *Howick*; namely, that not an English guinea should be given for bringing into the field mercenary armies, unless for every *hundred* mercenary soldiers of our allies, care were taken to see a *thousand* of their enslaved peasants armed and trained to defensive war. If there be any sincerity or merit in our professions of anxiety for "the deliverance of *Europe*," it must have for objects freedom and happiness among the people, as well as integrity of dominion and balance of power among the princes. Three years prior to "the downfal of *Prussia*," and two years anterior to the humiliation of *Austria*, I had likewise advised the princes of *Germany*, as their only security against French invasion, to "make allies of their people,"

by giving them freedom and arms;* by which means, when adopted, political light and liberty must progressively bless the whole continent. Thus, Sir, as the afflicting dispensations of Providence are for ever teaching us, good might be extracted from evil, and the French revolution might yet benefit the human race. But, if the princes and sovereigns of whom *France* is the scourge, will abate nothing of their own tyrannical maxims of government towards their miserable subjects, what friend to the human species will pity them when hurled from their thrones.——Before I take leave of the Russian Manifesto, give me leave to remark that this state paper issuing from a divan of despotism, ought to smite the consciences, and to crimson the cheeks of certain persons in a certain country claiming to be a land of liberty, and whose acts of government ought to issue from a congenial cabinet and a congenial legislature. Do we not in the Manifesto behold a lord of semi-barbarians,—a proprietor of human cattle in the lowest form of ignorance and slavery,—a potentate whose will is law; and whose mere displeasure can at any moment assign to the best man in his dominions a dungeon, Siberian misery, or death, overtaking in the race of justice at the very first step, that king whose ministers are the trustees and administrators of *the free government and constitution of England*, where, be it for the hundredth time by me repeated—it is the perpetual, legal, constitutional, and indispensible obligation of every man to be armed according to his pecuniary means; and where it is equally the perpetual obligation and duty of parliament and of every *minister of state*, to enforce the performance of that necessary service for the peace, order, tranquillity and safety of the state, and vigilantly to prevent its neglect or relaxation!† The Czar of the *Muscovites*, by the disasters which befel his two partners in the spoil of partitioned *Poland*, discovers, that when "*a popula-*" *tion is an unresisting medium*," great kingdoms and empires are overthrown at a blow, and, beginning to tremble for his own crown, he issues a humble and most flattering manifesto to his nobility, and to a nation doubly enslaved, that is, enslaved to them and to him, courting them to an arms-bearing—but after what manner? and for what object? Why, as "a TEMPORARY, a "PROVISIONAL armament, DURING THE "PRESENT CONTEST," for what he is pleased to call "the tranquillity and integrity of his "empire." That indeed is his personal object; but, in respect of the people, his real object is neither more nor less than that they shall take up arms to preserve—what?—why *their present hereditary slavery* to *that* nobility and *that* Czar! For, the very moment their courage and their virtues shall have freed him, at the expense perhaps of many thousands of their lives, from the dread of being hurled from his throne, they—his "*faithful, brave, and magnanimous peo-*" *ple*,"—are, in the terms of this very manifesto, to be again disarmed and replaced in their bestial degradation; and for this forsooth it is, that, "by a manly firmness of "spirit, and a true sense of *national ho-*" *nour*," they are to be "united," and to expose their lives in the field of battle!——But, I ask,—Had any of the ministers of an English king, had Mr. *Pitt*, or Mr. *Dundas**, had Mr. *Addington*† or Mr. *Yorke*, in their several systems of national defence by the armed population gone one inch farther than this Czar of the Muscovites? Has Lord *Grenville*, or have you, Mr. *Windham*, gone one inch farther, than "*a* TEMPORA-"RY, *a* PROVISIONAL armament, during "THE PRESENT CONTEST," like this of the Autocrat of all the *Russias*? For every one of ye, I answer NO. Have any one of ye in your defensive systems taken for your guide *the constitution of your country*, which provides for the nation's defence the best and grandest system of arming that ever legislator or warrior framed? No.—Having had that constitution forced upon your attention, has any one of ye ever uttered a single argument either to prove that it do *not* contain a defensive system of arms-bearing, or that that system for its military excellence does *not* merit the encomium I have so oft bestowed upon it? No. When we see all succeeding ministers in their pretended plans for national defence uniformly as obstinately shutting their eyes to the inimitable wisdom of *the constitution*, and, contrary to their obvious duty, rejecting its admirable provisions for securing the peace, the tranquillity and the safety of the state, while they offer us no better substitutes than we have seen is to be found under the most rigorous despotism in *Europe*,—while even these vile substitutes are mere phantoms which they can annihilate at a breath—and while at the same time we see them, even with Olympic energy, contending with every despotic competitor for superiority in a standing army, dull indeed must be those intellects which do not disco-

* England's Ægis. Preliminary Address to the Volunteers.

* England's Æges Consult the Index.

* Lord Melville. † Lord Sidmouth.

ver their drift! If our statesmen really think an arbitrary, better for us than a limited, government, it would be but fair they should lay before us specimens of what it is, that we might make our choice. Two specimens of Russian government occur to me at this moment. One is as follows: an English gentleman told me that, while he was residing at *St. Petersburgh* a man of property and of some consideration in the country, was ordered, by an officer of the government whom he met in the street, to accompany him whither he was going. He was conducted into an inclosed yard where stood a cabin upon wheels. Into this carriage the gentleman was instantly locked, horses were put to, and a journey commenced. Receiving light only from a small aperture in the roof, the imprisoned man knew not what road his conductors pursued, but after travelling some weeks, he was bid to come out and was led into the habitation of a stern old man, to whom a letter at the same time was delivered. The reader alternately perused his letter, and the countenance and figure of his prisoner; when, turning to his conductor, he cried, 'This is not the man: take him back.' He accordingly resumed his place in the travelling cabin immediately, and after being reconveyed to *St. Petersburgh* again, was set down where he had been originally taken up, and bid to go about his business. He did so; but without daring to ask why he had been so treated.—*Is it to this sort of government, the advocates for an immense unbalanced standing army want to conduct us?*—The foregoing anecdote I address to the MEN of *England*. My other I address to the WOMEN. It comes to me through an English gentleman who has had considerable intercourse with the Russian military. A Muscovite prince becomes the admirer of a beautiful woman of *Moscow* and declares his passion. As the only honour intended the fair one is that of being a mistress, his addresses are rejected. Courtship failing, menace ensues; and menace failing, disappointed lust gives place to infernal revenge. A party of *regular, well-disciplined soldiers*—the ultimate instrument ever uppermost in the despotic mind—are now introduced, and in a brutal contempt of the tears, the supplications, the shrieks and agonies of beauty and virtue, a succession of rapes by these savages is the punishment inflicted on the offending female—a punishment terminating in her death. *Is it*, I again ask, *to this sort of government the advocates for an immense unbalanced standing army want to conduct us?* Is it to such treatment Mr. *Windham* would expose his lovely countrywomen? Verily, verily, such are the fruits of despotism; as despotism itself must, Sir, be the fruit of such an immense unbalanced standing army as you are labouring to establish and render permanent! The only possible prevention of such a despotism is, that such standing army, by an honest resort to the military energies of the English constitution, shall be effectually counterbalanced by *the people in arms*, systematically organized under laws indued with a self-enforcing principle, and that people habitually trained to war in self-defence. But, Sir, your Training Bill is complete evidence to prove, that you are as watchful and assiduous in preventing a resort to the energies of the constitution to preserve our liberties, as you are in building up a standing army to subvert them. But I had nearly forgotten to mention in what way a Russian prince is amenable for such conduct as above related. He might, had his sovereign pleased, have had his head struck off, without trial or ceremony; but in this case he was *reprimanded*. From such a redress of grievances heaven defend my country!—According to the notion of *Montesquieu*, that hot climates generate slavery and cold ones freedom, we should expect to find *Muscovy* a land of liberty; but, recollecting that "the nation which parts with its sword parts with its liberty," and that in this view it is a question admitting of degrees, let us by way of putting the case in a new light, form an imaginary thermometrical scale for measuring, by means of the popular arms-bearing of the two nations of *Muscovy* and *England*, the proportion of liberty that each may now be said to possess. It must be remembered prior to the new popular arms-bearing abovementioned, *Muscovy* had *no* liberty; for, to speak thermometrically, its liberty might be said to be at the point of despotic congellation, or equal to 0 on the scale; while under the genial constitution of *England*, liberty ought to stand at the highest degree of the scale. Although the real difference between no liberty and complete liberty, is as nought to infinity, yet we will call the highest degree, such as would be the proper effect of an English constitution in its purity, 10,000 only. The freedom in consequence of the present popular arming of *Russia* then, all other things considered, we cannot estimate as higher than 5 degrees above 0, or the point of despotic congellation. But as this *Russian* arms-bearing, and the arms-bearing of *England*, are now in essentials *precisely the same*, a mere "TEMPORARY, PROVISIONAL ARMAMENT, DURING THE PRESENT CONTEST," and both alike may at

the DISCRETION of the crown be put an end to at any moment, the liberty of *England* must at this time be designated by the same degree on the scale, namely, 5. Hence, therefore, it should appear that while the liberty of *Russia* is for the present 5 degrees above its original nothingness, that of *England* is below its own proper level 9995 degrees out of 10,000!!! If any English minister can allow the effect of such a comparison to attach to his measures, I shall not envy his greatness paid for at such a rate.—Before I conclude, give me leave, Sir, to call your attention to the testimony in favour of *the necessity of arms-bearing of a people to the existence of political liberty* that has lately been given even by *Napoleon*, on which I have already made some remarks in my letter of 13th January to Lord *Howick*. The French Emperor apparently bounding the views of his ambition in the north-east to the confines of *Germany*, meaning there to raise up a complete barrier against the irruption of Russian armies into his empire, and perfectly well knowing the most effectual means to that end, he professes not only to bless *Poland* with a complete deliverance from the three despots who had divided her as a spoil; but to confer upon, and guarantee to her, a real emancipation from arbitrary government. He accordingly invites the princes, the nobility, and the people *universally to take up arms as one man*. He has thus wisely laid in the first instance a good foundation for his success in that country, by exciting in the inhabitants warm hopes of deliverance and of freedom; and, as their future liberty must be his interest, and an object to him of great importance, it is naturally to be expected that, should his arms in the present contest prevail over those of *Russia*, *Poland* will have conferred on her a really-free government; and consequently a government of such strength as shall be capable of resisting any future attempt of the Muscovite to subdue her, or even to violate her territory by the march of an army across any corner of it. The enslaved Poles between the Corsican and the Muscovite are now in a situation resembling that of the once degraded English between Henry the Third and his barons. Had the Poles to do with either of the Emperors separately, chains and oppression are what alone they might expect, whereas, circumstanced as they are, it is the interest, and therefore the policy of imperial ambition, to restore them to independence and liberty.——In my subsequent letters, Sir, I shall examine in what degree your military system has found support in the arguments imputed to General Sir *John Doyle*, as delivered in the House of Commons on the 23d of January, and reported in the Courier newspaper of the 27th; as well as from two letters of a writer in the Political Register, under the signature of B.* I have the honour to remain with much respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,—JOHN CARTWRIGHT.——*Feb.* 24, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 12.

"Your *Novids*, and *Blutarchs*, and *Omers*, and stuff,
"Egad they don't signify this pinch of snuff;
"To give a young gentleman right education,
"The army's the very best school in the nation."
SWIFT's *Soldier and Scholar*.

SIR,—In my last (p. 213) I had, in some degree, taken my leave of you; and, therefore, you may feel surprized at receiving a fourth letter with the signature P. F. However, I then entertained some doubt whether you thought my remarks worthy of insertion and I have now to confess my obligation to you for their appearance, which it would be unpardonable in me to neglect doing. Thank you too for the fair and ingenuous manner in which you have introduced them to your readers: you say there is not one argument contained in them, which you "cannot demolish in three minutes." By that I suppose you meant to recommend them to an impartial and candid perusal. Probably, however, when your demolition takes place, I may, if I am suffered, build fresh arguments out of the fragments, which may have more consistency than the old ones. At all events, this is a pretty plain hint of the manner in which, you will say at least, the dispute has terminated But whatever answer *you* may be disposed to return *me*, it was rather singular that you had not observed, that my letter contained something like a reply, at least to your correspondent W. F. S. No. 4, whom you have thought proper to puff so strangely. He challenges the Oxonian to produce any one idea acquired from his acquaintance with the learned languages, which was not "previously" to be found in some original or translated English work: now, I think I have shewn, that not one idea only, but that the great accession of ideas, which has flown in upon Europe since the 12th century to the present day, has sprung generally from this source; and I will defy him or you to shew any other cause of our pre-eminence in science over the gloomy ages of superstition. Why, when the light of antient literature was withdrawn, did the world become dark? And why, when it was rekindled, did the world become again enlightened? I referred you to one particular instance, on the subject of,

* V. x. p. 836, and V. xi. p. 123.

government and a "limited constitution" in Hume, and I could take any other object of knowledge, and shew the benefit we have derived, and do derive therein, from the antient authors. W. F. S.'s description of wisdom, if he means to exclude the antient authors from it, is peculiarly unfortunate, as he has spoken of wisdom of those kinds, in which they are undoubtedly most pre-eminently excellent; I mean the moral wisdom which regulates the duties we owe to ourselves and to society. On which subjects I will thank you or him, to shew me any two modern treatises to compare with "Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates," and "Tully's Offices."—There can be no doubt, indeed, but that Socrates was the greatest moral teacher the world has ever seen, next to our Saviour: and Addison frequently supposes him to have been possessed of a degree of inspiration.—Equally happy is W. F. S. in his reference to Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, not one page of which could have been composed without the most accurate, profound, and extensive knowledge of the learned languages: and equally modest is he in calling him your friend, though a very slight acquaintance with the works of that great man, would have taught him that he is directly at enmity with you on the point in question. But what can a falling man do? When he has not a friend to support him he must catch at a foe. Nor is it with Dr. Johnson alone that you are at variance; the hostility reaches to all his most intimate connections; this, for example, is the opinion of Dr. Goldsmith on the subject in dispute. "What historian can render virtue so amiable as Xenophon? Who can interest "the reader so much as Livy? Sallust is "an instance of the most delicate exactness, "and Tacitus of the most solid reflection. "From a perfect acquaintance with these, "the student may acquire more knowledge "of mankind, a more perfect acquaintance "with antiquity, and a more just manner "of thinking and expression, than perhaps "from any others of any age or country." Now, W. F. S. tells me, in opposition to this, that not one idea is to be gathered from these or any other classical author, "which "was not *previously*" (mark that word, and tell me if there was no confusion in the head of the man who used it), "which was "not *previously* to be found in some one of "the works of John Bull." Which of these two persons must I believe? The dead author or the living? Dr. Goldsmith, or W. F. S.? "I'll take the ghost's word for "a thousand pounds." W. F. S. tells us, that an idea is but an idea though expressed in ever so many languages; and, after this profound discovery, he goes on to more doubtful matter, and there too he goes wrong: he supposes the *number* of ideas to constitute the quantity of wisdom possessed by any one; which it no more does, than does a "rabble rout" of fellows form an army.—Who may have entered into this conspiracy, that W. F. S. speaks of "to de-"preciate the beauty, sublimity, &c. &c. of "the English language," I know not; but certainly not the men remarkable for great classical attainments; not Hooker, Bacon, or Raleigh; not Milton, Locke, or Boyle; not Addison, Swift, or Steele (not these cap-and-gown men, by the way); they are the men who have enriched, harmonized, and beautified it, by words drawn from classical sources, by modes of expression, and structure of sentences analogous to the clear and luminous method of the Greeks and Romans. Bacon avows, that where he found his native tongue defective, he was not remiss in borrowing of the ancients; and by these men, and by these means, has our language been brought to its present state of perfection; and not ours only, but all the other languages of modern Europe; they all of them date the period of their improvement from the introduction of classical reading; and the purest authors of the French, Spanish, Italian, and English nations, are universally the men most conversant in the writings of Greece and Rome.

"When we did gabble like things most brutish,
"they endow'd our purposes with words that made
"them known."—Tempest.

And you would repay their favours like another Caliban:

"You taught me language, and my profit on't
"Is, I know how to curse. The red plague rid you
"For learning me your language!"—Ib.

And now a word or two with you, Mr. Cobbett. The awkward praises with which you have bespattered the illustrious name of Pope, make me suppose you may have some value for his opinion, though I see you are but little acquainted with his writings. Let us hear what he says in this matter:

"Still green with bays, each ancient altar stands,
"Above the reach of sacrilegious hands;
"Secure from flames, from envy's fiercer rage,
"Destructive war, and all-involving age," &c.

I do not wish to crowd you with a long quotation, and therefore refer you to the whole passage, at l. 180. of the "Essay on Criticism." Read also his characters of Homer, Virgil, Aristotle, Horace, Quintilian, Longinus, &c. in the same work, and then tell me if you expect to be believed when you say, "that the time spent on such authors "is worse than uselessly employed." See farther l. 683:

"Learning and Rome alike in empire grew,
"And arts still follow'd where her eagles flew;
"From the same foes at last both felt their doom,
"And the same age saw learning fall and Rome."

And then he goes on to speak of the revival of learning:

"But see each muse in Leo's golden days," &c.
L. 696.

One more quotation, and I have done:

"Be Homer's works your study and delight,
"*Read* them by *day*, and meditate by night." L. 124.

Now here, you see, Pope's "wise and just mind," and your "wise and just mind," are as much at variance as the Fiend and Launcelot Gobbo's conscience. "Read," quoth Pope. "Read not," quoth Cobbett. Whom then must we trust? "Pope, say I, "you counsel well; Cobbett, say I, you counsel ill." Merchant of Venice, Act. ii. scene 2.—"Demolish," then, what arguments you please, or say you demolish them, the plain state of the question is this, and your attempting to prove any thing short of it, is but like the raving of a maniac, who gnaws the chain that binds him; you are to shew us some reason for our preferring your opinion against the utility of ancient literature, though you confessedly and manifestly know nothing about it, to that of all the wise men in Europe, who have studied the classical authors themselves, and recommended them to others.——P. F.—*Feb. 8th.*

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 13.

SIR,——In the controversy which appears likely to take place respecting the Learned Languages, perhaps the opinions and reasoning of one who is totally unacquainted with them, and in possession of only a moderate knowledge of his own tongue, may neither be uninteresting nor unacceptable. The term learning as generally accepted (that is learning possessed) may be defined "the knowledge of the reflections of others." Learning stands distinguished from wisdom in this, "wisdom consists in the proper application not only of this knowledge, but of all the other knowledge we possess, towards the benefiting of mankind." Wisdom may be defined "the possession of superior virtue, "knowledge and understanding." And therefore, a man destitute of virtue may possess learning without possessing wisdom, and then to call him learned, according to W. F. S. we must call him cunning. I imagine that you mean by the Learned Languages the Latin, the Greek, and the Hebrew Languages, which general term "learned" was perhaps annexed to them at a time when the knowledge of them were peculiar to the most learned only amongst mankind. And by "general education" I suppose you to mean, "that education which is best adapted to assist mankind in managing the general concerns of life." The knowledge of our duty towards God can have nothing to do in this question. Nor can the common rudiments of education. Then, leaving these two out of our consideration, let us suppose that a student may be called more or less perfect in "general education" in proportion—1. As he is more or less able rightly to appreciate the worth of his own actions.—2. As he is more or less able to trace the operations of the mind, in its researches after knowledge.—3. As he knows more or less of the constitution or the properties of things, and of the causes of the various phenomena of nature.—4. As he is more or less acquainted with the habits, prejudices, and passions of man, and with their operation upon his acts.—5. As he is more or less able in a concise, perspicuous, and interesting manner, to communicate his reflections unto others. Allowing this theory to be correct, let us next inquire, what are the means which an Englishman possesses from his own native language only, towards the acquirement of these accomplishments.—In speaking upon this part of the subject, be it observed, that my acquaintance with books and authors is very limited, and that in mentioning the means which I myself have made use of towards that end, I shall, in all probability, leave out many others equally deserving to be mentioned.—1. The treatise which appears to me the best calculated to ground youth in the knowledge of those rules by which they may estimate the right or the wrong, the merit or demerit of their own actions, is Dr. Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments. A very moderate capacity only is required in order to understand it, and whoever understanding it, shall never do an act which that theory condemns, the same cannot be an *evil* member of society. In riper years when they become capable of more mature reflection, Dr. Paley's celebrated treatise will lead them past the theoretical part, and applying it to many of the most important circumstances occurring in life, conduct them to a fuller knowledge of the heart, and of the consequences resulting from the wrong decisions of the mind, preparing a strong ground work, whereon to build their future knowledge of mankind, and the tendency of their acts.—2. If there had never been a word wrote upon this part of general education, except Mr Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, the reading and comprehending of the reflections it contains, would unto any one having a capacity enabling him to apply them to use, give sufficient instruction with regard to the

operations of his own mind in its researches after knowledge.—3. Connected with this part of general education it would be endless to enumerate the English treatises we are possessed of. Nor, in our present inquiry, does it appear necessary, for, except in the colleges, there is neither art nor science attempted to be treated upon, or at least taught or lectured upon, in any language except our own; nor is there any *verbatim* translation that I have heard of, whereunto the English authors have not added something material, unless it be the translation of the Elements of Euclid.—4. Before we have a correct knowledge of man, we must know him not only circumstanced as an individual, but as one collectively included amongst many individuals, and the knowledge of him in this latter capacity is by far the more important knowledge of the two. He has vices and virtues peculiar to himself. He has vices and virtues which he partakes of, or communicates to others, through the influence of example, as a member of the state to which he belongs. History and biography no doubt materially assist the man of superior mind in discovering the secret springs upon which these qualities depend, but it is most material that he will know his own heart, and that with unremitting care, he search into the eccentricities, passions, &c influencing the hearts of others whose acts he constantly sees,—and into the ultimate consequences of those acts. And when he would form any general conclusion, he will well compare it with the evidence, which by these two means he becomes possessed of. Now, in these comparisons his own prejudices *will* have their influence. But, I think his own observations upon mankind themselves, made with the care here presupposed, will have the advantage over those made from history and biography (as the test of the truth or fallacy of such conclusions) inasmuch as in history and biography he must form his opinion of the intention or cause of the action, from the bare recital of the action itself, whilst the actions occurring under his own observation, are themselves *seen*, and every thing resulting from them *known*; nay, perhaps, the same action and its results often seen, and our expectations confirmed or rectified. Yet inasmuch as the knowledge of history and biography may be of service to us, we have undoubtedly the means of obtaining it, there being neither state nor individual, whose fortunes or whose acts have deserved to be put upon record, but our own historians have executed the duty with truth and ability, either in translating from antient authors; or by means of their own researches and inquiries; but, I again repeat that in this part of education he is the best scholar who can correctly read man, and to such a one man himself, living, is the best treatise he can read.——5. Towards the expressing our thoughts in a clear and nervous manner, so as to make a strong impression upon others, undoubtedly a sound understanding, having a distinct knowledge of its own thoughts, and of the manner in which it has come by them, will render us more essential service than all the grammatical knowledge of all the grammarians who ever treated upon the subject. For my own part, educated in a country school, I never knew what was meant by grammar until 16 years old, though I had seen the master set about six of the principal scholars tasks, in a small book, which I knew was called a Grammar; nor, do I know now, whether I write strictly grammatical or otherwise, although half that number of years now, is added to my age; and although, I have during that time, had the benefit of reading, and, as I think in some measure of understanding, the Lectures of Dr. Blair; yet, since I myself can understand the meaning of what I write; I have the vanity to suppose others can also, and, I think, that if I had the grammatical and rhetorical knowledge I am desirous of having, it would alter very little my style of expression; for, I think, whatever belongs not to the subject of any inquiry, and is introduced into such inquiry, however beautiful it may be, never assists in discovering, but often assists in concealing the truth. Keeping, however, these conclusions in mind, grammar and rhetoric, as taught by Dr. Blair, can never fail to assist the writer in arranging his thoughts more advantageously and agreeably; and, whoever having a sound understanding, hath been grounded in the rudiments of grammar, and completed this part of his education by becoming acquainted with the works of English authors, such as Blair, Milton, and others of equal merit in prose and poetry, will, if he hath made profitable use of his acquaintance, be able I presume to express himself on any subject with more eloquence and propriety. —Having now gone through the examination of the means afforded by the English language towards accomplishing our general education; my next (if this be found worth publication) will proceed to examine as to what use the Learned Languages can render us in this respect.—I am, Sir, &c.—N. S. Y. —*Stafford, Feb.* 12, 1807.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"That nothing of this sort" [the Pitt deceptions] "will now be attempted "I am confident, and, if it were, it certainly would not succeed. The na- "tion is not again to be duped in that way. It would look with ab- "horrence upon the attempt; or, which is still worse, it would entirely "give way to that feeling of indifference, which has long been creeping "over it, and which, of all possible feelings, is the best calculated to "insure and accelerate our destruction as an independent people. Let "us, however, hope for better things; let us hope, that there is now "forming, and that we shall soon enjoy the benefit of, an administra- "tion, including all the distinguished men in the country, all the "weight, whether of rank or of talent, that the nation possesses. Let "us hope, that, after this long, long night of ignorance, of jostling "selfishness, of serpentine intrigue, of crawling sycophancy, and of "miring corruption, the dawn of knowledge, of talent, of public "spirit, and of integrity is approaching. If so, and, surely, we have "good reason to hope that this is the case, we may safely rely upon the "spirit of the people. That spirit is not dead: it is only dormant; it "only wants to be rouzed; but, as was before observed, this is not to "be done by rabble-rouzing words. The threats of invasion, and "other, *all* other terrors, will now be of no avail. The people have "" sapped of terrors," foreign as well as domestic. They want nothing "to terrify them. They want something to confide in; something to "cheer them; something that shall present itself to them as a fair foun- "dation for hoping that they will, at some time or other, be restored to "their former state of happiness at home, and of renown in the world; "something that shall make them love their country as Englishmen were "wont to love it; something that shall make them think it an honour "to arm and to defend it. They want to *feel* the beneficent effects of "the acts of the government: they stand in need of the impression to "be produced only by great and striking measures; and to adopt such "measures, with a fair prospect of success, will demand an exertion of "*legitimate influence* to be hoped for only from the union of all those "public men, who have distinguished themselves as the *enemies of cor-* "*ruption* and of *corrupt rulers*. Upon this last score it is, that the "people (without whose *hearts*, let men say and think what they will, "the *nation* cannot be saved) feel most sensibly; and, it must have been "evident to every tolerably accurate observer, that, by his tortuous "measures to protect peculators, Mr. Pitt lost more of the public "confidence than by all his other measures and tricks put together. If, "therefore, the new ministers shall *set their faces against all measures of* "*this sort*; and, if, as I trust will be the case, they should resolve to "institute an inquiry into the corruptions of the last twenty years; if

" they should do this, they need fear neither the " blood-suckers" voices, " nor the arms of the French. But, if they do not something, at least " in this way, all their other measures will be useless. They will inspire " no confidence; and, truth to say, *they ought not to inspire any con-* " *fidence*. To a *change*, a *great change*, in this respect, I have always " looked forward as the natural consequence of the overthrow of the " Pitt system of rule; and, if no such change take place, not only " shall I be cruelly disappointed and mortified, but, though, I trust, I " never shall despair of my country, I shall be compelled to transfer my " hopes from the present to a future day; for, as to going on in the " corrupt path of the last twenty years, I shall hate myself if I did not " recoil with horror at the prospect."——POLITICAL REGISTER, *Feb.* 1, 1806. Vol. IX. page 143.

TO THE

FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER X.

GENTLEMEN,

It was my intention to have analysed, in this letter, the whole of the evidence, given, in the House of Commons, relative to the last petition of Mr. Paull against Mr Sheridan, and then to have inquired into the justice of the decision, which was, at last, made, on Wednesday the 18th instant, by that famous House (with the sole dissenting voice of Lord Folkestone), namely, that " the petition was *false* and *scandalous*," and that Mr. Drake, the unfortunate acquaintance, son in-law, and election supporter of Mr. Sheridan, should be committed to Newgate; but, though it would be an entertaining and not unuseful task to trace Mr. Sheridan through his connections with the persons, whom he has now blackened, and with those respectable personages, Mr. Homan, the Matron Butler, and the not less respectable Mr. Aaron Graham, who is, at once, superintendant of *convicts* and of the *theatre of Drury Lane*; yet, I shall decline this task, at least, for the present, and for the two following reasons: first, because I am satisfied, that, as to the evidence and decision, there can be but one opinion in the minds of all uncorrupted men; and, second, because, in speaking of the decision, I should not, in the present state of things, dare to express myself in the manner that I could wish; I should not dare to express my feelings, and I am unwilling to disgrace them by having recourse to rhetorical inventions, especially as a time is, probably, at hand, when with respect to every thing done by the present parliament, we shall be at liberty to say what we please.——With respect to the petition against the return of Mr. Sheridan, I have no scruple to say, that I am *decidedly against its further prosecution*. To the reasons, which I urged against it, at the beginning; or, rather, before it was begun, I might now add the argument of *experience*. Of all the means that the powerful and corrupt have of keeping down the people, that of ruining those who stand forward in support of their rights is the most effectual. Those, who are resolved not to take the wages of corruption, should take care not to expose themselves to the necessity of doing it. The corruptors say to those who would defend the people's rights: " we will make " you betray the people and join us in plun- " dering them, or we will compel you to " cease from your exertions, or we will ruin " you; one way or the other we will pre- " vent the people from deriving any benefit " from what you are able to do." Such is their threat, Gentlemen, and, unhappily, they have, at present, the power to execute it with but too much punctuality. When they have succeeded, upon any such occasion, they never fail to boast, that it is the effect of *the people's* voice; but, they and the devil well know, that, through the influence of that very corruption, which it is their chief object to support, the *free* voice of the people is as completely stifled, as it could possibly be by the feather beds of the murderer's den.

But, Gentlemen, though I decline addressing you any further, at present, upon the foregoing subject, there is another, upon which I cannot refrain from addressing you, as being of the greatest importance to us all, because likely to lead to the destruction of the system of corruption, by which we are so grievously oppressed; I mean, *the change in the ministry*.

This change, which cannot *possibly* be for the worse as to *men*, or as to present *measures*, and which may possibly produce future good, has arisen out of a bill which was before the House of Commons, relative to the removal of certain restraints, under which Roman Catholics and other Dissenters laboured. I propose, first, to submit to you some remarks upon the effect which the bill would have naturally produced; second, upon the motive whence the ministers brought it forward, as clearly demonstrated by the readiness with which they gave it up; third, upon the conduct which is, by the newspaper writers, ascribed to the king upon the occasion; fourth, upon the causes of the boldness of their opponents; fifth, upon the way, in which we, the people, are considered and treated in this and similar cases; and, sixth, upon the great and general cause of these struggles, so manifestly hostile to the interests, the tranquillity, and the honour of our country.

I. The Roman Catholics and other Dissenters, who refuse to comply with certain religious tests, are, by the law, as it now stands, disqualified from holding superior ranks in the Army or the Navy; and, the natural effect of the bill in question would have been to open the road of promotion to persons of that description. This road is, in fact, already open to every class of Dissenters except the Roman Catholics, because the former, either comply with the ceremony required, or are freed from the penalties of non-compliance by an act of parliament, annually passed, called the "Annual Indemnity bill," which is no other than a law for the purpose of excusing from punishment men who have been guilty, knowingly, of a breach of the law. But, there is one test, which the Roman Catholics refuse to give, namely, that, according to which they are called upon to acknowledge the *supremacy* of the king, as relating to the *church*. This they make a point of conscience. They hold, that the Pope is the true and legitimate successor of St. Peter, whom, they say, Jesus Christ placed at the head of the Church, or, in other words, gave him the supremacy over it. They see plainly enough, that the Popes, like our prime ministers, are set up and pulled down by whatever power happens to be strongest; and that, at some times, there are two Popes at once. They see, that any old man, sometimes a grasping miser, sometimes a concubine keeper, sometimes an incestuous beast, sometimes a tyrant, sometimes a consummate hypocrite, and sometimes much more than half a madman, may be Pope; yet are they kind enough still to regard him as a being perfectly sacred. We, of the Church of England, who scorn such self-degrading bigotry, who are enlightened by philosophy, and have liberty to say what we think, hold, on the contrary, that *our king is the head of our church*, as we hold him to be also of the army and the navy and the courts of law and justice; and, all that we ask the Roman Catholics to do, is, *to swear that they hold the same*, which they, to a man, refuse to do; alledging, as was before observed, that, as Jesus Christ's Church is one, as theirs is that one, and as the Pope is the only legitimate head of that, our king cannot possibly be the head of the Church. They are willing to swear, as often as we please, that they regard the king as the only temporal sovereign in his dominions; that with such matters their Pope has nothing at all to do; and that they own no earthly allegiance to any other sovereign than our king; but, we insist upon their swearing, that they own no religious allegiance to any body but the sacred person at the head of our Church; and, here it is that we split.——Now, Gentlemen, the bill in question would (as far as related to military and naval officers, and no farther) have done away the necessity of Roman Catholics giving this test; and, the natural effects would, as was above stated, have been to have placed our Roman Catholic fellow subjects, in the army and navy, upon the same footing with ourselves, leaving them in the quiet enjoyment of their notion, that an old man, living at Rome, whence he was sent for, the other day, by Buonaparté, to travel over the Alps, in the dead of winter, at the evident risk of his neck, is the true and only successor of St. Peter, the supreme head of the Church all over the world, and that it is agreeable to the will of a God of infinite wisdom, that this old man, or much about such an one, should be universally regarded as possessing sacredness and infallibility. Such a notion is, to say the least of it, consummately ridiculous; but, after having given due consideration to the subject, I cannot, I must confess, perceive any practical mischief that could possibly have arisen out of it. Had the measure, indeed, tended to re-introduce the Roman Catholic religion here, with all its attendant temporal abuses, such as they are, or have been, in some foreign countries; with all its abbots and bishops, who, instead of residing in their abbeys and dioceses and superintending their priests, spent their time, in the metropolis, at balls, routs, dinners, cards and dice, and who, instead of bestowing benefices upon men of exemplary piety, crammed their ab-

beys and cathedrals with their stupid and profligate relations, and, not unfrequently with their own bastards: yes, indeed, if this measure had tended to re-introduce an establishment, the clergy of which were promoted, not according to their merits, but through the influence of family connection, of government interest, of party or court cabal, or amorous intrigue; where benefices were frequently the price of political apostacy, of successful sycophancy, of prosperous pimping, or of the prostitution of a sister, a wife, or a daughter; and where so scandalously partial was the distribution of benefices (four or five of which were some times bestowed upon one clergyman), that it seemed as if the design was to belie the Gospel, and, instead of giving the hire to the labourers, to bestow it on the lazy and pampered pluralists, while the curates, the real pastors, were starving in rags, and while the flocks were regularly fleeced, but never fed: Let any man reflect upon these things; let him compare what I have here described with our present happy situation; and then let him say, whether we ought not to have exposed our lives, to the last man, rather than submit to a system of imposture so degrading to us, had the ministers attempted to introduce it. But, Gentlemen, as I said before, I am fully persuaded, that the bill would have had no such tendency; that it would not have altered our church affairs at all for the worse; and that, therefore, the cry, which the detestable hypocrites are setting up, about *danger to the church*, from the dreaded prevalence of *popery* is surely one of those tricks, by the means of which knaves impose upon fools, and amongst which fools, I am confident, none of you will be found.

II. But, Gentlemen, while I am fully persuaded, that the bill in question would have produced *no harm*, either as to church or state, and while, I think, you will discover no reason why any class of our own countrymen should be excluded from posts of military trust, at a time when we see an army of *Hanoverians*, commanded by Hanoverian officers, stationed in the heart of the kingdom, I have, I confess, no very high opinion as to the good that would have been done by the bill; and as to the *motives of the ministers* in bringing it forward, they appear to me to be much worse than doubtful.—— There has been much shuffling and quibbling upon the subject; but, in few words, the state of the case is this. The ministers stood unequivocally pledged to bring forward some measure for the further relief of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. You will tell me, I know, that they stood as firmly pledged to bring forward many other measures, all which pledges they have set at defiance, laughing in the faces of those who were credulous enough to believe in their former professions. But, you will please to observe, that, upon this question, the *Grenvilles* also stood pledged, and not the less firmly because the Marchioness of Buckingham was a Roman Catholic. Yet, having seen, that Pitt found some difficulty in getting off from this rock, they would have avoided it, had they not seen, that the Roman Catholics were coming forth *with a petition to parliament, in order to put their fidelity to the test.* Thus penned up, they fell upon a scheme, by which they thought to be able, at once, to silence the Catholics and to keep their places; and this was, to get the bill in question passed, which they would have held out to the Catholics as a mere *beginning* of the fulfilment of their promises, and as a proof, that if more was not now done, the fault lay elsewhere. Their newspapers assert, with what truth I know not, that to this bill they obtained the previous approbation of the king. We will speak, by-and-by, upon this mode of originating bills; but, that they really did obtain this approbation is, I think, pretty certain from that love of place which has marked their subsequent conduct, and which would have prevented them from agitating the question, if they had therein seen any danger to the duration of their power and emoluments. But, it is, with equal confidence, asserted, on the other side, that the king was not *fully* apprized of the purport of the bill; and that he began to express his disapprobation of it, the moment the mutiny bill had passed. The real truth, however, is, I believe, that the king thought this a good opportunity of humbling them; and was resolved to avail himself of it accordingly. When, therefore, he expressed his disapprobation of the bill, and when they instantly consented to *withdraw it* (though it was in the hands of the parliament, you will observe), that, as they now say, did not satisfy him, and he demanded from them *a written promise*, that they would, for ever after, refrain from interfering with him upon certain points, this, of course, amongst the rest. This written promise, which the Morning Chronicle denominates an "*indenture of servitude*," they refused to sign; and that refusal is the cause of their being stripped of their offices. Now, Gentlemen, if, after all that we have seen of these ministers, since they have been in power, we wanted any proof of their want of principle, of their total disregard of every thing when put in competition with place and

emolument, what other proof do we want than this their offer to withdraw this bill? In my last Register, not aware of this fact, I observed, that if they did not press this bill upon the House with all their might, they must be covered with everlasting disgrace; and, we now find, that not only do they not press the bill upon the House, but that they would have kept their places even on the condition of withdrawing the bill. Yet has this, even this part of their conduct met with an advocate in the Morning Chronicle. Its defence of it is, I think, rather more curious than any thing I have seen for some time; I, therefore, beg you to read it with attention, bearing in mind, all the while, that when Pitt returned to office, without bringing forward a bill of the same sort of much greater extent, this Morning Chronicle accused him of the basest abandonment of principle. I must once more press upon you the necessity of reading the whole of the passage with attention, for, be assured, it contains the substance of their defence; and it contains, too, some very pretty doctrines about our "invaluable constitution," as they are continually calling it, in the House of Commons.——"The Prerogative by which the "King may remove his Ministers is, like "every other, a Prerogative vested in the "Crown for the good of the Nation, and "to be exercised with no other view and to "no other end. The House of Commons "has just as unquestionable a constitutional "right to refuse Supplies as the King to "change his Ministers—but in *neither case* "is the right *arbitrary*. It is to be exer-"cised with a sound discretion, and, in fact, "in both cases is a *latent remedy*, inherent "in our Constitution, to be called into use "upon great emergencies, rather than the "ordinary *healthful system* of our Govern-"ment.—Ministers felt that they had a most "important duty to perform. They had "recourse, therefore, to no abstract theo-"ries. They knew that measures were to be "conducted from their commencement to "their conclusion, according to the PRAC-"TICE OF THE CONSTITUTION, and "every measure they have proposed has "been framed and brought forward, as "much with a just acknowledgment of the "authority under which they acted as "Ministers, as with an ultimate view to "the best interests of their country.—— "When a particular measure came to be "discussed, either as to pressing or aban-"doning it, it was their duty to consider "the whole ends and views of their gene-"ral administration, and its tendency to "advance the public interest, as well as the "value, at the time, of a single measure, "however important. *They were under no* "*DIRECT pledges*; and they knew that if "they could not, as Ministers, effect the "object, their abandoning the Government "would, in every way, render worse the si-"tuation of those whom they wished to be-"nefit. In the situation in which the "country stood, it was not one question on "which its fate was staked, and *they did* "*not feel themselves justified in forsaking* "*the general management of affairs at so* "*important a crisis, because one measure* "*had encountered obstacles.*—They knew, "moreover, that if a conscientious scruple "might have influenced in one quarter, "that scruple was sure to create a whole "swarm of tartuffs and hypocrites from in-"terest; and that the very supposition of "extorting a disagreeable concession from "the King, was sure to set all the activity "of pettifogging devotees in motion, to "make religion and conscience the watch-"words of faction. Ministers, therefore, "resolved to deprive their enemies of this "factious pretence of conscience and prin-"ciple; they resolved to strip the petti-"fogging casuists of all apology for exciting "old prejudices, and kindling forgotten "rancours. They gave up the question, "the success of which, in the circum-"stances of the case, would not have been "advanced by their adherence to it. They "did not wish to afford an excuse to "a set of unprincipled intriguers for ex-"citing a ferment in the state, under the "cloak of any assumed authority above "them—This *firmness*, and this just con-"sideration of the *whole interest of the* "*State*, has *withheld Ministers from giving* "*up their places* to the intriguers who wish "to supplant them."——To take this de-fence in due order, we are first called upon to express our admiration at the discovery, that the prerogative of the crown to dismiss ministers and the privilege of parliament to refuse supplies are "*latent* remedies" in our constitution, to be brought forth and applied in great emergencies, and not to be used in the *healthful* state of the pati-ent. With respect to the latter, it is very latent; very latent indeed; and it is hard to conceive any state of the patient that will be able to call it forth. But, the former is not so latent. It is used pretty often, and with wonderful effect The truth is, Gen-tlemen, that this difference arises from the state of the doctors and not of the patients. The prerogative of turning out ministers is in active hands, while the privilege of re-fusing supplies is a remedy that is deposited

with those who seem to have been, by some means or other, prevailed upon to leave off business. Yes, Gentlemen, it is this power of *refusing supplies* that constitutes the *sole* check which the parliament has upon the crown, and, if this power ceases, no matter from what cause, there is no check at all upon the crown.——The ministers, we are told, by this writer, "did not amuse themselves with abstract theories," but acted upon "the *practice* of the constitution." That is to say, they threw aside what ought to be done, and did what others had done before them; and, accordingly, they first obtained the consent of the king to the passing of a law, before that law was propounded to the House of Commons. This is a fine doctrine to urge in favour of men who have, for twenty years past, been bawling about the constitution, and railing against the increase of the power of the crown! No; they "did not amuse "*themselves* with abstract theories" about checks and balances: that was a treat they kindly kept for us: mountebanks never play their tricks for the amusement of one another: they would as soon think of curing their ailments with their own brick-dust and yellow-oker drugs ——But, now for the two grand reasons for withdrawing the bill; the first of which is, that the ministers, being under "no *direct* pledges," thought it for the good of the country, in such an important crisis, that they should give up the bill and keep their places. As to the pledges, they mean, I suppose, by introducing the word *direct*, to say, that no man holds a bond, under their hand and seal, for their bringing forward the measure relative to the Catholics; for, in every other way, short of this, had they pledged themselves to that measure. Several of them had resigned with Pitt, in the midst of war and difficulty, because the king would not consent to it; all of them, except Lords Sidmouth and Ellenborough, had urged the adoption of it after Pitt's return to power; and had reproached him, and justly reproached him, with the basest apostacy and love of place, because he accepted of that place upon conditions which disabled him from carrying the measure. No; there was no bond to hold up to their teeth, there was no "*direct* pledge," nor was there any in the case of the Spartan General towards Colonel Johnstone; but, Gentlemen, those who were not to be held to a pledge, such as these ministers had given to the Catholics, and such as the Spartan General had given to Colonel Johnstone, would, I think you will agree, have made, with the help of a pettifogging attorney, a tolerably decent struggle against the trammels of a parchment bond. "No *direct* "pledge!" Verily, when the king had heard this from them; when he had seen the readiness with which they acted upon it, it was high time to have their pledges down in black and white.——With respect to the plea, that they gave up the bill, in order that they might be able to keep their places *for the good of the country*, it is, I will say that for it, the most modest I ever heard in all my life; but, at the same time, it is a plea that every set of placemen have made use of from the days of the famous CABAL down to those of Lord Howick and General Fitzpatrick: Pitt did not court place. Lord Melville never wanted place. Nor the Addingtons nor the Hawkesburies nor the Hobarts nor the Edens nor the Roses nor the Huskissons nor the Cannings nor the Calcrafts nor Alexander Davison nor General Delancey; no, none of them ever wanted, or now want, place and pelf, any more than these are wanted by the Grenvilles: all, all to a man, have wanted merely the power of serving the country; that country which is so dear to them, and to which they are so dear. But, in such case, men, in the ardour of their zeal to be serviceable, are apt to over-rate their ability; and, I think, if we look at the thirteen months administration of these men, we shall find it difficult to imagine how they could possibly have done less good to the country; the putting a stop to the increase of the taxes being the only act of theirs worthy of marked approbation, and that was a measure, which the state of things would, of itself, have effected. It may, indeed, be said, that, after having, most of them, been kept out of power for twenty years, nay for twenty-two years, it was no more than fair to allow them the first year to settle themselves and their relations well down; and that, when we accuse Mr. Sheridan of having fulfilled none of his pledges, we uncandidly overlook the fact, that he has been settling his son in a place worth three thousand pounds a year, at home, while he is captain of a regiment serving abroad; is this doing nothing? Is it nothing for Mr. Grey to have made his father an Earl and himself a Lord? Did he do nothing while he was at the head of the Admiralty? Those who accuse him of that forget, surely, that he turned off Sir Charles Saxton, the Commissioner at Portsmouth, upon a pension, for life, of six hundred pounds a year, in order to make way for his brother, the "Honourable" Mr. Grey; and that another brother of his, who has acquired his military fame I know not where, has been appointed to

supercede General Baird in the command of the Cape of Good Hope. Is this doing nothing? And this is only a very small part of what he has done for his own kindred, to say nothing of what he has done for those who have shewn themselves willing to defend him against the reproaches of his former friends. Then there is my Lord Henry Petty, has he done nothing? Let any one look at the brood of young friends that he was nursing up, and some of whom he had actually got, not only into office but into parliament, though, to ignorant observers, it would not seem that nature ever intended them for any thing beyond the desk of a counting-house. This is, I think, doing much; and, only a little of his lordship's works, in this way, have become visible, the chief part of his brood having not yet made their appearance, being, at this moment, in much about the same situation as that of a nest of callow rats at the tearing down of the building, amongst the rotten and hollow parts of which they are deposited. Has Mr. Calcraft done nothing? Has General Fitzpatrick done nothing in not only attending to his office, but in securing to himself, independent of that office, a colonelship of an old regiment, though he sold his company in the Guards twenty years ago, and though he has not seen a day's service since? Has Lord Erskine done nothing? Is the taking of his son from the bar (where, doubtless, he would soon have got briefs and fees), and the making an *ambassador* of him; is this nothing? Is it nothing to have bestowed a large church living upon a son of Mrs. Bouverie? Is it nothing to have made comfortable provision for every relation that was dependent upon himself? And, are all these things; are they, and a hundred others that might be mentioned, nothing? Are they nothing at all? And, coming to reason and conscience, Gentlemen, could we expect, that, amidst all these important concerns, the old musty pledges about parliamentary reform and the sedition bills should be remembered? To be sure, it may be said, that any body else; that any fifty men that one could have stopped in the Haymarket, would have been as able, though, perhaps, not quite so willing, to do all this, as the Whig ministers have been; and, as this is probably true, I really can see no reason to regret, upon the score of ability, their departure from office, especially when I consider, that they will be succeeded by men equally adroit in the creating and disposing of places and pensions.——The second grand reason alledged for their offering to withdraw the bill, is, that they wished to deprive the *tartuffe* courtiers, as they call them, of an opportunity of asserting, that they were turned out for attempting to force the king to do that which was contrary to the dictates of his conscience. Now, Gentlemen, you will observe, that, either they did attempt to force the king's conscience, or they did not. If they did not; if they proposed to him nothing but what was constitutional and expedient; what a pretty proof of their *firmness* have we, in their having given up the measure, lest their adversaries should make of their perseverance a handle wherewith to excite popular prejudice against them? And, if they did attempt to force the king's conscience, what shall we say to the sincerity that taught them to endeavour to make the world believe, that they did not? Their choice, therefore, seems to lie between unparralleled pusillanimity and unparralleled hypocrisy, the very least of their meannesses being, that, at any rate, and upon any condition, they wished to keep their places. "No," they will say, "we "refused to keep them upon the last condi- "tion proposed to us." Aye, aye; so you did; but, you well knew, that, if the king had once had you down in black and white, your places would not have been worth an hour's purchase; and that, in fact, you would have been turned out, and, if possible, in a plight a little worse than that which you now are.———As long as there was any, even the faintest hope, of preserving those places, you stuck to them like a louse to a German's beard, which retreats and advances with the ebbing and flowing of the beer mug or the gin glass; but, when you were *certain* that you could keep them no longer, then, and not until then, you made a refusal that might serve, as you hoped, to reinstate you in the opinion of your former friends; a hope in which you will, assuredly, find yourselves deceived. Your promised *explanation* cannot have reached me, before this sheet is in the press; but, after what I have seen in your associate, Mr. Perry's news-paper, I want not to hear it, in order to enable me to judge of its substance. It will consist in dark hints, in general, loose, and common-place observations, upon the prerogatives of the crown, upon the duty and *responsibility* of ministers, upon the critical situation of affairs, and upon your own endeavours and virtues; but, mark my words, your harangues will be received, out of doors, at least, with as much indifference as you received the petition of Colonel Johnstone. The news-papers containing them may be *read*, and may be *suffered to lie upon the table*; but, not one

sigh of sorrow will they draw forth, not one word will they cause to be articulated in your favour.

III. Upon the conduct of the King, in this case, there is no need of saying much. He acted as most other men do, in similar circumstances; he followed his own inclination. It is not necessary to enter upon the question, whether he did right, or wrong; and, besides, the constitution says, that he can do no wrong. All that it seems to be worth our while to think about, as touching the conduct of the King, is this: that, the news-paper writers assert, that it was he, or persons acting under his commands, that stopped the progress of the bill in the House of Commons. I have before observed, that we have been taught to believe, that there are certain *checks* and *balances* in our constitution of government; but, Gentlemen, if these news-writers speak truth; if the King can, when he pleases, put a stop to the progress of a bill in the House of Commons; if this be the case, it is, in reality, the King who causes every law to pass that does pass; and, as he is also the executor of the law, where, in that case, are those famous *checks* and balances? And, of what use at all is the House of Commons? You will, of course, perceive, that I am arguing against the doctrine of the news-paper writers, without pretending to admit the fact; but, Gentlemen, I scruple not to assert, and that in the most unqualified manner, that, if the King had it in his power to stop, whether directly or indirectly, the progress of a bill in parliament, that parliament, like the old degenerated, corrupted, and despised parliament of Paris, would be a mere court wherein to register the edicts of the King, and that we, however we might endeavour to disguise the shameful truth, should be the subjects of an arbitrary monarch.——So far, however, am I from regarding this as our present situation; so far am I from looking upon the parliament as a set of puppets, moved backward and forward by a set of ministerial wires; so far am I from supposing that 658 of our countrymen could be found to be so detestably base, that I must regard the postponement of the Roman Catholic bill as merely temporary. It was brought in by Lord Howick; but, having been read by the House of Commons, having been received by that House with every mark of approbation, some other member will, surely, move for the second reading, in due time. I confidently trust, that I shall not be disappointed in this, because it seems necessary in order to give a proof of the absurdity of the above-mentioned doctrine of the news-paper writers, Good God! the King cause a bill to be stopped in its progress through the House of Commons! I dare be sworn that such an idea never entered the mind of his Majesty even in a dream. If this were the case, what a farce would be the *deliberations* of that house! We might do with their votes what that excellent fellow, Swift, proposed to do with those of the Legion Club. Forbid it decency! Forbid it the title of "honourable gentleman!" Why, if this abominable doctrine were to be admitted, the deliberations of the House of Commons would resemble the proceedings of a Dean and Chapter, acting, in the choice of a bishop, under the illuminating inspiration of a *congé d'élire*; that is to say, *a leave to elect a bishop*, accompanied with *the name of the person to be elected.*" Mr. Baron Maseres, in an excellent pamphlet upon church affairs, recommends that this mode of proceeding be discontinued; because, says he, it is ridiculous to hold an election, when the parties electing are commanded whom to elect, and it is particularly offensive, to a mind really religious, to see the aid of the Holy Ghost invoked upon such occasions. It were much better, he adds, for the king to appoint the bishops at once by letters patent. And, Gentlemen, if the doctrine of the news-paper writers were sound, would it not be much better for the king to make the laws himself and to issue them to his subjects, as the Emperors of Russia and Austria do? If the king and his ministers, no matter which, could stop the progress of a bill, in the House of Commons, when they pleased, they could of course, cause to pass whatever laws they pleased; and, if they could do this, no matter by what means, whether by the bayonet or by securing a corrupt majority of the members, should we not be the most base of wretches to affect to believe ourselves to be the subjects of an arbitrary monarch? Far, however, from us Gentlemen, be such thoughts as these. We know that this news-paper doctrine is base and wicked. We know, that the "faithful" "Commons" are the guardians of our purses and our liberties. We know that they are all, yea all, "honourable gentlemen." We know how full of independence and of spirit they are; and, therefore, I call upon you to join me in execrating this abominable doctrine of the news-paper writers, who, when I consider what passed with respect to Mr. Reeves, must, I should think, certainly have their ears clipped off. Mr. Reeves had said, in a pamphlet, that the

constitution was a tree, of which the king was the trunk, and the two houses of parliament the branches, or, rather the limbs. "These two," said he, "may be hewn down "and cast into the fire; but the trunk still "flourishes." This metaphor caused a prodigious uproar. The Whigs, with Mr. Sheridan at their head, brought the matter before parliament, and moved and voted for the pamphlet to be burnt by the hands of the Common Hangman, and to address the king never to suffer Mr Reeves to enjoy any place of profit of trust, as long as he should live This motion failed, but the House ordered the Attorney General to prosecute Mr. Reeves in the court of King's Bench, and in the motion for this order they were nearly unanimous. Well, then, will the Whigs now be silent, when it is openly, and, doubtless "*falsely* and *scandalously*" asserted, that the king has caused a bill to be stopped in its progress through the House of Commons, and, what is more, that these very Whigs, have been the bearers of his commands? Oh, foul and wicked slander; equal, at the very least, to that contained in Mr Paull's last petition! And, shall this pass unnoticed? I trust not. I trust, that some one of those "youths of elevated rank "and of lofty and generous sentiments," whom Mr. Wilberforce so applauded, during the debate upon the slave-trade abolition bill; I do trust, that some one of them will step forward, upon this occasion, to avenge us, who have been so grossly insulted in the persons and office of our independent and faithful and incorruptible representatives, called the House of Commons.

IV. As to the cause of boldness in the adversaries of the ministers, it is simply this; that they well knew, that there was not one sensible and sound man in the kingdom, or upon the face of the whole earth, that would make an effort to prevent their being turned out, or that would express, or feel, the smallest regret at the event; and, as to the great body of the people, exclusive of the government dependents, it was easy to foresee, that, though they might expect no good from their successors, they would feel satisfaction at the fall of those, who, after twenty years of pledges, had disappointed and betrayed them. In the passage which I have taken as a motto to this sheet, Gentlemen, I expressed the hopes and the fears, which alternately pervaded my mind, at the time when these ministers came into power. In twenty other passages, written about the same time, I exhorted the ministers so to act as to merit the confidence of the people; and, in one of those passages, in particular, I predicted, that, unless they so acted, their power would be of short duration, and their fall unregretted. My exhortations passed by unheeded. Instead of a *great change* as to the system of Pitt, the new ministers began their career by voting away our money to pay the debts of Pitt, whose character and whose system have been, from that day to this, subjects of their incessant and even gratuitous applause, while, in their measures, in their doubling of the income-tax; in their screwing up of the collections of the assessed and other taxes; in their stifling of inquiry, by their previous questions; in their backwardness to grant papers of information; in their constant and but too successful efforts to screen persons, accused of misrule or peculation; in their unrelenting oppression of all those who became accusers of such persons; in their dissolving of parliament and their interference in elections; in their introduction of foreign troops; in their creating of new offices and granting of new pensions; in all these, and in almost every thing else, they have followed the example of Pitt, and have, with all their might, both in words and in deeds, supported his destructive system. And, as if all this were not enough, the persons formerly attached to them, and to whom they principally owed their elevation, not being made of stuff sufficiently supple for their purposes, they uniformly turned their backs upon, while they embraced with political philanthrophy, the ready-made sycophants of Pitt. Of the numbers upon whom they turned their backs, *I am not one*, I having, on the *eve* of their elevation, explicitly declared to them, that *I never would have any public emolument as long as I lived*; but, I know many, upon whom they have turned their backs; and, amongst all their sins, this, their sin of ingratitude, is by far the greatest. Let them now wail the lost love of the people; that people, whom, in the hey-day of their power, they despised and held in derision. Do they expect, Gentlemen, that *you*, for instance, to whom they formerly addressed themselves for support, and against whose free voice they have recently combined with the Pitts in such malignant hostility, representing as Jacobins and Levellers all of you who adhered faithfully to the principles formerly professed by themselves, do they, indeed, expect, that, amongst you, there will be found one single man foolish enough to regret their fall? Whatever they may expect, however an overweening vanity may lead them to conclude, that their power [illegible] will again

serve their turn, their adversaries will draw no such conclusion. Those adversaries well know, that while they have lost all their former friends, they have gained over not one of their former enemies, who, while they were cherished by them, were watching for the opportunity of insuring their destruction. Those adversaries well know, that their professions will never again be believed; and that, when, from the opposition benches, where they are already seated, they again clamour about corruption, and about the increasing power of the crown, we shall remind them (as with life and health, we will) of their own corruption, and of their having added so enormously to the pensions of the Royal Family, while, at the very same time, they passed an act to exempt from the income tax the King's property in the funds. All this their adversaries well know, and knowing it, they also know, that they have nothing to fear from their clamours, which will all be ascribed, as is most justly due, not to the love of their country, but solely to the love of power and emolument.

Upon the remaining topics, I shall trouble you with some observations in a future letter. In the meanwhile,

I remain,
Gentlemen,
Your faithful friend,
And obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 25th March, 1807.

P. S. I find, that in representing *Sir Philip Francis* as having been appointed Governor of Buenos Ayres, and *Mr. Windham* as having belonged to the Jacobin Club at Paris, I was deceived by the newspapers. The former, I find has no place; and the latter (whom I always except when I speak in terms of disapprobation of the ministers, and with whose name, I am confident, I shall never be under the necessity of connecting any mean act or motive) was I am assured, never a member of the Jacobin Club.——I shall, next week, if possible, publish the whole of Mr. Le Maitre's Vindication; and that, I think, will amply compensate for any little omission, when he was named upon a former occasion ——In the present sheet will be found a letter from Mr. O'Bryen upon the *Rochester Election* and upon *Whig Gratitude*, upon which subject Mr. O'Bryen could write a very interesting and instructive chapter.

ROCHESTER ELECTION.

From the Morning Post.

MR. EDITOR.—As, during the Rochester Election, the cause of Sir Sydney Smith had your generous support, and I, his representative upon that occasion, experienced your kindness, I trust you will afford to me the opportunity of saying, through your journal, a few final words upon the final result of that struggle.—Immediately after the election, your readers may recollect that some articles appeared in your paper, which proved upon Mr. Calcraft, as far as fact and fair reasoning can prove, the loss of Sir Sydney Smith's Election. The names were then published of the voters in the Ordnance Department. Even at that time, when Mr. Barnett's majority stood at eleven, the cause of Sir Sydney's failure was made matter of demonstration. At this moment, the majority of Mr. Barnett is reduced to six. A scrutiny of the votes did not constitute a principal object of the petition. Only about one hour and a half of the whole time the Committee sat was occupied in scrutiny. Had witnesses, who had been duly summoned, and whose names were repeatedly and vainly called over on Thursday last, attended in time, the numbers of Sir Sydney and Mr. Barnett had been nearly equalled. These facts are stated only for the purpose of pointing the public attention to the honour and probity of those persons who first proclaimed that six votes could not be gotten for Sir Sydney—and who, afterwards, upon the damning contradiction exhibited by the poll, changed their honest cant, and attributed the miscarriage of his cause to mismanagement. He, for whom six votes could not be procured, has, at this moment, only six votes against him, in an election where between seven and eight hundred persons polled!—In the very outset of the committee, the genius of Mr. Calcraft revealed itself. It is the custom of committees not to admit witnesses into the court till they are called. An order to attend as a witness had been served upon me, Sir, who now address you. The drift of this stratagem was quite obvious. As it was made a fundamental point, during the election, that I should be interrupted whenever I addressed the Hall, at Rochester, so it became a primary ground in London to exclude me from the committee. There is an involuntary flattery in all this, which my opponents have not art enough to conceal. The committee first sat on Friday the 20th of February; and the first thing that occurred, even before the chairman had taken his seat was, Mr. Calcraft's saying "Mr. O'Bryen is summoned as a witness, and cannot be in the room." Serjeant Lens, the eminently able leader for the petition, appealed to the committee, and said the cause could not go on, if the counsel

were deprived of my assistance. At length this manœuvre was baffled by my name being taken down as an 'agent'—and the circumstance is here stated, only to shew, that Mr. Calcraft has preserved his consistency, throughout the business, even to dramatic exactness.—The committee closed its labours yesterday; and the result is, that Mr Barnett retains his seat—that the petition was not frivolous or vexatious.—A detail of the transactions in the committee would be as impossible in a newspaper, as it is evidently useless.—Sir, if the conduct of a committee of the House of Commons, or of the House of Commons itself, were not liable to the fair revision of their fellow citizens, this would not be England; but some servile, ill starred region, in which the principles of free thinking, of virtue, and of legal liberty, were utterly extinct. If it were my opinion that this committee had not discharged its high function suitably to its designation, I apprehend that I should find it far from a difficult task, decorously and within the law, to discuss its errors; but from all embarrassment on that score, the upright determinations of the committee relieve me altogether. The committee has approved itself, what all committees sitting under the Grenville Act, will, I trust, ever be found, a court of conscience and of honour, in the truest sense of the words. There are, however, who think that the treating was brought sufficiently within the statute to vacate the election; yet it cannot be denied, even by me, an interested party, that the evidence upon this point, is, upon the whole, somewhat short of every other case of actual vacation that has reached my knowledge. The truth is, there are dangers both ways. If the members of so uncertain a body as an election committee are identified with a candidate, no candidate can be safe. *E contra*, if an election committee, keeping clear of the ostensibility of a candidate, can order seven hundred pounds worth of treating, in one house, in a few days, is it not to be feared, that the doors are thrown open again to that system of cruel expense, and consequent brutalization which, if put an end to, would be of itself a reform of parliament, in favour of which all discords would harmonize.—— These are points replete with doubt, and on which few will decide without a pause, except, indeed, it may be, some such gifted mortal as Mr. Barnett's nominee a luminary compared with whom Judge Minos was a Jefferies.—As to the seat, it was the wish of Sir Sidney Smith's representative, who has no taste for an useless revenge—failing to seat his principal under the petition, rather to leave Mr. Barnett in possession, than encounter the toils of a fresh contest. Other friends decided otherwise, and upon grounds both reasonable and natural. The conduct of their opponents at Rochester towards Sir Sidney's friends was not of a character to neutralise or reconcile them. A silence, total and entire, on our part, from the first day of the election to the last, was met by a course of libelling quite unparalleled. Even, to this hour, four months after the contest, this honourable warfare is kept up with an indefatigableness which is quite surprising. I have had somewhat more than one man's share of these good things levelled at me, but I am patient and silent.

'Full four months this slander'd, did I once reply?

There is about us cockneys, a sort of metropolitan apathy upon such points, which provincial sensibility cannot be brought to. That mere slander never does a permanent mischief is, with me, a fixed opinion. I have in the course of my life observed, that the greatest, the brightest, and the best of our cotemporaries, have been the most assailed in this way, yet have I seen them closing their long glories with a deeper hold on the hearts of their friends, and in the regards of good men, than those whom public calumny has never once disturbed out of their tranquil obscurity, whilst the host of their revilers is utterly forgotten. 'If you will give me eighteen-pence,' said Swift to Pope, 'I will ensure you, that posterity shall never know you had an enemy, unless you preserve his remembrance by naming him.' It is not in the vices alone of the great that the little should follow their example.—This Rochester contest has, indeed, been to me the source of various vexation. It has raised up against me, new, numerous, and powerful enemies, without the smallest possibility of balancing the evil by any kind of benefit. Frail indeed is the security against the malice of bad men, that we have not deserved it. Slight is the force of mere reason when opposed by bare faced power. The hostilities are incredible which I am encountering, only for the guilt of being in earnest in a friendship of twenty-five years duration. And is the attempting a kindness, merely for its own sake, such an offence against society as demands an apology? Surely this, if it be an innovation, may be pardoned—in the assured certainty, that the practice will not be contagious. Oh, grave! thou hast indeed a victory! If he, whose service was perfect freedom, and to whose free service (I am fit for none else) I have dedicated my life—if he, in whose very defects there were more

virtues than in the perfections of half the kings and ministers upon earth, were now in life and light, I think he would not see a man put upon his defence only for not being insincere; nor would the question be mooted whether or not it is a crime, to aim at an honest service for an absent friend. In what I am now saying, there is more, much more than meets the reader's ear; but less, far less than is sadly passing in the writer's mind. A little, and but a little, justice is all that I ask of either foes or friends.—— D. O'Bryen, *Craven-street, Feb.* 23, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 14.

Sir,—No two propositions can be more distinct than *yours* upon this subject, in the sense in which it presented itself to my mind upon its first appearance, and in that which your explanation has since given to it; so much so, that if I have now discovered your meaning, though I still differ from you, I shall release you and your readers from any further attention to me; for the difference between us will not remain so considerable as to induce me to take any part in the ensuing contest. You are wrong, Sir, in imputing to me any contempt for you as an antagonist: in this sort of warfare, I consider you as more than a "giant refreshed;" as a "giant" who does not want refreshing. I am but a pigmy; but there are some occasions, upon which no sense of inequality ought to dismay us; and such an one should I have thought the present, if your meaning had been what I supposed it. I should then have gone on to the contest with the same feelings with which David went forth to meet Goliah, relying not upon my own strength, but upon the justice of my cause. I find, however, Sir, that I have totally misunderstood the meaning of the words "general education," as they occur in your proposition; and I think the blame is with yourself. How could I suppose, from the occasion that introduced your remarks upon this subject, that you meant by "general education," the education of the generality of mankind; the meaning which your explanation has now affixed to those words?—You go into the Senate; you are present at the discussion of a question, that can be fairly considered only by a reference to those maxims of sound policy and general justice, that have been collected and enforced in the ablest manner by writers in one of the dead languages: you return in a fit of indignation at the frequent repetition by the different speakers of the terms which those writers use; and then you come to the profound conclusion, "that the Dead Languages are improperly called learned; "and, as a part of general education, are "worse than useless." Now, Sir, of whose education could I suppose you were complaining, if not of that of the speakers whom you had just heard? I therefore supposed that you meant to condemn the adoption of "those languages, as a part of that general "education" which ought to be given to a senator, contra-distinguished to that particular education which might be considered as necessary for a professional man.—With your proposition, taken in this sense, I felt ready to combat, as with one of the most absurd that has ever been maintained by the boldest adventurer in reasoning; but if, Sir, I have mistaken your meaning, however I may differ from you, I beg to withdraw from the contest; observing only, that the proposition, as I now understand it, hardly applies to the course of academical education in this country; for, I believe, it will be found upon inquiry, that there are few, if any, students entered at either of our universities, who are not intended for one of the learned professions; or else are, by family or fortune, entitled to indulge the ambition of becoming either hereditary or elective members of the British Senate—I am, Sir,—A LATE MEMBER OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.——*Temple, Jan.* 28*th.*

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 15.

Sir,——I presume that the battle array which has been drawn out against you, in defence of the "Learned Languages," has awakened you to a due sense of your temerity, and that you have now shrunk appalled from the contest in which you so imprudently engaged yourself. To spare a fallen enemy may be a very good maxim in ordinary warfare, but we never admit it in our literary contentions, much less can we think of mercy in the present case, when our whole body has been vilified, when you have laid us open so inhumanly, when you have stung us all to the quick, as you will doubtless have perceived by the sympathetic agony which you have excited in many of my brethren who have addressed their angry observations to you. Therefore, Sir, you must pardon me if I inflict upon you a few more arguments in order to rivet you to the ground upon which you are now prostrate.——You would have us suppose, that the true signification of the word "knowledge," with reference to the earthly state of us mortals, is, a thorough acquaintance with those things which have a peculiar relation to our respective pursuits in life, and which enable us to fulfil, with ability, the duties of whatever

station we may be placed in. Thus you would call an able general, an able admiral, an able mechanic, "men of knowledge;" meaning, I suppose, that their excellence in their respective vocations, entitles them to this distinction. But, Sir, you would grossly misapply (and by misapplying degrade) an appellation reserved exclusively for eminent critical scholars: the first may have learnt by heart the translations of Homer, Thucydides, Cæsar, &c: he may have profoundly studied the modern science of war in all its branches, yet, if he be incapable of reading these old authors in their original text, he is, after all, but an arrant dunce; and so of your admiral and mechanic. The assertion that there are peculiar studies adapted to particular professions is mere nonsense, Sir: Greek and Latin are the only solid bases upon which a man can hope to raise a superstructure honourable to himself in whatever line of life he may embark. All my brother Periwigs, not excepting my brother of Queen's College, agree with me in this position; but as your stubborn neck may refuse to bow to such high authority, I shall, perhaps, in a future letter, give you my proofs. I shall shew you that the divine, however exemplarily he may discharge his pastoral duties in visiting the sick, administering comfort to the afflicted, whether in mind or body, relieving the necessitous, and observing in all things the precepts of the Gospel, is an unworthy member of his profession, and ought never to indulge a hope of advancement in the church, if he be not a good classical scholar, and cannot fluently read his testament in Greek; the which, therefore, is of far more importance than the practice of its tenets. I shall convince you, that a statesman can never be a proper guardian of the political and commercial interests of his country, unless he has studied the works of Plato and Aristotle in the original. I shall give you the most unanswerable reasons for the impossibility of the lawyer's becoming grounded in a knowledge of English jurisprudence, and of his acquiring that refined taste which alone can enable him to relish the delicate beauties and elegancies of his law Latinity, without being thoroughly versed in the old Roman language. I will prove to you, that our shop keepers' sons derive infinite benefit from our present school system, by being thereby enabled to address their future customer, with a Ciceronian *ore rotundo*; nay, even that our farmers and labourers cannot become eminent husbandmen, unless they can repeat Virgil's Georgicks and read Cato and Columella. In a word, I shall run through all the diversified characters of human pursuits, and distinctly shew you how the "Learned Languages" bear upon each of them. Such, indeed, is *my* admiration of them, that I would wish even that my servants had been taught to speak Greek, like a certain Polish nobleman I have heard of, whose love of music was so predominant that he never engaged any person in his employ who was not capable of addressing and answering him in recitative. I know, Sir, that you and many foxes who like you have either lost their tails or have never had any, (I shall not stick at this difference as my learned brother Anacharsis has done) will affect to treat all this with contempt. You will have the presumption to make light of all acquirements which have not an evident connexion with, which do not, more or less, directly tend to, some precise definite useful object of our duties. You will talk of the expediency of adapting the means to the end, condemning every hour as misapplied, which is applied in attaining what you have the insolence to call the superfluities of literature, and which might have been applied in obtaining the substance of what you would term *real knowledge*. You will call it something like folly to suppose that one general uniform system of education in the learned languages *can* be *properly* adapted to the instruction of youth, who are hereafter to be called to a variety of professions totally dissimilar as to the qualifications which are requisite for the exercise of them; throwing it in our teeth that even the ignorant vulgar do not apprentice their children (that is, put them to school) to a blacksmith to learn the art and mystery of a weaver, and exulting in this happy (I call it impertinent) illustration of your hypothesis. You will tell us that the attainment of ideas, not of words, is the sole legitimate object of study and education. You will endeavour to persuade us that you really and in good earnest are of opinion, that accurate translations of ancient authors are sufficient for every useful purpose; at least with those who cannot make a better; and that *that undefinable something*, beyond their mere ideas, which we discover in the originals, exists only in poetical composition, if it exist at all. You will say, perhaps, that a man may write good English, express his thoughts correctly, and even forcibly and elegantly, without understanding one word of Greek or Latin. And you may even have the effrontery to adduce yourself as an example. But, Sir, beware! the hour of complete vengeance is at hand. Dr. Parr and Mr. Porson are ready to hurl their Greek satires at your head. My learned brethren are preparing to overwhelm and absolutely to stifle you under a heap of cita-

tions from ancient and modern authorities; from the pressure of which no arguments drawn from abstract theory or practical observation can relieve you. The spirits of departed pedagogues will rise up against you; every living pedagogue will have his birch uplifted to chastise such an insolent innovator, whilst I and my fellow collegians will expose to the world the folly of your supposition, that a man may discharge all the moral and social obligations of his station in life with ability and reputation, without possessing any knowledge of the " Learned Languages;" and even that he may have a chance of discharging them with much more utility to the public, and credit to himself, if the time which is usually devoted to these languages, were employed in the pursuit of that knowledge which is immediately applicable to the profession which he may have chosen for himself.—And now, Sir, having done for the present with the argumentative part of my observations, permit me to address a word or two to your conscience, if a man who does not understand Greek and Latin can have a conscience. Have you well considered the consequences which your revolutionary doctrines are calculated to produce? Were your system to be adopted and acted upon, all our youth would be deprived of the pleasureable occupation of applying unremittingly to the Learned Languages during 9 or 10 years of their lives, and would be sent, perhaps, to some vulgar institutions, where nothing would be taught them but such things as base minds call " useful for the purposes of active life"—such things as you may be foolish enough to think better adapted than these dead languages to excite and gratify the curiosity of young people, and to enlarge their minds without creating that tœdium which the study of mere language is supposed to create even in grown persons. A total breaking up of *our* venerable ancient monastic establishment must sooner or later ensue, or, at least it would fall into disrepute and neglect, if you should succeed in persuading the world that a head is not well filled merely because it is filled with Greek and Latin. Then, Sir, do you not feel some emotions of compassion and pity, when you reflect upon the number of terrific perriwigs (whose sizes are always commensurate with the erudition of which they are the emblems) which, as well as the exalted heads which they cover, the triumph of your principles would humble to the dust? Consider, Sir, I beseech you, the woeful plight in which you would see the possessors of these heads and perriwigs, when, by neutralizing the merits of their present contents, they would be reduced to the extremity of advertising them " to be lett unfurnished," consider what havock you would make among us all, should the world, imbibing your extravagant notions of the nullity of what we call, and what has hitherto been regarded as *learning*, place all our acquirements on the lowest point of the scale of human attainments. Reflect upon these and the many other evils which would flow from the accomplishment of your abominable projects, and if you have a heart susceptible of feeling, you will suffer the double torture of a disgraceful defeat, and of the compunctions of your own conscience; in which state I shall leave you for the present.——I must, however, before I conclude, make an apology for my learned brother Anacharsis, who has unwittingly introduced the name of Locke in support of our thesis.—This Locke, Sir, was an ignorant fellow, who wrote what he chose to call a Treatise on Education, in which he has not treated the Learned Languages with that profound respect which they deserve, and which my learned brother has apparently never read.——I am, Sir, yours,——A PERRIWIG OF MAUDLIN.—— *Oxford, Feb. 25, 1807.*

" LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 16.

SIR,——In my last letter to you (No. 9.) I expressed my opinions upon the subject of the " Learned Languages," and then waited quietly till your promised vindication of their inutility should appear; but, as I find you have extended the hour till May-day, I am induced to send you a second letter. I have taken the trouble to read all the arguments on either side, asserted in your Register by different correspondents; and sometimes I have thought that your liberality has triumphed over your judgment, by inserting such futile productions as school-boys only could pen, and school-boys only ought to read. Among these, I must class the communications of one who signs himself P. F., whom to answer seriously would, in my opinion, confer more dignity upon folly, than folly ever can deserve. There is nothing more surprising in the human mind, than that obscurity of perception which darkens the clearest propositions, and throws a tenfold night about them. But, in the present case, the problem is easily solved; the mere love of opposition, the pleasure of controverting what another maintains, and perhaps too, in weak minds, the pleasure of seeing their own lucubrations in print, with a neat type, and upon a nice yellow paper, are motives strong enough; and, indeed, I feel that such motives only could operate to the production of such *anilities* as those I allude to. I can easily foresee, that some ingenious gentleman may have wit enough to retort

this upon myself: but, after this anticipation, he would only have the humble merit of acting from my suggestion.—Those who have argued on the opposite side of the question, and maintain the *utility* of the Learned Languages, have not one of them, formed a right conception of the case. They confound perpetually the *languages* with the *things* contained in those languages. They talk of the beautiful morality of Xenophon, of the profundity of Tacitus, the elegant precision of Sallust, *usque ad nauseam;* they never consider that this morality, that this profundity exist as effectually in our versions of them, as in the originals. Will any man venture to tell me that after reading the Cyropœdia of Xenophon in Lord Lansdown's translation, I have not as clear an idea of the virtues that constitute an amiable prince and a wise legislator, as he who learnedly mouths it in the Greek? Or, will it be asserted, that I shall not feel the same detestation of the vices of Cambyses, as related in Herodotus, because I read the account of them in English? What a mummery is this! The correspondent mentioned above, talks idly about the revival of learning, and thinks he has established a wonderful fact when he discovers that to that revival we owe our present advancement in science. This is something like a man who should tell you it is dark at night, and light in the day time. The discovery of ancient manuscripts certainly engendered an ardour for learning, and an emulation which at a remote period produced the most important events: but the bastard learning of the middle ages is more easily praised than read. But even so late as the close of the fifteenth century, the Medicean family in their laudable efforts for the preservation of classical remains, only built as it were a cradle in which future literary heroes were to be nursed. Three of the greatest names of modern Italy were a century anterior to this, Dante, Boccacio and Petrarca; and at that time there were few manuscripts yet discovered, and those few difficult of attainment. (See Vie de Petrarque par de Sade.) Sallust, Livy, some of the works of Cicero and a few of the poets: what assistance then, did those men derive from the Latin classics? and Greek was altogether out of the question, for it was not till the subversion of the Eastern empire in 1452 that the fugitive Greeks brought their language and literature to Italy. It appears, therefore, that to the exertions of native genius the knowledge of ancient languages is by no means an indispensible appanage. Shakespeare knew them not, and who regrets that he did not? Burns knew them not, and where is he that thinks for a moment, his genius would have exerted itself more vigorously if he had? But this is somewhat irrelevant to that part of the question which I am more immediately anxious to controvert.—Knowledge may be considered under two different points of view; its acquisition and its application; these two are quite distinct, for there are some who store up mines of intellectual wealth, and have not the talent to bring it into circulation. Knowledge is nothing but an aggregation of *ideas* derived from experience, from books, or from reflection: we are acquiring the first from the day of our birth to the day of our death: the second only a favoured few acquire; and the third a still more favoured few. I shall confine myself to the second. The consciousness which we have of any thing is an idea, and the question is not, *how* this consciousness is acquired, but whether it be actually acquired. If I know that Cyrus defeated Cræsus at the battle of Thymbria; if I know that Egyptian Thebes had a hundred gates and could send forth 10,000 armed men at each; if I know that Semiramis crossed the Indus, or that Sardanapalus was a weak and effeminate king, and the last of the Assyrian monarchy; that the grandeur of Nineveh perished with his falling fortunes; if I know all this, what does it matter whether I have learnt it in Greek or English? The Grecian or the Latinist may tell me, you have lost the beauties of the original, you have lost all that indefinable grace which cannot be transfused into a foreign language, the harmony of periods, the charms of antithesis have totally escaped you; though he should tell me this, and probably what he tells me would be true, yet I would reply that *my knowledge*, my useful, my substantial knowledge, was not one whit inferior to his: I am prepared to draw all the results which my reason can draw, and that is the knowledge of reflection. I will illustrate this from example. A linguist reads in Tacitus *obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur:* an unlettered man reads *envy and detraction are willingly received:* the former, reads in Seneca, *curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent;* the latter, *light sorrows are clamorous, severe ones are dumb; &c &c.* and I would ask whether the moral truth of the one or the other be not as perfectly possessed, relished, and understood by both? What is there so all commanding in these languages, that our native idiom is to be degraded as fit only for transacting our daily duties? The miserable affectation of scholars has produced this blind resignation of our sober faculties; scholars, who themselves destitute of native powers seek to enhance the reputation of what they have acquired, and magnify their own pursuits; like the tanner, the stone

mason, and the carpenter in the fable, who were for having respectively the walls of their town made of leather stone, and wood.—But there is another advantage which these advocates in support of the Learned Languages maintain; viz. that the knowledge of our own is wonderfully improved by them This, in futility, far transcends the other. These entrench themselves behind the wretched affectation of learning, and shew, with the absurd parade of a scholar, the use they have made of their own utensils! Greek! Greek! Latin! Latin! that's their acropolis, that's their bulwark; that's their defence; and that they imagine is to be a gag of silence upon unlettered reasoners, to strike them with awe, to strike them with humility and submission. They complain, that they found a difficulty in understanding words derived from the Greek and Latin; that they confounded their significations; that they never had clear ideas of them. All this may be so; and if it *be* so, I am not bound to shew the reason *why* it is so, though there needs "no ghost come from the grave to tell us." But I will maintain, that a man of common sense may have as accurate an idea of a vocable derived from the Learned Languages, *as it is used in our own*, as he who knows its radix. I say, as it is USED IN OUR OWN; for the stability of a language is or ought to be such, as to preclude innovation; and although I may know that a certain word bears a multiplicity of significations in its original, yet *I* am bound to use it, not according to those primitive significations, but according to its received and legitimate ones in my native tongue; and a man who knows *no* language but his own, may yet *acquire* his own, in the fullest and completest sense of the word, by the study of the best writers and the use of the best dictionaries. I have also heard it urged, that students in anatomy have had a clearer idea of the several parts of the human body, after they had learned Greek than before. But *I know*, that the first surgeon now in England, and who resides not far from St. James's, has no more Greek than an Ethiopian; and another medical gentleman, a friend of mine, who has risen to the top of his profession, knows no language but his own: and yet I'll answer for it, he would amputate a limb, or perform an operation, with as much skill and success as a Greek surgeon; nay, he has often *succeeded* in delicate cases, which the first professional men have declined as hopeless. But in good truth, such jargon can only be tolerable in the mouth of a mere scholar, who possesses not one tittle of native genius, and who erects his self-sufficiency simply and solely upon the plodding diligence with which he has turned over dictionaries and grammars. The knowledge of languages is certainly an ornament to the edifice of *genius*; but when they exist solitary in a barren mind, which produces not one indigenous plant, which merely bears, and that not in a very flourishing manner, whatever is transplanted into it, I then look upon them as a very humble sort of merit indeed. They can aspire no higher than to the poor applause of successful diligence; a diligence in which *every* man can become their competitor, and *many* bear away with the laurel. It requires just the same temper of feeling by which the woodman fells a tree, or the hedger excavates a ditch; they know that their strokes constantly repeated will at length produce the desired effect. The linguist also knows that a heavy and inflexible perseverance must ultimately bring him to an end, and imprint upon his mind the vocables of the language he is studying. But when we compare this humble merit with the higher occupations of the mind, when we compare it with the flights of fancy, the daring combinations of genius, the sublime pictures of imagination, when we compare it with the successful investigation of moral truth, the discoveries of science by which life is rendered happier and our ideas of the Creator expanded; when we compare it with almost any of the native energies of intellect, how poor, how despicably mean it sinks! Give them their due praise; assign them their just rank; and in their own minds let them estimate them as highly as they please: but let them not sink into the common and disgusting error of making the learned languages every thing, and every thing else nothing; let them not place Greek and Latin as the boundary between all that is great and wonderful and lovely, and what is poor, unworthy and disgraceful: let them estimate any thing by what they have, and they will then find that *words* do not always give *knowledge*; let them not come forth with a magisterial air and a vain parade of learning, to frighten plain, well-meaning men out of their mother tongue, which, God help them! they may have been learning thirty or forty years by telling them "you don't know "Greek; you don't know Latin; *ergo*, you "know nothing, not even English. Sir, it "is impossible that you can understand the "meaning of *synecdoche, sycopa, metaphrase, misogamist, misogymy*, for you "don't know Greek!"—I smile when I think of such language, and pity those who use it.——I remain, Sir, &c.—ATTALUS.—*Liverpool, March* 23, 1807.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 14.] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 4, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

" I pledge myself to this house and to this country, to shew, that the waste and profligacy, that attends " places and pensions and abuse of various public officers are so great as to be sufficient to maintain with " bread all the labouring poor of this country. I do not speak hastily and at random; I have information " to proceed upon; for I have been in a situation, in which I had an opportunity of examining into these " matters."——MR. SHERIDAN'S Speech, 13th March, 1797.

TO THE

FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XI.

GENTLEMEN,

The two topics, which, from want of room, I left untouched upon in the last letter that I had the honour to address to you, namely, the manner in which the people are considered and treated in the changes of the several ministries, and the great and general cause of these struggles, so manifestly hostile to the interests, the tranquillity, and the honour of our country; upon these two topics I shall not now need to address you much in the way of reasoning, seeing that the debates, which have since taken place in the House of Commons, will, when merely analysed, afford you a *practical proof* of what it would have been my object to establish by argument.

But, before we proceed to this analysis, it seems necessary to observe, that the EXPLANATION, which was, with so much previous pomposity, given by Lord Howick, in the House of Commons, on the 26th of last month, differs in no material circumstance, from the statement of the case, as given in my last letter. It appears, 1st, that the bill in question, was before the House of Commons, where it had been received with great applause, and had been read a first time; 2nd, that the king expressed to the ministers his disapprobation of it; the ministers immediately consented to *withdraw it*, without, observe, seeming to think the consent of the House of Commons at all an object of solicitude; 3d, that they made a minute of council, however, in these words:—" That " they trusted that his Majesty would see " the indispensible necessity of their ex- " pressing, on withdrawing the Bill, the " strong persuasion they felt of the benefits " which would result from a different source " of policy to the Catholics of Ireland; and " they further stated, that it was indispen- " sible to their characters, that they should " openly avow these sentiments, not only " on the present occasion, but in the event " of the Catholic Petition coming forward: " and they further insisted, that the present " deference to his Majesty might not be un- " derstood as restraining them from sub- " mitting *for his Majesty's decision*, from " time to time, such measures as circum- " stances might require respecting the state " of Ireland;" 4th, that, upon perceiving this minute, the king not only dissented from it; but required of the ministers, that they should withdraw the latter part of it, and even substitute in its place a written obligation of a directly opposite nature, pledging themselves never to bring forward again the measure they had abandoned, nay more, never to propose, even to the king himself, any thing connected with the Catholic question; and, 5th, that, upon refusing to enter into this written obligation, the ministers were dismissed, and others, as we have seen, appointed in their stead. This is the fair state of the case, agreed upon by all parties. There is, indeed, a little dispute, as to whether the king was, beforehand, fully and circumstantially apprized of the whole extent of the measure, or whether a part of the tendency of the bill was not perceived by him previous to its introduction; but, of whatever importance this circumstance may be to those who attempt to reconcile with the spirit of our constitution the practice of originating bills under the express authority of the crown, and of withdrawing them under the same authority; of whatever importance this circumstance may be to such persons, it can, Gentlemen, be of no importance at all to us. These ministers we now find not ashamed openly to avow, that they proposed and brought in a bill, to which they first thought it their duty to obtain the king's consent; and that, the moment they perceived a change in the mind of the king with respect to it, they agreed to withdraw the bill from the House of Com-

mons; and, this avowal they are not afraid to make in that very House of Commons, where, that the thing may be complete, they are heard with applause! Observe, too, that they complain most bitterly of having been *misrepresented*, and the gentle Lord Howick talks of newspaper *libellers*. But, what is this misrepresentation? Some one, no matter who, publishes their famous minute of council, leaving out the words which I have marked by Italick characters; so that, from this publication, it might have been understood, that they reserved to themselves "the "right of submitting, *for the decision of* "*parliament*, such measures as circumstan- "ces might, from time to time, require, "respecting the state of Ireland" No, say they; no such thing; we did not attempt to reserve to ourselves any such right. All we attempted to do was, to reserve a right to submit such measures for *the decision of the king*. The newspaper libellers have represented us as having put upon record an assertion that we retained some small part of our rights as members of parliament; but their representations are false and malicious; for we were still willing not to stir an inch in proposing any act of parliament, without the previous decision of the king in its favour. These wicked "newspaper libellers" never think of accusing the ministers of any thing but of not going far enough in obeying the will of the king and in causing the parliament to obey that will; and all that these patriotic Whig ministers appear to be anxious about is, to convince the nation, and especially the House of Commons, that, as to all practical purposes, they went as far in this way as it was possible for any body to go, and that, therefore, it was extremely unjust to turn them out of their places; and this, Gentlemen, is the ground, upon which they mean, it seems, to appeal to the parliament against their successors in office!——But, let us take a little more in detail, the facts and doctrines contained in Lord Howick's explanation. He tells the parliament, 1st, that the opinions of himself and his colleagues, respecting the Catholics of Ireland, had been, at the time when they came into power, recently manifested in their speeches and their votes, which opinions no one of them could be expected to give up for the sake of office and emolument; 2nd, that they stood pledged to the measures for the relief of the Catholics; 3rd, that, in addition to the general reasons of justice and of policy, they were induced to bring forward the bill in question, from *a conviction that it was necessary to tranquillize and conciliate the people of Ireland, in which discontents and disturbances notoriously prevailed;* 4th, that, though the bill was agreed upon in the cabinet before the ministers heard of the coming Catholic petition, yet, that the knowledge of that petition being in agitation, operated as an additional inducement to the ministers to press forward the bill, hoping that, if promptly passed, it might induce the Catholics to abandon the object they were pursuing, a motive, which was not overlooked by me, in my last letter, page 488; 5th, that finding the king resolutely bent against the bill, they immediately agreed to withdraw it; and, 6th, that this was, on their part, a painful *sacrifice* of personal feeling *to public duty!*——Of personal feeling to public duty! What! was the giving up of this measure, which they were "convinced was necessary to tranquillize "and conciliate the people of Ireland, in "which discontents and disturbances noto- "riously prevailed;" was the abandoning of such a measure, under such circumstances, a sacrifice of personal feeling to public duty? No; my Lord Howick, you may assert this as long as you please, and you may find a crowd of base place-hunting people (at your Whig Club or elsewhere) to swear to the truth of what you say; but, be assured, that every man of a just mind, uncorrupted by views of place or emolument, will say, that it was a sacrifice of public duty to personal feeling, to views of emolument and of low ambition. You may make professions of sacrifices; but the nation has grown weary of your professions. You trust, you tell us, that, "whenever *that kind* of sacri- "fice becomes necessary, no man will be "found more ready to submit to it than you "will." I believe you with all my soul! But, believe that you would yield one guinea of emolument, or one rag of official pride, for the sake of your country, I do not.—— But, gentlemen, it is Lord Howick's doctrine, relative to the introducing of bills into parliament by order, or, at least, under the authority, of the king, that I wish to turn your particular attention to. This lord found it necessary to say something in explanation of this part of the transaction; he had perceived, that men were struck with the wide difference between the theory of the constitution, relative to checks and balances, and the practice of it, as so strikingly exemplified upon this occasion; and, he seemed very desirous to reconcile the theory with this practice. The best way is, first to put upon record his words, as reported in the Morning Chronicle, and then to make our remarks upon them.——"It has been "stated," said he, "by some persons, who

"have animadverted upon this transaction, "that ministers were not warranted in "bringing forward a public measure without previously obtaining the consent of "his majesty. But this extravagant proposition scarcely deserves serious notice. "According to any rational view of the "subject, the duty of a minister appears to "be *two-fold*. He may act in a double capacity upon different occasions; namely, "as a minister, and as an individual member of parliament. There was no minister who had not acted so occasionally. If, "indeed, it were culpable to pursue the "course, some extravagant writers now "maintain, Mr. Pitt's conduct upon the "Slave Trade and Parliamentary Reform, "would have been highly censurable; for "*that distinguished statesman*, in both these "instances, brought forward the propositions as an individual member of parliament. The constitutional distinction, "which, in concurrence with my colleagues, I take between the duty of a "minister in the one case and the other, "is this; that when a minister brings forward any motion *as a measure of government* which has undergone any discussion "in the Cabinet, he violates his duty, *unless such measure shall have received the "sanction of that authority*. I should, of "course, feel myself very culpable, if I "attempted to bring forward any measures "in parliament as a ministerial measure "*unless I had previously submitted that "measure to the consideration of the king, "and obtained his majesty's consent to its "adoption*. It was therefore I laid before "his majesty all the particulars with regard "to the measure respecting the Catholics, "and waited to obtain his majesty's approbation before I attempted to submit the "consideration of that measure to this "house."——Here we have the modern creed of the Whig politicians. What does the English constitution, or the law of parliament, know of any *two-fold* capacity in the members of the House of Commons? According to that constitution, those members are the guardians of the property and the liberties of the people; and they are nothing else. But, now we learn; now, for the very first time since the parliament of England began to exist, the House of Commons are flatly and plainly told, that there is another body, namely, the Cabinet Council, who discuss bills, and resolve upon adopting them, before they are presented to that House, before *leave* is given to bring them in! One of their own members rises in his place, and plainly tells them, that he has recently brought in a bill because the king wished him to do it, and that he has since *withdrawn* that bill because the king changed his mind, and for no other reason whatever, though he was, at the same time, firmly convinced, that the passing of the bill was necessary to tranquillize and conciliate a fourth part of the people of the kingdom! Nay, he does not stop here; but goes on to say, that unless he had obtained the king's approbation for bringing in the bill, he should have regarded it as an act *highly culpable* to have brought it in!——Thank him, however, for his frankness. We might, perhaps, have presumed, before, that such really was the case; but now it is openly avowed, that bills, before leave be moved for to bring them in, are discussed and resolved upon in the cabinet, that is to say, amongst men who are the king's servants during pleasure, and that they receive the sanction of their master, before they are proposed to the parliament.—— What pretty stuff has Blackstone and Paley and that foreign sycophant De Lolme been writing about the checks and balances in that wonderful effect of human wisdom, called the English constitution!——As to the distinction between bills brought forward *as measures of the cabinet* and bills originating with persons as *individual members of parliament*, what does the constitution know of such distinction? Does any writer upon our constitution make such a distinction? Does Blackstone, who has given us a commentary, upon the whole of our laws, talk of any such distinction? Has he once named such a thing as a *Cabinet?* Can the parliament recognize the existence of any such council, or body of men? Is not such a body utterly unknown to our laws? Besides, let us ask a little, what bills there are, of any consequence, which are *not* measures of the cabinet, if we admit of this distinction? All bills relating to the army; all bills relating to the navy; all bills relating to the church; all bills relating to the colonies; all bills relating to foreign connections and subsidies; all bills relating to loans and taxes, not only in the principle but also in the amount; in short, I am sure no one will pretend to deny, that every bill, in which the people are generally interested, must, according to this distinction, be regarded *as a measure of the cabinet*; and, therefore, if to all such bills, the king's consent, *previously* obtained, be an indispensible requisite, again I call upon Blackstone and Paley to come forth from the grave, vindicate their writings, and tell, if they can,

of what use is a House of Commons, except that of amusing the unthinking mass of the people with the idea that they are represented, and that the laws, by which they are taxed and bound, are made with their own consent. Yes, Mr. Blackstone, you, who, through four mortal volumes, which, piled upon one another might supply the place of a stool, have rung the changes upon the blessings arising from the checks and balances of the English constitution, do rise and tell us, where, if Lord Howick's doctrine be sound, or if the parliament be content to act upon it, or, rather, to be passive under it, we are to look for those inestimable checks and balances? It is the peculiar business of the House of Commons to frame and to pass bills for the raising of money upon the people; and, when they pass any bill, for the placing of the public money at the disposal of the crown, it is called a *grant*. Now, as all these bills, without one exception, are what Lord Howick terms *measures of the cabinet*, what a farce, if his doctrine were sound, would this *granting* work be? According to this doctrine, it is resolved in the cabinet to bring in a bill for granting the king money; the king has the bill submitted to him, and directs it to be brought in; the Secretary to the Treasury brings it in; it is passed without a division; and *this*, this, Gentlemen, my Lord Howick would tell us, is the true "*practice* of the constitution in "this free country," where, as Blackstone says, the people, by their representatives, *tax themselves!*

Having taken sufficient time to congratulate ourselves upon the inestimable blessings which must naturally flow from this doctrine of the Whigs, let us, next, take a view of their conduct, as exhibited in the debates of the 24th and 25th of last month, taking those debates, as they stand reported in the Morning Chronicle news-paper, and commenting upon them as a news-paper publication.——On Tuesday, the 24th, the king had chosen his new "confidential servants," and, amongst them, was Mr. Perceval, who was appointed *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and was, it was understood, to be immediately appointed what is called *Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster for* LIFE. This last place, like the places held by Lord Grenville, the Marquis of Buckingham, Mr. Thomas Grenville, and many others, is a mere sinecure, worth about 4,000l. a year, and having attached to it a good deal of church patronage. It has sometimes been granted for life before, and was so granted to the greedy Whig patriot, Mr. Dunning, by a ministry of which Lord Rockingham was the head. But, generally, it has not been so granted. It has, according to the "*practice* of the constitution," been a good decent reward for some one able to give pretty efficient support to the ministry of the day. But, Lord Howick and his public spirited colleagues, seeing it going for a *man's life*, and that man, too, not above four and forty, and with all very sober, abstemious, and moral, in his way of living; seeing it thus going, with respect to them, for ever and ever; seeing this part of their prey, not only snatched from them for the present, but about to be devoured by anticipation, they seem to have been inspired with an unusual degree of Whiggism, and to have resolved to preserve, if possible, the chance of again enjoying the profits of this fat sinecure. Accordingly, on the 24th, Mr. Plomer, member for Hertfordshire, (for, as I had occasion to observe lately, in such case, some man of this description always begins the discussion), having first stated what he had heard respecting the intended disposal of the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, said, that he begged leave to protest against the granting for life any place usually held during pleasure. Sir John Newport (a member of the late ministry) joined in this opinion, and he said something about places granted in *reversion*, which we will hear in his own words, because, though relating to no very rare instance, it is good to have it upon record, as something declared in the presence of our faithful representatives. A *reversion*, Gentlemen, is, we should recollect, the right of possessing a thing after the demise of the present possessor. If, for instance, an annuity of a hundred a year were settled upon me for life, and upon one of my children after me, for his life also; this annuity would be settled in reversion, and my child might, if any one would buy it of him, sell his reversionary right. Little did I imagine, when I was writing in America, that any traffic of this sort was carried on with respect to places of trust under that government, in the defence of which I made such exertions! But, away with these mortifying reflections! Let us hear the cheering voice of Sir John Newport. "With "respect to some of the Irish offices which "had been reported as proper, some to be "abolished, and some to be reformed, and "which *could not be touched* in either way, "on account of the interests of the *reversioners*; the office of *customer and collector of the port of Dublin*, one of "those reported as requiring regulation and "reform, had been *granted on reversion* "TWO DEEP, and consequently could

" not be touched by the late Bill for the re-
" trenchment, reform, and regulation of
" offices in Ireland, though it had twice
" fallen vacant within the year, and though
" it was one of those that most particularly
" required reform and regulation." A reversion " *two deep*," Gentlemen, exists in the case, where a thing is settled for life upon one person first, and, upon his death, is settled to descend to a second person, and, upon his death to a third person. This is the way, then, in which the place of a high Custom-House Officer is disposed of! And, yet, there are wretches so impudent and so infamous as to call Sir Francis Burdett a Jacobin and a Leveller because he complains of these things!——In proceeding with the debate, we find MR. GEORGE JOHNSTONE (of whom more by and-by) " could not help observing, that those who
" had been most clamorous in cheering the
" reflections cast on the hon. and learned
" gentleman, were members of the family
" (the Grenvilles) which was *loaded with*
" *wealth derived from public sinecures*.
" He wished, with the hon. gentleman,
" that the resolution now before the house
" (against reversions) had been adopted long
" since, and then that family would not be
" drawing £60,000 a year from the public.
" He hoped the indications they now gave
" of a different disposition would be per-
" manent." This was a fine slap upon the other side; but, MR. HUSKISSON gave a better, because it came exactly in the right place. " As to the propriety of any *ar-*
" *rangements* with a view to *induce indivi-*
" *duals to accept of office*, he believed
" that the first measure of the administra-
" tion then in office, with a view to enable
" a noble lord (Grenville), for whom he
" felt a very sincere respect, was a suffi-
" cient proof *that such an arrangement was*
" *not very extraordinary*." This was very well done. The tap was light as air; but it was like the end of the finger upon the tender part of the arm, or under the ear, and which is much more painful than a broom-stick laid across the shoulders. The thing he alluded to was this: Lord Grenville was Auditor of the Exchequer, a place worth 5 or 6 thousand pounds a year, and so completely a sinecure, that he had been, by act of parliament, relieved even from the trouble of signing his name. When, however, he was become prime minister and first Lord of the Treasury; it was discovered, that, as the law stood, it was illegal for the First Lord of the Treasury to be also the Auditor of the Exchequer; and, indeed, well it might be unlawful, the one office being a *check* upon the other. Yet, what was to be done? His Lordship had a mind to be First Lord of the Treasury, without having a mind to give up a life-certain place of such excellent revenue. Inclination said: " take both places at once;" but the law said; " you cannot." In this dilemma, recourse was had to the grand and infallible remedy, *an act of parliament*; and, it is the real truth, that the *very first measure* of the late reforming patriotic ministry, was, an act of parliament, to enable Lord Grenville to hold, at one and the same time, the two offices above-mentioned. " Was it not shocking?" said a firm friend of Mr. Fox's to me at the time, " was it not shocking to *begin* with a
" bill like this, and to make poor old Fox
" the instrument to bring it in?" It was shocking, indeed; and, you will, probably, remember, Gentlemen, that I lost no time in stating my opinion respecting it. I said, it would, one day or other, rise up in judgment against the ministers, and now it has so risen.——When the ministers have found themselves at a dead lift, as the vulgar phrase is, MR. WHITBREAD has generally stepped forward to assist them, not only with his readiness at speaking, but with the strength of his character for independence and purity; which character, however, is, by no means, what it used to be. Upon the present occasion he so stepped forward; with what degree of success we shall presently see. He said, " that the
" case adverted to by the hon. gentleman,
" and that alluded to by his hon. friend (Mr.
" PLOMER), were entirely different. The
" former case had been brought *under the*
" *consideration of the house*, the latter was
" to be by *the act of the crown*. The act
" that had been *discussed* in that house, was
" to enable a noble lord to hold a place,
" that had been granted to him for *past ser-*
" *vices*, and which he then held for life;
" but the case then under consideration,
" respected the grant of a place for life,
" which was *always heretofore granted*
" *during pleasure*, and *before any ser-*
" *vices* could be performed for which
" it was to be a reward." Now, as to the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster having *always* heretofore been granted only during pleasure, Mr. Whitbread was misinformed; and, as to the distinction between *past services* and *services to come*, there is nothing solid in it. Those services are most amply paid for *during their continuance*; and, all the world knows, that the *reward*, as Mr. Whitbread chooses to term it, is neither more nor less than money given

for the sake of enriching the receivers of it, without any reference at all to services, or else, I should be glad to know, upon what principle this very place was last given to the *Earl of Derby*. But, the other distinction is worthy of particular notice. This grant to Mr. Perceval was to be the *act of the crown*, whereas, says Mr. Whitbread, the grant to Lord Grenville was brought under the *consideration of this House*. Yes, Sir, and then take along with you Lord Howick's doctrine, that it is culpable in ministers to bring forward such a measure without thereupon *receiving the sanction of the king*; take this along with you, Sir, and then, in the language of a plain honest man, tell me, if you can, where is the *difference?* Ah, Sir! there was a time, when you would have scorned such miserable shifts; and I cannot help hoping, that there are yet moments when you lament that you have been drawn into a situation that compels you now to have recourse to them.——Mr. Whitbread, by way of recrimination, stated, that Mr. Perceval was already a *reversioner*. That a large sinecure place (a place it is worth nearly *ten thousand pounds a year*) was now enjoyed by *Lord Arden*, a brother of Mr. Perceval; that, upon this place there was a reversion "*two deep*," and that the second of the two was Mr. Perceval himself. This is very true, and not less notorious; and it is also true, that Mr. Perceval holds the sinecure of *Clerk of the Irons*, worth about one hundred pounds a year. But, still the Percevals are very far indeed behind the Grenvilles; and, one thing let us always bear in mind, that all these grants of which the late ministers complain, were made by that same Pitt, with the praises of whom they have been, and yet are, continually insulting this pauperized and bank-paper and tax-gathered nation. Were it only for this they merit our execration. Mr. Windham has not praised him; but, he is the only man amongst them who has not. Mr. Whitbread has been conspicuous for it. It was a vile scheme for gaining over and securing the support of his old corrupt partizans; and, like all other schemes of the sort, it has, in the end, produced an effect precisely the contrary of that which it was intended to produce.—The last person, who spoke upon this occasion, was Mr. Parnell, who said: "A noble lord (lord "Castlereagh) who had carried the prac- "tice of granting reversions to such an "extent in Ireland, was to have a high of- "fice under the new arrangement, and he "had a suspicion that he might introduce "the same practice in England. He had "had the honour of a seat in the Irish Par- "liament, during the whole of the proceed- "ings on the Union. That measure had "been *lost in the first instance, because two* "*of the great interests remained neuter.* "Before 12 months had elapsed, the mea- "sure was again brought forward, and car- "ried by a majority of 30, on which occa- "sion *both those interests voted for the mea-* "*sure.* The *son* of the gentleman, who "was at the head of one of those interests, "at present, had the *reversion of the* "*Clerkship of the Pells*, in Ireland, and "the son of the other had *the promise of* "*the first bishopric that should fall* "*in after the Union.*" Upon this, Gentlemen, we will make no comment at all. We will content ourselves with merely calling to mind, that this union, and all its transactions, were the work of that Pitt, whom Lord Howick and Mr. Whitbread are now continually eulogizing, and whose debts they have caused us to pay. If we were to add any other reflections, they would naturally relate to the blessings of our invaluable constitution in *church* as well as in state, and particularly in those admirable *checks* and *balances*, upon which Blackstone and others have written such long chapters. ——Before the House broke up, a Mr. Martin, who is, it seems, a "*learned* gentleman," and, of course, a *lawyer*, gave notice, that he would, the next day, make a motion, for an address to the king, beseeching him not to grant, for life, any place, usually granted during pleasure; which motion was avowedly pointed at the grant about to be made to Mr. Perceval, and which motion was made accordingly, and, upon a division, was carried by a majority of 93; there being for the motion 208, and against it 115.——But, to you Gentlemen, to you, as free, independent, and honest men of plain common sense, I particularly address myself, when I remark, that my Lord Howick, who; while in place, was ready to withdraw a bill which he was convinced was necessary to the tranquillity of the most vulnerable part of the kingdom; that my Lord Howick, who was ready to do this *while in place*, from his tender regard for the personal feelings of the king; this same Lord, *the moment he is out of place*, urges on, aids and abets with all his means, this motion of Mr. Martin, which must, if successful, *necessarily* produce extreme pain to those feelings. This Lord, who, while in place, had such high notions of the king's prerogative, that he would have regarded it as culpable in himself to introduce a bill without the king's approbation; steps forward, the moment he

is out of place, to obstruct that same king in the exercise of his undoubted constitutional prerogative of granting a place for life, which place had been more than once before been granted for life. He, good gentle lord, could see no harm in the king's having the power to cause, or to prevent, the originating of bills to become laws to bind all his subjects; but, the moment he finds him granting a lucrative place to a rival for power, and in such a way, too, as to preclude the hope of its ever coming into his own hands, that moment he takes alarm for the constitution!

——Mr. Martin having made his motion, "that an humble Address be presented to "his Majesty, praying that he would not "grant, in any other way than during plea-"sure, the office of Chancellor of the Du-"chy of Lancaster, or any other office not "usually held for life;" and, the motion having been seconded by Mr. Ward (not the famous pensioned *Robert Ward*), Mr. Perceval rose, and began by acknowledging, that, if he had not heard, that this motion was intended to be made, he should at this moment have been in possession of the much envied place, for life; that having heard of the intended motion, he had been to the king, and, for the present declined it; that, as to precedents, Mr. Dunning's was a case in point, and clearly proved, that the king was now proposed to be addressed not to do precisely that which a whig ministry, while in power, had prevailed on him to do; that the case of Lord Grenville was a still greater stretch of power in this way; and, that, whatever might be the decision of the House, and whether he had the place, or not, he was ready and willing, and was resolved to serve the king to the best of his abilities, if the king commanded his services. Having said this, he left the House. But, there was one fact, which Mr. Perceval brought out, relative to *reversions*. There are many places in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, and these also are frequently given in reversion. The late Lord Chancellor Erskine has, it would appear, given but one place in this way; and *to whom* do you think he gave it? *To whom*, Gentlemen, do you think that the liberty-loving, the abuse decrying, and the place-condemning Mr. Erskine, now "*Lord* Erskine," granted that one reversion? Why, to the person, who, for a great number of years, served himself, as clerk, in his private capacity of barrister! For such a person, Mr. Erskine must, upon retiring from the bar, have, for very decency, made some sort of provision; and, I suppose, his Lordship thought that this provision would be more honourable if it came from the public purse than if it had come from his own. We have to thank Mr. Perceval for this fact, Gentlemen; and, if he does nothing else than make exposures of this sort, he will do much more for the people of England than has been done by his predecessors, one of whose great objects appears to have been to *smother* every thing done by Pitt, with praises of whom, with encomiums on whose wisdom and virtues, they have daily insulted us.

——Lord Henry Petty, whose father was one of the ministers, when the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster was bestowed, for life, upon Mr. Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, said, in answer to Mr. Perceval, upon that point, "that "personally alluded to as he had been by the "comments made by a right hon. gentleman "(Mr. Perceval) upon an appointment "sanctioned with the approbation of a no-"ble and near relative of his (lord Lans-"down), he could not help offering him-"self then to the house at once to retort "every sinister insinuation against his no-"ble relative and himself. He contended, "in the first instance, that between the case "of the right hon. gent. and that of lord "Ashburton, there was a great and leading "distinction; the latter was, in the tech-"nical phrase, a law lord, excluded from "the duties of that profession from which "he derived a great and valuable conside-"ration, and receiving the Chancellorship "of the Duchy of Lancaster, with the ex-"press understanding that he was to resign "it on the occurrence of that event which "would put into the hands of his Majesty "the disposal of the place of Chief Judge "of the King's Bench; such was the ho-"nourable ambition of a lawyer the most "eminent of his day. It was not then "granted, it was not held forward as a bait "to entice him to discharge the duties of an "office great and lucrative, (*loud and re-"peated cries of hear! hear!*) no! he "should say, in vindication of the noble "personage alluded to, that it had never "been offered to entice *future services, but "to reward past*; and in equal vindication "of the person who accepted it, he would "say, that great lawyer did not accept it as "a bargain, as a pitiful compromise to in-"demnify the apprehended consequences "of risking his support to any administra-"tion (*loud and repeated cries of hear! "hear!*)."—But, Gentlemen, let us not be hallood out of our reason. What are these distinctions? What do they amount to? First, we are told, that Mr. Dunning, was become a *Lord*, before the place

was bestowed upon him for life; but, we are not told, what was the fact, *that he would not accept of the peerage without the place*; and, observe, that the *bargain* was, that he was to be Lord Chief Justice if a vacancy happened, and that the place in question was only a sort of stay-stomach, till the full meal came to hand. But, Lord Henry Petty tells us (and upon this distinction he seems principally to rest), that the place was given to Mr. Dunning for *past services*, and not as an indemnification for the risk he might run in making part of a new ministry. The fact is, that Mr. Dunning had never rendered any public services at all; he had never been in the public service; he had spent his time, and had *exhausted his health*, in labouring for money, of which he was very fond, and of which he had amassed a great deal, as a private barrister; and, if the place was not given him as an indemnity for his risks in supporting the new administration of the day, I believe it would puzzle a more acute man than Lord Henry Petty to find out a reason for the gift. Mr. Dunning had been a great wrangler in parliament; he was the author of the famous resolution about the *increasing influence of the crown*, to which influence he in the right Whig way, added, as soon as he got into place; he had been a most useful party-man. What *services*, then, had he to make a claim for? What *past* services had he performed? And, then, if we must take private circumstances into view, he was very rich, and had, I believe, neither wife nor child, and, consequently, no temptation, other than that of sheer avarice, to take the place in question for any term at all, much less for life; whereas Mr. Perceval has a numerous family, dependent almost, if not altogether, upon his labours for becoming support and provision; and, therefore, though I condemn the grant in either case, and though, generally speaking, I have no partiality for Mr. Perceval, yet, I must declare, that the grant to him would have been much more proper than the grant to Mr Dunning; and there is no clamour, excited by a popular cry, coming from those who have proved that the love of place is their predominant passion, that shall prevent me from saying, that, in every way in which a comparison can be drawn, Mr. Perceval is in my opinion the worthiest man of these two.——Mr. Sturges having represented Mr. Perceval as a barrister of the highest rank in point of professional emolument, and Mr Sharp having denied the fact, Mr. *Montague* asserted that the fact was true, and, in continuation (after a call of *order*), said, "that if a member did "not intend to be disorderly, whatever ex- "pressions might have fallen from him, that "member was not to be put down by "clamour *(a laugh)*. He addressed himself "to *the independent* members of that "house, and to their attention did he parti- "cularly address himself. Whereupon, the reporter informs us, that there was "again *a loud and general cry of order*, "*order, chair, chair*," a cry, we may suppose, Gentlemen, that arose from the idea (a misconceived one, no doubt), that there were some members in the house that were *not quite independent*. The Speaker, however, with that coolness which so well comports with the dignity of our representatives, put the matter at rest by uttering the following words: "The hon. member will be pleased to re- "collect, that in the language of this house "*no such distinction* between its members is "recognised."——Mr. Montague proceeded, and said, "that the distinction he meant "was between those *seeking for places and* "*pensions*, and *those who were not candi-* "*dates for either*."——A distinction that many people make; but one that it may be very improper to make in the House of Commons.——Next, according to the report, followed Mr. George Johnstone, who, "with *great warmth*, expressed his un- "qualified disapprobation, of the entire "course pursued by the late administration, "and was inclined to think that the cabals "of men about power could serve only, like "those between Sir R. Walpole and Gene- "ral Stanhope, to *discover secrets* that would "make all *honest men disgusted with both* "*parties*."——This is false; I mean the *report*, or, rather, the former part of it; for if ever Mr. George Johnstone spoke with more warmth than Little Moses in the School for Scandal, I will be contented to suffer martyrdom for the sake of a Whig ministry. No; with anger the honourable Gentleman might speak; but with *warmth* never in his life. He derives his philosophy from a school, of which he is a most eminent disciple, and which is much too cooling in the nature of its precepts and its practice to encourage, or permit, the indulgence of warmth. As to the latter part of what this honourable man said, I must leave you, Gentlemen, whose honesty is unquestionable, to judge of its truth.——This censure of the late ministers, however, brought up Mr. Sheridan, who, as you will see, "*discovered a secret*" with respect to Mr. George Johnstone. He said, "that it was not the "first time he had observed in the hon. "gent. who had just sat down, an eagerness

" to attack the late administration and its " friends, though certainly the present, like " every former attempt, evinced rather an " avidity to attack than a power to be offen- " sive. He was glad, however, to see in " the present attack something like a phi- " losophical neutrality, and that as the late " administration had had the misfortune of " the hon. gentleman's opposition, so the " present would be now likely to come in " for its due share. The hon. gent. had " said a great deal about independence, and " had congratulated himself in an angry " tone upon his having no place under any " government. He (Mr. S) could only " say that he was no divulger of *private* " secrets; but he might make some allusion " to a certain public message, which it had " been deputed to him to deliver to a noble " friend of his, at the formation of a cer- " tain administration. He was sure the " hon. gent. perfectly understood him *(a* " *loud and general laugh)*. He was rather " inclined to believe, from the nature of " that message, that the hon. gent. notwith- " standing his present acrimony, might " then have been entirely *dulcified* towards " that *terrible* administration he had been so " much of late in the habit of condemning " *(a laugh)*—Aye; and disinterestedly " condemning too; or dis*interest*edly, if such " pronunciation better suited the taste of the " hon. gent., whether classical or vulgar." ——Now, what in all the world could Mr. Sheridan mean by this pronunciation? For, what could he make shift to lay particular stress upon the letters making up the word *interest*? What has Mr. George Johnstone to do with *interest*? I will certainly sift this out, if I submit to the cruel vexation of read- ing all the India Papers over again.——That Mr. George Johnstone had made overtures for a place, at the forming of the last ministry, was pretty certain, from what Mr. Sheri- dan said; and, therefore, when our old friend sat down, the former rose, and said, " that he neither had, nor would have ap- " plied to the right hon. gent. who had just " sat down for the purpose of procuring " him any appointment upon the occasion " alluded to, and for two reasons, the first, " that he knew if he had applied the right " hon. gent. *was too much engaged in pro-* " *viding for himself and his family*, to attend " to any agency for others; and secondly, " because if he had requested the right hon. " gent. to undertake the commission, he " was pretty sure that, although he might " promise, he would have been very apt to " forget it. Now, the fact was, upon the " case referred to by the right hon. gent. " simply no more than this. After stating " to the right hon. gent. the substance of " some conversations which he had had " with an illustrious person, now no more, " (Mr. Fox) he did communicate to that " right hon. gent. and authorise him to men- " tion *his readiness to accept of any office to* " *which no salary should be attached*, and " in which he might be able to make him- " self useful? He remembered that he par- " ticularly mentioned *Indian affairs*, from " his knowledge of which he stated to the " right hon. gent. his opinion that he should " be able to render *some service to the coun-* " *try* In offering to accept a situation in " the conduct of those affairs, without any " emolument for his services, he hoped he " was making a proposition which should " not expose him to censure, or to the sus- " picion of any unworthy motives "—— Mr. SHERIDAN rose again, and said what is well worthy of being remembered: " that " he was sorry to have felt himself under " the necessity of stating any thing which " might serve to fix an unworthy imputa- " tion upon the character or motives of any " hon. member. But he begged leave to " observe, that men were induced to seek " for offices from different views—some " for honour, others for profit, [others for " *patronage*,] and the disappointment of " the views in the one case might create as " much irritation and discontent as in the " other. With regard to the very active " agency which the hon. gent. imputed to " him in his attention to his own interest, " he would beg to state, of what nature that " agency was. Understanding that his il- " lustrious friend, who was now no more, " had mentioned, that in consideration *of* " *his services for 27 years*, for which he " had *received nothing whatever, something* " *permanent should be settled upon him*; " but that upon communicating this wish " to his colleagues, they expressed their de- " termination that nothing of the kind " should in any case be granted and again, he " immediately declared to his illustrious " friend, that upon no account should the " thing be any further agitated, but at once " dropped "——Now, Gentlemen, leaving Mr. George Johnstone's *disinterestedness* to pass for what it is worth, not forgetting, however, *the nature of his connections with India*; let us ask of what sort are those " *services*" *for twenty-seven years*, of which Mr. Sheridan speaks, as the foundation of his claim upon our purses, for a " *settle-* " *ment of something permanent.*" His ser- vices, like those of Mr. Dunning, were given to *a party*. Great services, indeed,

did he render in that way; but, are we to be called upon to pay life annuities to *members of parliament*, for their services in that capacity? This is fine doctrine indeed. But, *what place* was it that it was proposed, by Mr. Fox, to give him for life? He himself, you will readily be sworn, did not propose the thing to Mr. Fox. It was, of course, to be pressed upon him. The thing was to be done entirely without his knowledge; and yet, that being the case, it does seem odd, that Mr. Fox *should apologize to him for the failure.* However, let us suppose, that all this was so; but what was the place, that Mr. Fox proposed to give him for life? Why, Gentlemen, it was *this very Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster!* "By the mass," as Falstaff says, "he would have made a brave judge" And, to use his friend Weatherhead's phrase, what choice "*cushion-thumpers*" he would have furnished us with; for he would have had considerable *church patronage!* If this statement be true, then, Mr. Fox recommended to be done for him precisely that which the king was about to do for Mr. Perceval. Whether church-benefices would not be as properly deposited in Mr. Perceval's as in Mr. Sheridan's hands is a question that I will not put to you; but, what a cruel satire is it upon the memory of Mr. Fox, to represent the bestowing of the thing in question as so flagrantly unconstitutional, at the very same time, that it is asserted, that Mr. Fox would, if he had been able, have bestowed it in exactly the same manner! The truth is, that the objection was not to the principle of the appointment, but to the *man*, whom the Grenvilles disliked, and whom the Foxites, with their accustomed meanness, would risk nothing to support. Mr. Sheridan has now the power of repaying them in their own coin. He is the only man amongst them, whom the change will not sink. Him it will raise. He has been eclipsed merely by the *power* of those, who owed so much to the former exertion of his talents. Now their power is gone, those talents will again have their worth; and, though he will not, perhaps, actually join the opponents of his supercilious and ungrateful party, he will not fail to make them *feel*, that he is not to be slighted with impunity. Whatever else he may be, he is a man of wonderful resources of mind; and, if he had been true to himself and to the people, he would never have had to sue for "a permanent settlement."

Having but little room remaining, I must be very brief in what I have to say with regard to interference with the king, *relating to the change of ministry.*—Gentlemen, it is the king's prerogative; a prerogative which he possesses, and which he ought to possess, to change his ministers, whensoever he pleases, and without being liable to be questioned, or taunted, respecting it, by any power upon earth. The House of Commons has its rights, too. It has the right to refuse to grant money; and this it can do at any time; but, it has no right to interfere with the king in the choosing, or dismissing, of his servants. It can take up, and pass the Catholic bill; it can refuse money; but, greedy turned-out ministers will never propose any such mode of proceeding; they will naturally desire the parliament to side with them upon *a question of place.* And, if the parliament were to side with them, were to adopt any measure, having for its object the forcing of them back upon the king, to what a degraded situation would it be reduced! They well know, that the House of Commons itself is armed with *constitutional* powers, quite sufficient to render it an effectual check upon the crown; but these powers such ministers never wish to see it exercise; because they know, that, in such exercise, it would break from their trammels; whereas their object is, to render it always subservient to their views of interest and of ambition; to use it against the people as long as they are in place, and against the king the moment they are out of place. But, if such a thing were attempted, in the present instance, it would be too glaringly scandalous for any man, except, perhaps, Mr. Perry, to defend, the House yet resounding, as it does, with the declaration of Lord Howick, that, while he was in place, a bill was brought into the House because the king approved of it, and was afterwards stopped in its progress and *withdrawn*, because the king changed his mind. What would that House be? In what light would it be considered by the country, or by the world, if immediately after this declaration, it was to join that same Lord Howick in a complaint against that same king for exercising his undoubted prerogative in dismissing those, whom it calls his *servants?* What an absurd, what a preposterous conclusion would this lead to! The House of Commons hears, without a single whisper of disapprobation, that a bill has been brought in, and afterwards withdrawn, by the sole authority of the king; and Mr. Perry has the impudence to tell us, that it is proper of this very same House of Commons to interfere with the king about the choosing of his own servants. "Aye," will he say, "but, you "perverse, hard-hearted dog, Lord Howick

" and I were in place in the first instance, " and now we are walking about arm-in- " arm" (this was really the case a few days ago) " with our eyes nailed to the pave- " ment, and with countenances as wise as " those of a couple of brief-less lawyers in " Westminster Hall, while the unfortunate " judges and jurors are stunned with the " bawling of their more successful bre- " thren "

Mr. Perry, hoping, probably, that something of the sort above spoken of will be attempted, has, in his newspaper of the 30th of last month, made an attempt to prove, that to dissolve the parliament *now* would be *unconstitutional*, though he has, at the same time, the unparalleled profligacy to defend the dissolution of 1784 and also that of last summer! His arguments, as he would call them, in support of this monstrous proposition I have neither time nor room to answer at present; which may, too, be rendered unnecessary, if, in the small space that I have left, I should be able to console Mr. Perry with the hope that a dissolution *need* not be attempted. It may not have occurred to Mr. Perry, in his bustle of giving dinners to cabinet and other ministers, that it is just possible, that Lords Sidmouth and Ellenborough, if not another or two lately high in office, may join the new ministers before parliament meets again. And, as to the members of the Houses of Parliament, does Mr. Perry think, that a long *prorogation*, with the time which it would give for men to cool and reflect, would not tend to mitigate their passions and their opinions? Does he think, that members of parliament are stocks and stones; and that the soft and melting powers of eloquence will have no effect upon them? One of the faults which Mr. Burke found with the French National Assembly was, that they were permanently sitting. Retiring now-and-then to converse with one another as private persons, he said, was a great means of enlightening our legislators. Well, then, does Mr. Perry (who *now* quotes Mr. Burke too) think, that the many occasions, which, during a recess, will offer for conversation, will have no effect at all? If you would convince a man, and particularly a politician of a certain stamp, of his error, there is nothing like a private interview; politics being, in this respect, very nearly a kin to love, the arguments of which, when they approach to points of extreme delicacy, are never successfully discussed, never urged on to complete conviction, if there are more than two persons present. The cause of this I shall not presume to assign; but the fact will, I am persuaded, be denied by no man of common observation; and I am fully convinced, that a summer's recess would render a dissolution of parliament perfectly unnecessary, though I must, at the same time freely confess, that a dissolution, and, of course, a general election, would be a measure for which I should heartily thank the king and his advisers.

I remain,
Gentlemen,
Your faithful friend,
And obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 2nd April, 1807.

ASSESSED TAX HARDSHIPS.

SIR,——I hired a lad the beginning of Jan. 1804, and paid for him the Midsummer and Michaelmas following £2. as the act directs. At the latter period he left me; so that he had been with me only three quarters of a year. In the year 1805, though I had no lad, I was surcharged by the inspector £4. for omitting to enter one. I could not wait on the commissioners at the distance of 8 miles, being an old man, and just recovered from a paralytic stroke—I therefore made an affidavit of the circumstances, and directed my attorney to wait on them with it. They confirmed the surcharge, by the advice of the inspector, who has the one half for his vigilance and industry; and the attorney claimed £2. for the affidavit, horse-hire, and expenses.——Thus the whole expense of having a lad for *nine months* amounted to *eight pounds*, besides wages, clothes, and maintenance.——I am, Sir, your obedient servant,——EDWARD BALDWYNE, *Curate of Drayton Beauchamp, near Tring, Herts.*—— P S. I have several fruit trees, which no longer bear for want of a pruning knife, but am afraid to employ one, as in that case, I shall be charged for *a gardener*. Is not this a blessed country, where a man cannot have a plumb or a pear, in his own garden, for fear of an inspector?—*Jan. 26, 1807.*

" LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 17.

SIR,—I have the honour of transmitting you a copy of the Resolutions voted, *nemine contradicente*, at a Meeting of the Schoolmasters of Bucks and Berks, on Saturday last—" Whereas it was asserted in the Po- " litical Register of the 14th of February, " 1807, that the teaching of the Latin and " Greek Languages to all persons who are " to become either Statesmen, Legislators, " Lawyers, Physicians, or Priests, is worse " than useless;—Resolved, 1st, That this

"assertion is very alarming.—2dly, That "if Mr. Cobbett proves this assertion, as "he certainly will, the boys at our respective schools will no longer mind what we "say to them.—3dly, That what is worse, "their friends will take them from school. "—4thly, That the inevitable consequence "of this will be that we must starve, being "incapacitated, from having either studied "or taught the Learned Languages all our "lives, from earning our bread in any "other way.—5thly, That a Copy of these "our Resolutions be transmitted to Mr. "Cobbett by the president, who is to represent our deplorable situation with "the most moving eloquence he is master of."——Alas! Sir, it was with the greatest difficulty that I could compose these Resolutions; and I understand you do not understand Latin and Greek (in which most Learned Languages I flatter myself I write fluently and elegantly enough), so I hope you will excuse me from obeying the injunctions contained in the 5th Resolution; and I remain, Sir, with the greatest respect, &c.—Ὑμνασιαρχης.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 18.

Sir,——Feeling myself not quite satisfied with the manner in which your correspondents have hitherto treated the question respecting the Learned Languages, the interest I take in the subject induces me to trouble you with a few remarks; chiefly with the view of supplying some material omissions, as they appear to me, in the arguments of those who contend against the utility of classical learning as a part of general education. —If a plain uneducated man, of good understanding, were advised by a person of superior attainments, to have his son instructed in a particular branch of knowledge, his first inquiry, I presume, would be, "is it a thing that can be learnt in a reasonable time, and with ordinary abilities? Supposing my son possessed of the average capacity, and application of youths of his age, is there a sufficient probability of his making himself master of what you recommend to him, so as that his time, and my money shall not be thrown away?" Did this question relate to arithmetic, or book-keeping, or geography, or any of the *modern* languages, the person to whom it was addressed might answer boldly in the affirmative, and say there was no danger. But, if Latin and Greek were what was referred to, could the same answer be given by a conscientious man? In this case, I imagine, our man of learning would first make a considerable pause; and then would reply, "By no means! on the contrary, the chance is twenty to one against your son; for, upon an average, scarcely one in a score of the boys who are annually entered at our scools, ever acquires a competent knowledge of Latin alone, much less of Greek. And the proof is, that they are never able to read the works of any ancient author in such a way as to derive from them either instruction or entertainment." After this, can we suppose that either the one would ask any more questions, or the other press his advice any farther?—That such is the real state of the fact, I have not the least hesitation in affirming. I am even of opinion, that the proportion of good scholars; of such I mean as read the classics with facility, and take pleasure in the occupation; is less than is here supposed. The reason it is scarcely necessary to explain. The whole structure and analogy of the ancient languages are so different from those of the modern; the words of which they consist are so peculiar to themselves, and the collocation of these in sentences is so irregular and diversified, that to learn any one of them thoroughly is a work of much difficulty and labour, requiring not only a long period of docility for its accomplishment, but a portion likewise of the voluntary application of riper years. Except, however, in the case of boys who are intended for the learned professions, it is rarely compatible with the views of parents to allow a sufficient time for this. And the peculiar misfortune of the case is, that unless the process is thus completed, nothing in a manner has been done. The pupil is mortified to find, that, after all his sufferings both of mind and body, he is really as unable to read Latin as ever; for a sensible boy will never think it a matter of any consequence that he can hammer out a page or two, in as many hours, with the irksome aid of a perpetual recurrence to his dictionary.—I should not indeed be inclined to set a high value on the understanding of that person, who merely for the honour of the thing, can be content to envelope his mind in the mist and obscurity of a language with which he is but imperfectly acquainted, whilst a rapid succession of clear and vivid ideas is at his command in his native tongue. The knowledge of words which he has acquired is perhaps considerable; yet, being entirely of a preparatory kind, it soon fades from his recollection, for want of being put to its appropriate use. This is always the fate of imperfect studies, which, besides being useless for their specific purpose, are peculiarly liable to be forgotten; somewhat like unfinished buildings, which, at the same

time that they are unfit to be occupied as habitations, sooner fall into decay than entire edifices.—The inference from this statement I regard as inevitable; and, I think, Sir, it amounts to a complete justification of your original position, that the learned languages, as a "part of general education," are worse than useless. It is plain, that if the benefits to be derived from our acquaintance with them are confined to so small a number, it matters little to the argument how considerable these benefits may be in the particular instances. The acquirements of the single student who attains the object in view, may be a sufficient compensation for his own time and labour; but they cannot surely, in consistency with common sense, be considered as an equivalent for the time and labour of the nineteen others who fall short of it. To them the time spent in this study is a pure loss; and as they constitute a great majority, such also must it be regarded on the whole.—Here, I have no doubt, the advocates of classical literature will ask me, if I have never heard of the advantages to be derived even from an unsuccessful study of Latin, in the knowledge which it impresses of the principles of our own language. That this is in some degree the case, I am not inclined to dispute; the argument has an appearance of force when considered by itself, and thus it has misled many; but place it over against the reasons on the other side, and I apprehend it will have no more effect on the general question, than a single grain would have on a balance, when hundredweights were in the opposite scale. There is nothing relating to language in general, or to the English language in particular, which may not be learnt in one fiftieth part of the time necessary to acquire it in this manner, by a direct study of the thing itself; except indeed a little knowledge of etymology. How far the most docile period of youth is wisely laid out on this accomplishment, I shall let those determine who can estimate the value of both!—A material branch of the subject remains to be considered; but at present I can only bestow upon it a few words. By this system, it will be said, a complete education is at least secured for young men in the higher ranks of life, who are able to spare the time necessary for bringing their classical studies to perfection. That those who are born to the exercise of legislative functions, or are destined to fill important offices in the state, should be properly fitted for the parts which they will be called upon to act in society, is an object, undoubtedly, of the first national consequence. With reference to this class, there is a peculiar propriety in the definition which Milton has given of a "complete and generous education," as that "which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war." Let us, then, apply this definition as a test to ascertain the merits of the plan of instruction which is followed at our most celebrated schools, at Eton and Westminster for instance, where nothing else but Latin and Greek is taught, and even at the two Universities, where they continue to be still the primary objects of attention. Now, I apprehend it is the characteristical feature of this plan, that it cultivates exclusively the memory and the taste, both subordinate faculties of the mind. The principle of the new French system; a system dictated by necessity, and expressly adapted to the service of the state—is to exercise the understanding. From this system the learned languages are in a manner excluded. Calculation and experiment, the sciences depending on reasoning and observation, are the subjects which at present occupy the attention of youth in France. Now, which of these two systems is best adapted to improve the general powers of the mind? to make men active, sagacious, and inventive? Which of them is calculated to form the best generals and statesmen? No one, I imagine, who reflects that it is superiority of judgment which governs all human affairs, can be at a loss for the proper answer to these questions In what degree of estimation the study of Greek and Latin is held in this view, by those who are best qualified to judge of its effects, may be drawn from an expression made use of by the enlightened authors of "Practical Education," who, in their chapter on grammar, after stating the circumstances which may render a certain proficiency in these languages necessary or desirable, proceed to examine the question how this proficiency may be attained, with the least loss of time, and the *least danger to the understanding.*——CIVIS.——*March* 16, 1807.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Twenty-ninth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

(*Concluded from p.* 416).

Gen. Blucher, Prince Frederick of Brunswick Oels, and the other generals, then came forward to the victors, and desired to capitulate The troops were defiled before the French army. These two days' work destroyed the last corps which remained of the Prussian army; beside the remainder of

the artillery, we have taken a number of standards, and 16,000 prisoners, of whom 4000 are cavalry.—Thus the Prussian generals, who, in the delirium of their vanity, indulged in all sorts of sarcasms against the Austrian commanders, have the fourth time renewed a catastrophe similar to that of Ulm; 1st, in the capitulation of Erfurt; 2d, by that of the Prince Hohenlohe; 3d, in the reduction of Stettin; and the 4th, in the recent capitulation of Schwartau. The city of Lubeck has suffered considerably: taken by assault, its streets, its squares, have been scenes of carnage. These calamities she attributes to those who drew the perils of war towards her walls.—Mecklenburg has been equally ravaged by the French and Prussian armies. A great number of troops traversing it in various directions, of necessity subsisted at the expense of the country. This state is in close alliance with Prussia, and will in some measure prove an example to those princes of Germany who seek for alliance with a far distant power, which is perfectly safe from a participation in these evils it draws upon them, and which makes no effort to support those who are attached to it by the nearest ties of blood, or by the closest diplomatic relations ——Dery, an aide-de-camp of the Grand Duke's, obliged a corps to capitulate which escorted a considerable quantity of baggage, and had got beyond the Peene. The Swedes had paid the fugitives for the covered waggons. This affair produced 1500 prisoners, and a great quantity of baggage and carriages. Some of the regiments of cavalry have gained, in specie and booty, to the amount of several hundred thousand crowns.—Marshal Ney, who was charged with the siege of Magdeburg, bombarded that town. A number of houses were burned, which caused the inhabitants to murmur greatly; upon which the commandant desired to capitulate. A great number of cannon were found in the fortress; extensive magazines; 15,000 men drafted from more than 70 battalions, and military chests of several regiments.—— During these important operations, several corps of our army arrived on the Vistula. The Warsaw mail brought many letters from Russia, which of course were intercepted. From these we perceive, that the fabrications of the English Journals meet with much credit in Russia. For instance; that Marshal Massena has been killed; that the city of Naples was taken and occupied by the Calabrians: that the King fled to Rome; and that the English, with 5 or 6000 men, were masters of Italy! However, a little reflection would enable them to discover the fallacy of these reports. Has not France increased, not diminished, her military force in Italy? The King of Naples is in his capital; he has 30,000 French troops at his back; he is master of the Two Calabrias, while at Petersburgh they imagine the Calabrians are at Rome! If a few galleys, armed and trained by the infamous Sidney Smith, the most worthless among the brave English soldiers, killed unprotected individuals, and massacred wealthy, unoffending, and peaceable proprietors; the gendarmerie and the scaffold has done them justice! The English navy disavows not in the least the epithet of infamous, bestowed upon Sidney Smith. Generals Stuart and Fox, and all the officers of the army, are indignant at beholding the English name associated with such brigands! The brave Gen. Stuart has even publicly protested against these outrages, as unavailing with respect to their objects as they are atrocious in themselves, and which tend to exchange the noble science and business of war for a system of robbery and assassination! But when Sidney Smith was selected to execute the sanguinary suggestions of the Queen, we can only perceive in him one of those unprincipled instruments, which governments do often employ, but whom they always abandon to that contempt, which they are the first to feel for them! The Neapolitans will one day be informed in detail, of the letters circulated by Sidney Smith, the commissions he has authorised, and of the money he has expended for the execution of atrocities, in which he is himself the chief agent.—We also see, by the letters from Petersburgh, and even in the official dispatches, that they imagine there are no French in Upper Italy. Those persons, however, ought to be informed, that independent of the army of Naples, there are more than 100,000 French troops in Italy, ready to punish those who should dare to attack it. They expect also every day at Petersburgh to hear of the successes of the division of Corfu; but, they will shortly learn, that this division had scarcely landed at the Mouths of the Cattaro, when they were defeated by Gen. Marmont, that a part of them have been captured, and the remainder reimbarked and fled. It is a very different thing to fight against French, from what it is to engage with the Turks, whom they hold in fear and partial subjection, by artfully fomenting discord and insurrections in the provinces. Respecting these, however, the Russians are not a loss for means to shift the opprobrium from themselves.——It is declared, by a decree of the senate, that at Austerlitz, it was not the Russians, but their

allies, who were beaten; and should a new battle of Austerlitz take place upon the Vistula, it will even then be others than the Russians who shall be conquered! Although now, as then, their allies had not a sufficient number of troops to form a junction with theirs! The plan of the movements, and that of the march of the Russian army, have fallen into our hands. From these, it is evident, that nothing can be more ridiculous than the plan of operations of the Russians, except their vain hopes of success!—Gen. Legrange has been declared Governors General of Cassel, and the territories of Hesse. ——Marshal Mortier, with the troops under his command, is on his march for Hanover and for Hamburgh.—The King of Holland has blockaded Hameln.—It is necessary that the present war should be the last, and that its authors should be severely punished, in order that those who may hereafter take up arms against the French people, should be well aware of the peril of such undertaking, and of its inevitable consequences.

Thirtieth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Berlin, Nov. 10, 1806.——The fortified town of Magdeburgh has surrendered on the 8th. On the 9th, the gates were occupied by the French troops. The capitulation is hereunto annexed.—Sixteen thousand men, nearly 800 pieces of cannon, and magazines of every kind, are in our hands.—Prince Jerome has laid Glogau, the capital of Upper Silesia, under blockade, by Brigadier-Gen. Lefebvre, at the head of 2000 Bavarian horse.—The town was bombarded on the 8th by ten howitzers, fired by the light artillery-men. The prince passed an eulogium on the conduct of the Bavarian cavalry. General Deroy invested Glogau with his division on the 9th. A parley has been opened for its surrender.—Marshal Davoust entered Posen with a corps of the army on the 10th. He is highly satisfied with the spirit that animates the Poles. The persons who hold situations under the Prussian government would have been massacred, had not the French army taken them under its protection.—The vans of four Russian columns, each 15,000 men strong, had begun to enter the Prussian states by Georgeenburg, Olita, Grodno, and Jalowka. On the 25th of October, these advanced guards of colums had made a two days marches, when they received news of the battle of the 14th, and of the consequent events. They retrograded immediately. So many successes, and events of such high importance, should not slacken the military preparations in France. They should, on the contrary, be followed up with fresh energy, not to satisfy an insatiable ambition, but to fix bounds to the ambition of our enemies.——The French army will not quit either Poland or Berlin, until the Porte shall have been in the full extent of its independence, nor until Wallachia and Moldavia shall have been declared to belong in complete sovereignty to the Porte.—The French army will not quit Berlin, until the possessions and colonies, both Spanish and Dutch and French, shall have been given up, and a general peace made.

Thirty-first Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Berlin, Nov. 13, 1806.—On the 11th instant, at eleven in the moruing, the garrison of Magdeburgh filed off, in presence of the division of the army under the command of Marshal Ney. We have captured 20 generals, 800 officers, and 22,000 soldiers, among whom are 200 artillery-men, with 54 pair of colours, five standards, 800 pieces of artillery, one million pounds of powder, a great assemblage of pontoons, and an immense quantity of metal for the casting of cannon.——Colonel Gerard and Adjutant Commandant Richard presented to the Emperor this morning, in the name of the first and fourth corps, sixty pair of colours taken from the Prussian corps under General Blucher, at Lubeck. There were amongst them 22 standards. Four thousand horses, completely mounted, which were seized near Lubeck, are on their way to the depot at Potzdam.——In the 29th Bulletin it was stated, that the corps under General Blucher put us in possession of 12,000 prisoners, including 5000 cavalry. This was a mistake: there were 21,000 made prisoners, including 5000 cavalry, completely mounted. Thus, in consequence of these two capitulations, we have obtained 120 pair of colours and standards, and 43,000 prisoners.—The total of prisoners made since the commencement of the campaign, exceeds 140,000; and that of the colours taken, 250. The number of pieces of artillery taken from the enemy in the field of battle, and in the affairs with detachments, exceeds 800; and that of those found in Berlin and the surrendered fortresses, 4000.—The Emperor yesterday reviewed his horse and foot guards in a plain in front of Berlin. The weather was very fine.—— General Savary has entered Rostock with his moveable column. He found there from forty to fifty Swedish ships in ballast, which he immediately put up to sale.

Thirty-second Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Berlin, Nov. 16, 1806.—After the taking of Magdeburgh, and the battle of Lubeck, the campaign against Prussia is entirely finished.—The following was the situation of the Prussian army upon taking the field:—The corps of General Blucher, called of Westphalia, consisted of 35 battalions of infantry, 4 companies of rangers, 45 squadrons of cavalry, one battalion of artillery, and 7 batteries, independent of the regiment pieces.——The corps of Prince Hohenlohe consisted of 24 Prussian battalions and 25 Saxon battalions, 45 Prussian squadrons, and 36 Saxon squadrons, two battalions of artillery, eight Prussian batteries, and eight Saxon batteries.—The army, commanded by the king in person, consisted of an advanced guard of 10 battalions and 15 squadrons, commanded by the Duke of Weimar, and three divisions. The first, commanded by the Prince of Orange, consisted of 11 battalions and 20 squadrons. The second division, commanded by General Wartensleben, consisted of 11 battalions and 15 squadrons. —The 3d division, commanded by General Schmettau, consisted of ten battalions and fifteen squadrons. The corps of reserve of this army, which Kalkreuth commanded, consisted of two divisions, each of ten battalions of the regiments of the guards or of the *elite*, and 20 squadrons.—The reserve, commanded by Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, consisted of 18 battalions and 20 squadrons. —Thus the total general, of the Prussian army, consisted of 160 battalions; and 236 squadrons served 50 batteries, which made present under arms 115,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and 800 pieces of cannon, comprising the cannons of battalions.—All this army was at the battle of the 14th, except the corps of the Duke of Weimar, which was still at Eisenach, and the reserve of the Prince of Wirtemberg, which carries the Prussian forces, that were at the battle, to 126,000 men —Of these 126,000 men, not one has escaped. Of the corps of the Duke of Weimar, not a man has escaped. Of the corps of reserve of the Duke of Wirtemberg, which was beat at Halle, not a man has escaped —Thus these 145,000 men have all been taken, wounded, or killed. All the colours and standards, all the cannons, all the baggage, all the generals have been taken, and nothing has crossed the Oder. The King, Queen, Gen. Kalkreuth, and about ten or twelve officers, are all that have fled. The King of Prussia has now remaining a regiment in the town of Gros Glogau, which is besieged, one at Breslau, one at Brieg, two at Warsaw, and a few regiments at Koenigsberg, in all about 15,000 infantry and 3 or 4000 cavalry. Part of these troops are shut up in strong places. The King cannot assemble at Koenigsberg, whither he is at this moment fled, more than 8000 men.—The Sovereign of Saxony has made a present of his portrait to Gen. Lemarois, Governor of Wirtemberg, who, being at Torgau, re-established order in a house of correction, among 600 convicts, who had armed themselves, and threatened to plunder the town. —Gen. Lebrun presented yesterday to the Emperor four standards, belonging to four Prussian squadrons commanded by Gen. Pelet, and which Gen. Drouet forced to capitulate near Lauenburgh. They had escaped the corps of Gen Blucher.——The corps of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, and Marshal Soult, are on their way to Berlin. The corps of Marshal Soult will arrive there the 20th, that of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo a few days after.——Marshal Mortier, is arrived, with the eighth corps, at Hamburgh, to close the Elbe and the Weser.—Gen. Savary has been charged to blockade Hameln with the Dutch division.——The corps of Marshal Lannes is at Thorn.—The corps of Marshal Augereau is at Bremberg and opposite Graudentz —The corps of Marshal Davoust is on its march from Posen towards Warsaw, whither the Grand Duke of Berg is repairing with the other part of the reserve of cavalry, consisting of the division of dragoons of Generals Beamont, Klein and Beker, the division of cuirassiers of Gen. Nansouty, and the light cavalry of Gen. Milhaud.—Prince Jerome, with the corps of the allies, is besieging Gros Glogau; his siege equipage was formed at Custrin. One of the divisions is investing Breslau. He is taking possession of Silesia.—Our troops occupy the fort of Lenczyc, half way between Posen and Warsaw. Magazines and artillery have been found there. The Poles show the best disposition; but as far as the Vistula this country is difficult, it is very sandy. It is the first time that the Vistula sees the Gallic Eagle.——The Emperor desired that the King of Holland should return to his kingdom, to defend it in person.—The King of Holland has caused the corps of Marshal Mortier to take possession of Hanover. The Prussian Eagles and the Electoral Arms were taken down together.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" Yea, all which it inherit shall *dissolve*,
" And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
" Leave not a rack behind."——SHAKESPEARE.

TO THE

FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XII.

GENTLEMEN,

At the close of the last letter which I had the honour to address to you, I stated, at page 533, that want of time prevented me from examining in detail a paper, upon the subject of *dissolving parliaments*, published by that notorious place-hunter, Mr. Perry of the Morning Chronicle. And here, Gentlemen, before we enter upon this always important, and now interesting subject, let us just cast a glance over the state of the *press*. This press, which has been called the Palladium of free men, and which, in plain English, might have been called the Guardian of free men; this press of which so much has been said and so much has been sung, has, like many other things in our political state, been so completely perverted, as to be one of the chief means, by which freedom, real and necessary freedom, the freedom which an honest and loyal man ought to enjoy, has been nearly extinguished amongst us. As to the operation of the *law* upon this press, as to the powers which the maxims and precedents established by different Judges have given to the Attorney-General, that is to say, to the ministry of the day, relative to publications in print; as to the severe penalties, enacted, under the administration of Pitt, against those who should, in print, animadvert upon the characters or conduct of ministers, let those characters and that conduct be what they might; which enactments Lord Howick, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Erskine, Mr. Whitbread and all the Fox party, represented as justifying *open resistance* on the part of the people; and which enactments, observe, they have suffered to remain, not only without an effort to remove them, but without seeming to remember that they were in existence, while, at the same time, they daily insulted the nation with praises of the man by whom they were invented and caused to be adopted: It is not to these trammels, in which the press is held, these perils which surround every man who ventures to write and publish truth, that I am, at present, solicitous to draw your attention; but, to the corruption and baseness of the press itself, and the way in which it has been rendered an enemy to real freedom. Of this we have an instance sufficiently striking in the Morning Chronicle alone. For twenty years that paper, the property of the very same person who now owns it, was the eulogist and champion of the party of Mr. Fox. When Mr. Fox and his party came into power, that proprietor, Mr. Perry, had a place given him; and thus for his party-labours was he remunerated at our expence. The True Briton and Sun news-papers were set up with the public money; and, when Mr. Heriot, the person who conducted them for so many years, and whose sole and settled business was to eulogize Pitt and his minions, retired from the business, he had five or six hundred pounds a year of the public money settled upon him for life, in what is called a double-commissionership of the Lottery, which salary, *if at all necessary*, should have gone to reward some man, who had rendered undoubted services to the country. Mr. Walter, the proprietor of the Times news paper, did receive for many years, if he does not still receive, a pension of six hundred pounds a year from the public purse in consequence of his devoting his paper to the minister Pitt. The Anti-Jacobin weekly news-paper, in which those famous " young friends," Messrs. Canning and Frere wrote, was set up at the public expence; and Mr. William Gifford, whom they employed to assist them and to edite the paper, had, first, a patent place of a hundred a year bestowed upon him; next he was made a double commissioner of the Lottery, and, since, in addition, pay-master of the Gentlemen-Pensioners, making in all about 2 thousand a year for life at our expence; and, never in his whole life time, though he is a very modest, and, I believe, a very worthy man,

has he ever rendered any service to the country. I will pass over the particulars relating to the "Pilot" and the "Royal Standard," weekly papers set up by the Addington administration to oppose my Register; but, I cannot help pointing out to you the nature of the influence arising from advertisements in *all* the papers. This is the great source of emolument; and this source flows from all the public offices as well as from Lloyd's and all its numerous connections according to the *politics* of the paper through which it runs. Some papers, the Morning Post in particular, are the property of companies of traders or speculators. The thing is regarded merely as a money speculation, is to be made the most of, and, of course, the most profitable politics will be always preferred. In all the daily papers, paragraphs from individuals, or bodies of men, are inserted for payment, no matter what they contain, so that the proprietor be not exposed to the lash of the law. The price is enormous, not less than half-a-guinea an inch; of course, the rich villain has the whole of the daily press for his defender or apologist, while the oppressed or slandered man, if he be poor, has no means whatever of appealing to the justice of the public. You and the whole nation will agree with me, that, after all the dark hints that had been thrown out about the conduct of Col. Cochrane Johnstone, previous to, and during, his trial, the decision of the court-martial was a matter of general interest; yet I have been assured, that that deeply injured gentleman was unable to obtain the publication even of so brief a thing as the mere decision without paying, to the different daily papers, fifty or sixty guineas; while we see that paragraphs, and long ones too, in defence of Davison and Delancy, have appeared in all the daily papers in London. Add to this, the power which the Stamp-office has; add also the influence which the numerous sets of commissioners, surveyors, inspectors, &c. &c. have over the provincial papers, in which also the innumerable government advertisements are inserted, or not, as the papers may behave, and then wonder, if you can, at the torpor of the people, and say, if you can, that this press is "the Guardian of free men?" As to the Magazines and Reviews, the far greater part of them are in exactly the same state. The proprietor of the Gentleman's Magazine, Mr. Nichols, has great profits as a printer to the government. The British Critic, Review, is conducted by two clergymen, Messrs. Nares and Beloe; the former is an archdeacon, had besides one living given him long ago, and has recently had bestowed upon him another large living by Lord Chancellor Eldon. Mr. Beloe has a living in the city of London, is a prebendary of Lincoln, and has lately been appointed to a place in the British Museum, in which his worthy colleague had a place before him; and, observe, that, by an act of parliament, passed in the year 1803, these two holders of living upon living, are, under pretence of their offices in the Museum, excused from residing on any of their livings, and, of course, from all clerical duties whatsoever. Mr. Beloe is, indeed, now no longer in the Museum; but, that the public are not acquainted with *the cause of his dismission* is another proof of the corrupted state and base partiality of the press. ——The Anti Jacobin Review was begun by a person, who, for cogent reasons, no doubt, has, of late years, changed his name, by patent, from *Green* to that of *Gifford*, and who is now a police-magistrate, at a salary of five hundred pounds a year. This Review is now in the hands of the famous John Bowles, whom some persons humourously call the Reverend John Bowles, the intimate friend and associate and co-operator of Redhead Yorke. This John Bowles began his career of greatness by writing a pamphlet against Paine; that pamphlet, which did not preclude the necessity of a proclamation against Paine's works, procured Bowles a Commissionership of Bankrupts. He was the agent in setting up the Anti-Jacobin Newspaper; that procured him a Commissionership in the management of Dutch Property, sequestrated at the beginning of *last* war, and which office, an office that yields, probably, a thousand or two a year, is suffered to continue until this day. Mr. Bowles was, as the saying is, *brought up to the bar*; but he has found the press, the "Palladium of free men," a much more profitable concern.—Pamphlets, and even large books, upon whatever subject, owe, in a great degree, their doctrines, if at all connected with politics, to the same all-influencing cause. Money, the *public* money; to share in the immense sums raised upon the people; in some way or other to effect this purpose is the object of ninety-nine out of every hundred persons who write and who publish their writings, and which object is, and must ever be, in direct and necessary hostility to the interests of the people at large. If therefore there ever was in the world a thing completely perverted from its original design and tendency, it is the press of England; which, instead of enlightening, does, as far as it has any power, keep

the people in ignorance; which, instead of cherishing notions of liberty, tends to the making of the people slaves; and which, instead of being their guardian, is the most efficient instrument in the hands of all those who oppress, or who wish to oppress, them. An abusive pedagogue has lately told me, that, like all other rash and ignorant reformers, I am unable to distinguish the *abuse* of the press from the press itself; but, Gentlemen, when a thing becomes *wholly* abused; when it is totally perverted; when a *cordial*, no matter by what means, becomes *poison*, are we not then to represent it as an evil? But, the question is, should we be better off without any press at all? To which I answer in the affirmative; because, the public mind being then not misled by falsehood, being left to its own natural conclusions, its judgments would be founded upon events; every man would form his opinion according to what he saw and what he felt; and though oppressors would proceed unaccused, the oppression would not be of long duration. It is by the semblance of freedom that men are most effectually enslaved. Would you, rivet their chains never again to be loosened; would you stifle the voice of compassion towards the injured and oppressed; would you provide complete impunity to the oppressor, shelter him from reproach and even from silent execration? your means are, the *names* and *forms* of freedom and justice. So, likewise, if you would suppress the promulgation of truth; if you would propagate falsehood; if you would engender and perpetuate ignorance; if you would rob of its utility experience, which is said to make fools wise; if you would prevent the natural effect of observation and of feeling, the most, and, indeed, the only effectual means, is a shackled and corrupted press; and that such is the press of England no honest man will attempt to deny.——But, you will ask me, where is the *remedy*? or, are we then to lie down in despair, regard ourselves and our children as slaves, and, of course, view the fate of our country with perfect indifference? No: none of these. The remedy for this evil, and for all the other political evils that oppress us, is very simple, and undeniably constitutional; but, of it I must reserve what I have to say, until I have submitted to you some observations upon the abovementioned paper of Mr. Perry.

The paper, to which I refer, appeared in the Morning Chronicle of the 30th of last month; and, I must beg your perusal of the *whole* of it; because, as you will find, it leads to the discussion of many points, each of which is ten million times more interesting to you and I and to our children, than is the fate of Prussia, or of Russia, or of all the kingdoms and states of continental Europe put together. — "The "symptoms of decided disapprobation with "which the new Ministers have already "been received by the House of Commons, "and the sentiments which many leading "individuals and connections are known to "entertain respecting their conduct, have "convinced them that they cannot expect "the confidence and support of that Body. "——Indeed the dangerous and unconstitutional principles which they have virtually recognized, has excited just alarm. "The late Ministers, who had absolutely "and completely given up the Catholic Bill, "and in doing so had given a proof of deference to his Majesty's feelings as strong as "could be afforded, one necessarily carrying "with it a security as valid as could be given "that they would not wantonly urge the subject, were required to sign a written pledge "not to advise or propose any thing relative to a great public question, involving "the interest of a third part of the Empire, "and the preservation of the state.——If "they had subscribed such a paper they "would have created a document that might "have been the ground of impeachment. "It would have been an abdication of their "trust, a dispensation with their official "oaths, and an exchange of their character "as faithful advisers, for that of abject tools "of the crown. It would have been wholly "repugnant to the principles of this government, and tending to establish in the "Crown a responsibility for every thing "culpable, either of omission or commission in public affairs, that might be of "the most dangerous consequences both to "the welfare and the tranquillity of the nation.—— The new Ministers have not, "they say, subscribed any pledge; but can "they deny that virtually they have agreed "to observe that silence and reserve by "which perhaps the greatest calamities may "be entailed upon this country? the present Ministers have virtually discarded "wisdom and counsel from their system, "with respect to one part of the King's affairs, and it may be doubted whether they "have left themselves liberty to apprise "him of what misfortune may teach, or to "whisper those counsels which necessity may "prescribe.——In this situation, abandoned by all those who have a real permanent "interest in the state, the new Ministry "affect to talk of what they call an appeal "to the country by a dissolution of Parliament.——This proposition certainly was

" suggested, and is earnestly recommended " by a certain class in the country, *whom it " whold be improper to call by any antiqua- " ted nickname,* but who, it may be presu- " med, have views very different indeed from " those who would advise the dissolution of " the Parliament. *That class wish to see a " Westminster election, and a Middlesex elec- " tion; telling us that a new election would be " " a great good. An unmixed good, a good " " undisputable. A good that will make " " up for many an evil." The motive of " those who wish to see a Westminster and " a Middlesex election, for these objects are " doubtless very deserving of encouragement " from the Court! That class to whom we " allude are wise in their generation.* " THEY *think that* THEY MUST GAIN. " *But what will the* GENTLEMEN, *the " noblemen of England, nay, the* PRIN- " CES, *who are supposed to be in their coun- " sels (though we have from motives of de- " licacy considered our information as to the " proceeding of these unfounded); can they " consider a dissolution of Parliament four " months after its meeting a thing to be hail- " ed with joy, for the same reason that the " agitators of Westminster and Middlesex " sigh for it? Surely, those who look to " such a thing must be blind indeed, if " they do not see that they are the dupes " of their bitterest enemies.* —— But in " dissolving parliament these gentlemen " say they appeal to the country! Do " they mean to say that they would gain a " single vote by appealing to the gentlemen " of England, to the counties, or popular " boroughs? They know they could not. " What then? *Do they mean to say that " they would gain their object by a traffic " in the corrupt boroughs?* And would " they call *that* an *appeal to the people,* " supposing it could succeed? They ought, " however, to beware of these experi- " ments. Every body knows what they " mean, but they would not succeed. Let " them be assured, however, that they " *will not be suffered to call this an appeal " to the people, for the falsehood of the pre- " tence shall be exposed.*——The parlia- " ment would be dissolved if the House of " Commons did not think proper to transfer " their confidence from those who, accord- " ing to Mr. Dickenson, possessed its confi- " dence, and from whom it ought not to " be withdrawn, unless they were guilty " of something which would justify its be- " ing withdrawn.—— What a situation " then is this, that a ministry is removed by " a positive interference of the King's pre- " rogative, without any fault whatever al- " ledged against them; nay, because they " would not enter into a most unconstitu- " tional pledge with respect to their future " conduct?—— Suppose, what will un- " questionably be the case, that *the House " of Commons adheres to those ministers " who possessed their confidence,* and who " have done nothing to forfeit it, and " therefore refuse their confidence to those " *adventurers, without talent, property, " connexion, or permanent interest in the " state;* that are by *the most ridiculous of " all intrigues* advanced to office, is the " parliament to be dissolved? The Duke " of Portland at least, should remember " what Mr. Burke, in his proposed address " said upon an occasion, which, deep as " his Grace has since drank of the oblivious " stream, he cannot yet have forgotten —— " " It is the undoubted prerogative of the " " crown to dissolve parliament; but we " " beg leave to lay before his Majesty, that " " it is, of all the trusts vested in his Ma- " " jesty, the most critical and delicate, and " " that in which this House has the most " " reason to require not only the good " " faith, but the favour of the crown.' " ——Again, " An House of Commons " " respected by his ministers is essential to " " his Majesty's service. It is fit that they " " should yield to parliament, and not " " that parliament should be new mo- " " delled until it is fitted to their purposes." " ——In what situation then do we stand? " The present parliament has now sat little " more than four months; and is it to be " dissolved merely that it may be " fitted " " to the purposes" of those *desperate ad- " venturers, without property or considera- " tion, avowedly seeking to be the pensioners " of the public for bread before they com- " mence their ministerial functions?* Shall " they dare to dissolve the parliament *in or- " der to fit it to their purposes?* What say " the people of England to such policy? " ——Since the Septennial Act was passed " nothing of this sort has ever been at- " tempted. It has been considered the " leading difference between this and the " arbitrary governments of the Continent, " that our King was obliged to listen to the " advice of his unfettered counsellors, but " to defer to the wisdom of his great court " of parliament. The prerogative of dis- " solution never was vested in the crown to " enable the King to *get rid of an honest " and virtuous set of counsellors,* but to " protect him against a supposed exuber- " rance of republicanism and independence, " which might threaten the royal authority. " Is that the vice or the excess of parlia-

" ments now?—No, no. Parliaments are " not apt to commit such offences. The " right of dissolving parliament was intend- " ed to protect the monarchical branch of " the constitution—*not to indulge the per-* " *sonal caprices of the monarch.*——But in " all that time have we ever seen parlia- " liament dissolved for displaying their con- " fidence in ministers who had committed " no crime, and for distrusting new mi- " nisters, who had by their abdication on " the death of Mr. Pitt, publicly proclaim- " ed their own incapacity? Never can " that memorable retreat be forgotten; and " though Lord Mulgrave ventures to take " the Admiralty, Mr. Canning the Foreign " Affairs, Lord Hawkesbury the Home " Department, Sir James Pulteney and " Lord Castlereagh the War Department " and Ireland, with Mr Perceval and the " Duke of Portland at the Treasury, every " one must see that they are the very same " people still, and that, as is natural, cow- " ardice is changed for the moment from " panic to presumption.——The only in- " stance that can be quoted, is that of " 1784, but we deny the precedent. The " parliament of 1783, which Mr. Pitt " dissolved, was in the middle of its fourth " Session. Is there nothing of degree in " these matters? Is there no difference " between dissolving a Parliament, after " four years and after four months?—But " the case of Mr. Pitt's dissolution is every " way unlike; and if it were, what Mr. " Pitt did *in the consciousness of his great* " *genius, and supported, perhaps in some* " *degree, by a misguided zeal of the people,* " *in favour of his wonderful maturity, and* " *promises of talents*, can afford no prece- " dent for the despicable drivellers to whom " the great offices of state have fallen, in " the present chance-medley distribution.— " But it is pretended too, that the late mi- " nisters dissolved Parliament for party pur- " poses, which forms a precedent. This is " false two ways. It is false in point of " fact, and in point of inference.—The late " ministry dissolved a parliament that had " sat four complete sessions—a thing surely " very different from dissolving a parliament " that has not sat four months.—But they " did not dissolve that parliament from any " doubt of its supporting them. They had " come into power, and had produced vari- " ous most important measures, some new, " and exposed to a most furious, malignant, " and factious opposition on the part of cer- " tain members of that parliament, but car- " ried by very large and decisive majorities. " They never were in the slightest degree " pressed, far less compelled, to dissolve for " support.—They dissolved at the end of " four sessions complete, and *they dissolved* " *at the time when, by the failure of the* " *negociation, a new æra in the war had be-* " *gun.*—This is proved by the testimony, " or the reproach, of the present ministers, " that the failure of the negociation deter- " mined the late ministers to call a new, " instead of assembling the old parliament; " and it was even matter of bitter, though " unjust censure, that the determination to " dissolve was taken in this manner. But " the dissolving in that manner was found- " ed upon the great event which then hap- " pened. It gave the people the opportu- " nity of chusing a new house of commons " coolly, at a most important crisis, in " which party spirit did not mingle. It was " an æra too, which, if the representations " of the present ministers were well found- " ed, was very unfortunately chosen, if the " conduct of the negociation was so foolish " and contemptible as they chose to describe " it.—But whether the moment, on ac- " count of popular impression, was well or " or ill chosen, at least it was not chosen " with a view to any pitiful clamour artfully " excited; it was not with a view to a parlia- " mentary support indispensible to them; " it was not with a view to a momentary " existence, but *the public had the opportu-* " *nity of choosing their representatives, as* " *coolly, as fairly, as impartially as ever* " *was known since the origin of parliaments.* " —Now what would be the case were " parliament at present dissolved?—1. It " would be a bold exercise of the royal pre- " rogative for an immediate purpose; and " in order to get rid of a parliament which " continued to confide in a ministry against " whom no fault whatever could be alledged. " 2. It would be an act justified by no pre- " cedent; inasmuch as no parliament was " ever dissolved in this country, since the " accession of the House of Hanover, so " soon after its being convoked, particularly " for ministerial purposes.——Such being " the case, we may fairly inquire what pre- " tence could be alledged for a measure " which in its principle *tends to the degra-* " *dation of parliament*, by avowing the ob- " ject to be one that will be favourable to " the creatures of the court. Dare the pre- " sent men pretend—do they pretend, to " have the country with them? They know " it is not so. *All they can hope then is by* " *a corrupt exercise of Government influence* " *to obtain a majority in Parliament*, with- " out the least consideration of their public " merits or principles—or rather in defiance

" of their self-convicted imbecility, and their " flagrant subserviency.——Are they aware " too of the agitation of men's minds that " must take place in Ireland, if a General " Election take place?—Is it possible that " the feelings of men naturally warmed du- " ring the quietest election, should not be " enflamed by one that brought home to " their bosoms questions in which they were " so peculiarly interested? Would it be pos- " sible to make the people of Ireland for- " get, that in the circumstances which led " to the dissolution, there were things most " dear, most important to them?—Could " they enter upon election contests without " feelings strongly excited? Hitherto the " ill-used people of Ireland have been be- " guiled by soft words, and soothed with " hope. Amidst all the evils of their des- " tiny, hope at least has been kept at the " bottom of the chest. But now these rob- " bers and pilferers of the plan, who have " stolen into power, have let even that " escape. The people of Ireland see a mi- " nistry hostile to them from principle. Is " that a time then to inflame the natural " unavoidable feelings of four millions of " our fellow subjects by the collision and " heat of a general election? Those who " love a Westminster and Middlesex Elec- " tion could tell the new ministers why they " love it. It is on account of the turbu- " lence, the jubilee suspension of authority; " the immoderate licence of debate which " accompany that event. And would not " all this happen in Ireland? Would it not " give rise to the most violent exaltation of " men's minds, and perhaps prepare them " for corresponding acts?—Let those who " advise the King to dissolve his parliament, " look to these things. It is not enough " that they are prepared by martial law and " military force to subdue discontent. Is " the nation willing, or is it able, to spare " its troops either to watch or subdue dis- " turbances wantonly excited? This is not " a moment for a diversion of our force. " Buonaparté indeed will hear of these " things with pleasure.

" Audiet, cives acuisse ferrum
" Quo graves Persæ melius perirent.

" No friend to England, however, no " friend to Europe, can hear of such propo- " sals without horror. They must lead to " a total diversion of all our energies from " the common cause, if they do not excite " the rebellion which the national force will " be called upon to suppress.——Let the " noblemen and gentlemen of England and " Ireland, who have an interest in the coun- " try beyond that which a thousand such " fugitive ministers as the present have in " possession or prospect, think to what " such desperate counsels must lead; and " let them join in preventing the mis- " chief while yet it can be prevented."—— The great purpose of this paper is, as you will not fail to perceive, Gentlemen, to deter the king from dissolving the parliament; and, as the writer presumes, that the present members of the House of Commons will continue to vote on the side of the late, or turned-out ministers, he expects, as a consequence, that the present ministers will be unable to carry any measure in parliament, and, of course, that their rivals will regain the places, from which they have been ousted, not forgetting the attendant circumstance, that he himself would re-possess his place and his profits, which I am fully persuaded he would have gladly held under the present ministers, had he not been of the opinion, that, from their weakness, his chance was better in adhering to the former. The confused and bungling execution of this article in the Morning Chronicle, arising, probably, from the agitation in the writer's mind, renders it necessary for us to pass over many of the topics, which he has introduced, or rather lugged in. We will, therefore, leave his representation of the " *just alarm*," that has been excited by the supposition that the present ministers have given the king a written pledge not to propose to him that which the late ministers had abandoned the moment they found he was averse from it; we will leave his parade about *oaths*, which compel ministers to *advise* such and such measures, but which do not prevent them from *putting a stop* to such measures, even after they are before parliament, though in such measures are " involved the interests of a third part of " the empire, and the preservation of the " state;" we will leave his affected fears about the tranquillity of Ireland, *the people* of which he chooses to consider as deeply interested in supporting the late ministers, who, for what reasons the people of Ireland will, perhaps, be able to judge, withdrew the bill they had introduced, and which was pretended, at least, to be in their favour; we will leave the distinction between ministers who claim a right to advise measures, and who are ready to abandon them at the mere suggestion of the king, and ministers who, before hand, as he asserts, pledge themselves not to advise measures of which the king is known to disapprove; we will leave the *ferment*, which he foresees will arise in Ireland at the dissolution of a parliament, which, after it had before it a bill for

the good, as it is assumed, of the people of Ireland, suffered that bill to be withdrawn without one single opposing voice: all these we will leave, including the sublime reveries of Lords Grenville and Howick about "conciliating the affections of the people "of Ireland, uniting the whole kingdom in "one bond of brotherly love, drawing off "the superabundant population, and ex-"tracting the means of defence from the "very bowels of discontent," and that, too, observe, by the enabling of about three or four dozen of Irish catholics, chiefly of the nobility, to become Generals upon the staff, looking upon this as a most rational scheme for rendering happy, and, of course, contented, two or three millions of ragged, half-starved, houseless creatures, not one out of one thousand of whom knows what a General upon the staff means: all these we will leave to produce that impression, which they are so well calculated to produce upon the minds of sensible men, and we will come, at once, to the question of *the right and the expediency of dissolving the parliament, at this time*; after which we may be allowed to indulge ourselves in a few remarks upon the insinuations of this writer respecting *my views* (for he quotes my very words) *in wishing for a dissolution of the parliament.*

That the king has a *right* to dissolve the parliament whenever he pleases, has never been denied by any man, who did not feel an interest in a parliament's continuing undissolved. It is, in fact, the only *constitutional* means which the king has of protecting himself and his authority, of preserving his due weight in the scale, or of preserving to the Lords their due weight, against the encroachments of the House of Commons; for, that assemblies of men are as apt to encroach as individuals, history affords us many and striking proofs. This prerogative is also necessary to the protection of the people, seeing that it is possible for a House of Commons to betray its trust, and, by the means of the power of granting or withholding supplies, to tyrannize over both king and people. It is now, however, contended, that the parliament itself has the right of inquiring, whether this prerogative be justly exercised. We are told by this writer, that it was "given to "the king not to enable him to get rid *of* "*honest and virtuous councillors*, but to "protect him against the *exuberance of in-*"*dependence*," which latter, he tells us, by way of question, is not the vice of parliaments now-a-days; and which assertion I am, Gentlemen, by no means disposed to deny. But, with regard to his two positions, before-stated, as applied to the present circumstances, I must first observe, that there would be, if we were to admit his principle, a previous question to be discussed, namely, whether the late ministers were "honest "and virtuous councillors;" and, I think it about ten to one that the result would not be exactly conformable to the assumption of Mr. James Perry, who enjoyed a pretty good place under those ministers. Than the principle nothing can be more false, nothing more contrary to the constitution of our government, nothing more degrading to both king and parliament, and nothing better calculated to keep alive a constant jealousy and hatred of the former. The true doctrine is, that the parliament has nothing at all to do with the choosing, or the dismissing of the king's ministers, who are called, and who ought to be regarded, as "*his servants.*" The true office of the parliament is, to propound, to discuss, to pass laws, and to present them to the king for his approbation or rejection; and, it is the peculiar office of the House of Commons to grant, or refuse, money to the king, for any and for every purpose whatever. In this, and this alone, consists its power as a check upon the other branches; and, in the just and wise exercise of this power consists the only constitutional security that the people have, either for property, liberty, or life. Take away this power, or render it of no use, *no matter by what means*, and all we have, life included, is placed at mere hazard. Such a well-poised government, supported by laws so just and of so long standing, does not, all at once, sink down into an open and merciless tyranny, crushing every man without exception: but, by degrees, and with a motion continually accelerating, down it must come, if this power be once destroyed, or, by whatever means, rendered of no effect. If this doctrine be sound, and I think that no reasonable and disinterested man will deny that it is, what despicable nonsense is this that we hear about the *confidence of parliament* in the king's ministers? A man cannot serve two masters. It is certain, that, the parliament, viewed in the constitutional light as a *check* upon the king, are the very last of all his subjects who ought to be able to interfere in the choice of his servants. If there be a *limit* upon the prerogative; if the exercise of it be subjected to any considerations of expediency, in any body besides the king himself, it is evident that the parliament must be the judge; and, if the parliament are of opinion, that it is inex-

pedient to dissolve them, of course they will not be dissolved. What, then, becomes of the prerogative? But, Gentlemen, the fact is, that people who preach such doctrine as this, wish to make a mere tool of the parliament; a mere mouth-piece wherewith to remonstrate against every measure of the king that may militate against their interests, whether in the way of power or of profit. They never tell us, that the House of Commons, upon seeing the affairs of the nation committed to dishonest or childish men, ought to *refuse money*, 'till they see those affairs in honester or abler hands; these writers never call upon the House to exercise this its constitutional and efficient power. That would not suit their purpose. It is always some dispute about *who shall have power and profit*, in which such men wish to engage the parliament; and it is, to be sure, ridiculous enough to see the whole nation engaged in the same disputes, taking the side of one place-hunting faction, or another, and seeming to think it of no consequence at all who compose the House of Commons, that House, which, as was before observed, forms the only constitutional check upon the exercise of the royal authority!——Mr. Perry does, however, acknowledge, that the prerogative of dissolution *has been exercised before*, an acknowledgement, which, when we reflect on the events of last year, certainly does great credit to his candour. His apology for the dissolution by Pitt, especially when we consider how often he has vehemently reprobated that measure, is really too disgusting to admit of an appropriate comment. "But," says he, "is there *no difference* between "*four months* and *four years*?" Yes, thou sagacious querist, there are just forty-four months difference; but what difference is there in the *principle*? Aware of the paltriness of this subterfuge, he next comes to the *object* of the dissolution. "The late "ministers," says he, "dissolved at the "end of four sessions complete, *and they* "*dissolved at a time when, by the failure* "*of the negociation, a new æra in the war* "*had begun.*" Well, and what then? Why not go on? Why not go on, and tell us *why* a parliament should be dissolved for *that cause*? "You have stated your fact, but have left us to make the best use of it we can; and the use I make of it is to say, that, in my opinion, the reason why they dissolved it then, was, that they suspected, that, having failed in making peace, they would not be able to keep a majority in the House of Commons, without an appeal to the *free voice* of the people, which appeal they made, Gentlemen, in the manner that we witnessed in Westminster and Hampshire. Does Mr. Perry mean to say, that it is necessary to dissolve the parliament as often as the ministry find it expedient to take a new course as to their executive measures? If so, what a degraded thing would he make the parliament; and how far beyond expression degraded things would he make those by whom one branch of that parliament is chosen? One would hope, that he could not mean this; but, upon the supposition that he does, we may surely ask him whether a dissolution should not, upon the same principle, take place *now*, when I venture to assert, that there will be a perfectly "new æra" as to warlike and all other measures. —— In short, in the whole of this article, evidently intended, as was before observed, to deter the king from dissolving the parliament, there does not appear to me to be any one reason why that measure should not be adopted, if the king choose. Harm to the country it is *impossible* it should do; it is quite impossible it should do harm; and it may possibly lead, though indirectly, perhaps, to a great deal of good.

The other part of this article of Mr. Perry, to which, Gentlemen, I am anxious to turn your attention is, that where this sage personage quotes my words, and where, doing me the honour to rank me with some others, whom he styles the Agitators of Westminster and Middlesex, he says, in substance, this: "That we wish for a dissolu- "tion of parliament, on account of the tur- "bulence, the jubilee suspension of autho- "rity that would arise from, and the im- "moderate licence of debate that would ac- "company it; that we seek the total over- "throw of the government and laws, be- "cause we are sure to gain thereby; that "we are desperate Jacobins, though he "will not make use of an antiquated "name; that we are deep cunning fellows, "wise in our generation, and well knowing "what will tend to the accomplishing of "our views; that the poor silly courtiers "(and he broadly hints at some pretty high "in rank) are doing our work for us; and "that it is for the *gentlemen* of England to "step forward, vote for the late ministry "against the king and his new ministry, "and thus prevent the whole fabric of the "English government from being destroy- "ed."——This is pretty well, and particularly from Mr. Perry, who, for so many years past, has been the proprietor of the Morning Chronicle, in which the French revolution was eulogized, and in which all the acts, the

silliest and bloodiest not excepted, of the French revolutionists were, if not actually defended, apologized for. We must keep our temper. For this, amongst other things, Mr. Perry was made. It is perfectly becoming him and his cause. But, Gentlemen, supposing the world were to believe what he says; supposing it to be believed, that I am in such desperate circumstances, or that the existence of government and law is so repugnant to my nature and my habits, or that I am so totally bereft of the love and esteem of my country, family, and friends, that *any change* would be a benefit to me, and that, as being most consonant to my disposition, I wish to see the destruction of the government effected through the means of degrading the parliament and the ministry; supposing all this, which he insinuates, to be true, what, I ask you, Gentlemen, must be my gratification at reading, for three weeks, the mutual exposures and re-criminations, published in the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Courier*? Nay, why need I go farther than the very article above quoted. Here Mr. Perry describes the men, whom the king has now chosen for his confidential servants, as "adventurers without talent, property, connection, or interest, in the country, advanced to office by the most ridiculous of "all intrigues;" as "desperate adventurers without property or consideration, "avowedly seeking to be pensioners of the "public for bread before they commence "their ministerial functions." He says that they mean to gain a majority in parliament "by a traffic in corrupt boroughs; "that they shall not be suffered to call a dissolution an appeal to the people; that the "right of dissolving parliament was not intended to indulge the personal caprices of "the monarch; that all the new ministers "can hope for is, by a corrupt influence of "government, to obtain a majority in parliament, without the least consideration of "their public merits or principles, or rather "in defiance of their self-convicted imbecility, and their flagrant subserviency."—Every one has his characteristic manner of doing a thing, and this is Mr. Perry's way of supporting "government and social order" against us Jacobins and Levellers! In other of his papers he has been much more vehement in this sort of opposition to us. There is scarcely a term or an epithet expressive of his contempt, or of villainy in them, which he has not applied to the members of the new cabinet, to "his Majesty's confidential servants!" He has ascribed to them bad qualities of all sorts, to each in the highest degree; insomuch that, if the world were to believe his statements, they must regard these "confidential servants of the king" as a set of wretches unfit to be trusted with the management of the most trifling individual concern, especially where honesty was required, whence the inference as to the master who has chosen them is inevitable. Yet, Gentlemen, this is the man who represents us as Jacobins and Levellers, and who has taken upon him the task of defending the "monarchy of England" against our crafty and wicked machinations!——The truth is, that he and his party well know, that they have nothing more to expect from the independent part of the people; they know, that the very weakest amongst them will never trust or believe them again. They may as well abuse us as not; for hate them we do, and hate them we shall. The deeds of the last six weeks of their power will never be forgotten by me; and, I hope, they never will be forgotten by you. They gained our good wishes and our confidence by their apparently sincere condemnation of the measures and the principles of Pitt; the very first vote they gave after their elevation was to oblige us to pay the debts of that very same man. From that day, until the day when their power was destroyed, they praised his measures, praised his character, and pursued his example. With what face can they now stand up to condemn the principles of his professed followers? Except, indeed, they condemn them for not acting contrary to their professions, which, in them, would be natural enough. Lord Melville, they tell us, is at the bottom of all this intrigue; and they throw out most significant hints about the indecency of consulting Lord Melville. You and I, Gentlemen, might consistently enough throw out such hints; but, for them, who volunteered with a *bill of indemnity* for Pitt's lending the 40 thousand pounds of the public money to Boyd and Benfield (two members of parliament), without interest and without the knowledge of his colleagues, and even without making any minute of the transaction, leaving the fact to be detected by a board of inquiry; for them, who well-knew, who had evidence before them, that Pitt was duly acquainted with all that Lord Melville did in the concerns alluded to, and that he never expressed his disapprobation of it; for them, who saw Pitt contend, in all manner of ways, that Lord Melville's conduct was justifiable; for them, who have since so eulogized that same Pitt, and who, even during the trial of Lord Melville, eulogized him to the skies; for them to complain of the "indecency" of Lord Melville's being again

employed in public affairs is an instance of inconsistency too shameful, one would have thought, even for Mr. Perry to become the promulgator. They had their motive for eulogizing Pitt, for cherishing his under adherents, and for turning their backs upon those who had aided and supported them in their warfare against him; but, it was a motive of short-sighted ambition. Thirteen months of power they have purchased with political annihilation. They will, in a few weeks, find themselves without a single adherent; from the *very highest* to the very lowest, of those who were formerly attached to them, they will scarcely find a man, who does not, in his heart, rejoice at their fall; and, as to the independent part of the people, not one man of them will ever again be deceived by their professions or their clamours. They may call together their *Whig-Club*; they may send forth their puffs about *Francis Horner* and the rest of the new recruits of Whiggism; but, this old rump of a Club will, from this day to the day of its final extinction, be an object of contempt, a bye-word and a reproach.

Of the *remedy* for all these things, of the means of protection against imposture and oppression, I shall, Gentlemen, speak in my next, and, in the mean while I remain,

Your faithful friend,
And obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 9th April, 1807.

NATIONAL DEFENCE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. W. WINDHAM.

LETTER III.

SIR,——Agreeably to my promise, I now proceed to examine in what degree your military system has found support, from "the eloquent speech of General Sir John "Doyle," delivered in the House of Commons on the 23d of January, of which, as it had, "excited much interest," an "accu-"rate report of it" is given in the Courier newspaper of the 27th of the same month.—"I lay it down," says the General with all due solemnity, "as a proposition as incon-"trovertible as any theorem in Euclid, that, "whatever weapon the enemy assails you "with, he must be met with one *of equal* "*efficiency*. If the enemy were to invade "you with the trained bands of Paris, I "should be content to meet him with the "trained bands of London. But, as he "will come (if he can) with *a regular dis-*"*ciplined army*, he must, therefore, be met "by *a regular disciplined army*." Now, Sir, that "a regular disciplined army" of any given number of soldiers, is more "efficient" than an equal number of soldiers either ill disciplined or not disciplined at all, we need not an experienced general, however eloquent, to inform us. In this view of the military Baronet's proposition, and this is all I can find in it that is to the point, we shall readily allow it to be "as "incontrovertible as any theorem in Eu-"clid." But, Sir, when we view the question of national defence; and this the General makes the ground of his argument; his "proposition" taking it to express "a re-"gular disciplined army" as his *means*, is so far from "incontrovertible" that I utterly deny it; and not only deny it, but protest against it as the most fatal that can possibly be adopted. Let me remind the General that the Emperor of Germany at Marengo had "a regular disciplined army;" the coalesced sovereigns at Austerlitz had TWO "regular disciplined armies," furnished by two potent empires; and the descendant of the Great Frederick of Prussia, again at Auerstadt had "a regular disciplined army;" and yet, all these were successively defeated by that of Napoleon, the German empire was overturned, and the King of Prussia met with his "downfal." On all these defeats in the teeth of his "incontrovertible proposi-"tion," our mathematical General is perfectly silent. and while he exerts all his eloquence, while he displays all his wit and humour, and likewise quotes Horace, while he conjures the House to "unanimity, till the "great object of national security be perfect "and complete," in order that our country may "employ all its energies to *keep out* "the arch enemy of all legitimate govern-"ment," and tells that "the existence of "all we hold dear is at stake; property, "LIBERTY, and life;" while I say he thus exerts himself to recommend the adoption of "a regular disciplined army" as our only security against Napoleon, he wholly forgets to remind us of one circumstance, which is of some account in the question, namely, that as soon as Napoleon got at the head of the "regular disciplined army" of France, THERE WAS AN END OF FRENCH LIBERTY, and that by means of this very instrument he not only rules France with a rod of iron, but is the scourge of Europe!!! Now, setting this "incontrovertible proposition" against that of the learned General, we are left yet to seek a "perfect and complete" system of national defence. I find it only in the military energies of the English constitution. There also it was found by the God-like Jones, whom Johnson esteemed "the most enlightened of the sons of men;"

and there in like manner it was found by the late Duke of Richmond, a general, an engineer, and a constitutional statesman. In the last edition of England's Ægis, I have endeavoured to do justice to the great merit of the Duke's Thoughts on the National Defence; while I accounted, as I conceive, for the too-limited plan he proposed, on the grounds that any scheme on the grand scale of the constitution would have been far too "perfect and complete" for the selfish, factious, politics of the ministers of that day; to the scale of whose patriotism the Duke seems to have flattered himself he had contracted the scale of his National Defence, but, as it turned out, although the force he proposed to be put in action was less than half what the constitution enjoins, it was more—being *constitutional*, than they chose to employ.—Now, Sir, a word or two if you please upon that great military mystery, *discipline*. While the artful priests of the doctrine would have us believe there is no salvation but in a standing army, we shall not do amiss if we consult a little our common sense. All military superiority is in degrees. A thousand men with a small degree of discipline are superior to a thousand without any discipline at all. And a thousand of course who are highly disciplined will be superior to an equal number who are only half disciplined. Hence it follows, that superiority will ever be in a ratio compounded of comparative numbers with comparative discipline; so that the use of *discipline* is, that it may become a SUBSTITUTE for *physical force;* or it may be called the art whereby any proposed degree of military energy shall be concentrated within the narrowest space, that is, within the smallest number of men; and a very convenient art it is. But to go a little farther into the mystery, I shall not scruple to hold very cheap, a great deal of that trash which contributes so much to the smartness of a parade, and on which officers lay a stress, in proportion to their incapacity for distinguishing what is essential, and for comprehending the sublimer parts of the military science. In these sentiments I find myself confirmed by the experienced officer whose speech we are considering.—What are the essentials which a soldier is to be taught? Steadiness; arms-wielding; tactics; and a strong sense of military and national honour. By arms-wielding, I mean the familiar use of his arms with complete safety to his comrades and all possible danger to his enemy; and by tactics, I mean his preserving his right place, rank and file, in all the necessary varieties in the form, and all the proper evolutions, of his battalion or company while changing its position or its place, so that the commander may never be disappointed in the military effect upon his enemy he has the capacity to conceive, and the energy to execute. The intelligent officer who can separate trifles from essentials; who is master of the principles of conducting a military body from any one point to any other, either by times of the shortest distance, or in spaces of the shortest time, and whose bosom glows with the fire of the soldier and of the patriot, would soon shew the means of imparting to an English population in arms, all necessary discipline for rendering its physical force truly resistless, even by that "regular disciplined army" which has conquered so many other "regular armies!" "A great deal of unnecessary instruction "and inappropriate discipline," says Sir John Doyle, "was, at the outset, attempted "to be communicated to them. [the Volunteers]. It did happen to me in America "to meet with a circumstance from which "I derived much useful information on this "head. About 150 recruits were sent out "to the regiment of which I was adjutant: "I immediately proceeded to have them "taught, *secundum artem*, eyes to the right, "toes out, &c. But I was interrupted in "my course by the Major, who was a very "sensible intelligent man, and who told "me, that *I began at the wrong end.* I "accordingly changed my course, and "taught my men to manage the firelock. "This was the Major's advice, who thought "it most necessary, particularly when time "pressed, that the men *should learn to fire* "*at the enemy*, and this proved to be wise, "for *in three weeks after they arrived* these "recruits *had to meet the enemy*." This, Sir, you will observe, was in "a regular "disciplined army."—I have remarked that *discipline* at best is only a SUBSTITUTE for *physical force.* But, if it be true, that in a militia, or armed population, you may have BOTH, then what becomes of the General's "incontrovertible proposition?" And what is to hinder your having both? We know by experience that the perfection of arms-wielding and tactics is as attainable in a regiment of militia, as of the line. And every man who pleases to inform himself may know, that if the largest "regular dis-"ciplined army" the nation can find funds to pay, were to be opposed to the people of England in arms, having received such discipline as is easily practicable, that army could not stand before them a moment. Why then is such an army to be preferred for defending us against invasion? The rank and file of that army must ever be composed

of that part of the population who are least interested in the defence of property, as having themselves none, and being hirelings at wages of a few pence per day. To such men as our defenders, we must prefer those who should include in their numbers the possessors of all the property in the kingdom, together with a selection of their relatives and most trusty dependents. Recollecting, Sir, that wherever an unbalanced standing army has taken root, *there liberty has perished.* I shall close this letter with repeating what, eight years ago, I said of the military system of the constitution: " On the true " principles of order, the very bond of all " society, and by a beautiful, refined, yet " simple mechanism, it organizes a com- " munity of free citizens into an invincible " army; it communicates the sensibilities " of the individual to the aggregate of so- " ciety, and causes those energies, for re- " senting menace and repelling assault, " which characterise a brave man, to adorn " and to dignify a great nation. And it is a " system which, although regulated with " mechanic precision, has yet its sure foun- " dations in the human heart; and, co-ex- " tensive with society itself, it has a solid " reliance on its own resistless force. The " soldier it forms is equally impelled by law, " by reason, and by patriotism, to fly to his " standard on the first sound of danger. By " his dearest interests and his honour, he is " prompted to a faithful discharge of his " duty; and by all the objects of his tender- " est attachment, and by the noblest feel- " ings of his soul, he is inspired with that " enthusiasm which renders the free man, " defending the liberties of his country, " ever terrible in the day of battle. In fine, " the military system here spoken of, is a " system of which equal liberty is the inspi- " ring soul, and general liberty the happy " result. May the intrinsic wisdom of this " system—the noblest legacy of an English " King—of kings the greatest that ere bore " earthly rule; once more give life and " energy to England, that her liberties and " her glory may be immortal!"——In my next, Sir, I propose to reply to your friend B. Meanwhile I have the honour to remain, with much respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,——JOHN CARTWRIGHT.——*Feb.* 26, 1807.

" LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 19.

SIR,——The indispensible, and, I must say, more important concerns of my present situation have prevented me, hitherto, from realizing the intentions, which I for some time have had of communicating a few observations to you respecting the " Learned Languages." The subject, as it was natural to have supposed, has procured you many correspondents; most of whose productions, as far as I have had time to look at them, [I say it by no means to extol my own] are characterised by pedantic gibberish, or by prolix and sophistical argumentation. Had I time or room, many glaring absurdities, much false logic, might be pointed out, and successfully retorted upon the respective authors. Without making any animadversions, however, on your many publications regarding this subject, which I must confess I have not had patience fully to examine, I shall submit to you, and, if you think proper, to the public, a few desultory hints tending to prove, if not the sophistical fallacy, at least the unqualified and unphilosophical comprehensiveness of your boasted proposition, that " the dead languages are impro- " perly called *learned*, and as a part of ge- " neral education are *worse than useless.*" —In the first place, your conception of the " impropriety" of the epithet " learned," as applied to the dead languages, depends entirely upon an unjustifiable, and unnoticed innovation which you have very improperly made in the acceptation of that word. You have restricted the meaning of it to a *knowledge only of facts*; and do not allow it to comprehend, as it properly does, a *knowledge also of literature.* Had you attended to its etymology, [but your proposition virtually condemns all etymology] which, in cases of this kind, every " learned" person would [if he could] have recourse to, you would have found that, if there is to be any preference, *learning* is more properly a knowledge of literature or languages than of facts. We have *learn leopman* which is the Saxon for a letter: or take it learned—lettered—*litera*; for it was a necessity in the days of antiquity, as it is yet, although certainly in a less degree, that, before a man was learned in facts, he must be learned in *letters.* The men possessed of general knowledge, or the " learned" men were, in the days of antiquity, and still are called *literati.* Had you consulted Johnson's Dictionary, or read the third book of Mr. Locke's Essay, you would not have couched your fundamental proposition in such indefinite and undefined terms. But such are, and similar will be the effects of " learning." In the second place, admitting that learning may signify the knowledge of facts, or the " possession of ideas," it is as erroneous, according to my way of thinking, to say that a linguist in ancient literature, and consequently,

the languages he is master of, are "improperly called learned," as it is to say that a mathematician is improperly called skilful, or learned, which with Dr. Johnson are perfectly synonymous; the latter expresses his ideas in the symbols of Algebra, or the characters of Arithmetic, and the former does it in the character and words of different languages.——I must again take notice of the equivocation and uncertainty of your grand proposition. It would seem, that you mean either to confound and mislead your antagonists by forcing them into [what "learning" seems to know nothing about] an *ignoratio elenchi*, so called by logicians; or, to secure yourself [as the sophists used to do] behind the uncertainty and rhetorical aberrations of your language. The clause of your proposition "as a part of *general* education" is very dubious. For this may either mean as a part of what is commonly called a *liberal* education; or as a part of education in *general*; that is, of education as administered in different degrees to different individuals. Taking your proposition in either of these senses, I think it highly objectionable and dangerous, particularly in the *first sense*.—As Lord Chesterfield said to his son, we must learn Greek and Latin *because they are learned*. We must make ourselves acquainted with the dead languages, that we may not be put out of countenance by every petulant boy, every pedantic schoolmaster that we meet with: the bragadocio dares not challenge that person who he knows can fight: and the bigoted ecclesiastic when he finds himself hard pushed in any dispute, immediately throws off his antagonist, and leaves him at fault amidst the unsearchable windings of the scriptural labyrinth. Thus, since custom has sanctioned it, the learned languages must be studied. This you'll perhaps say is no argument: to study the learned languages, because they are studied, is only aggravating the evil, and making the period more distant, when it may be hoped it will be eradicated. But, Mr. Cobbett, are not our British classics mottled and interspersed with passages from the ancient writers, *which, it would be very congruous no doubt, to see a "learned" man unable to read, far less to understand?* Are not the nomenclatures of all our arts and sciences made up of Greek and Latin phrases and words, *which a "learned" man's acuteness may enable him well enough to dispense with?* Do not the technical terms of the most common trades consist if not altogether of *learned* words, at least of such the proper understanding of which depends upon a knowledge of their roots; *the knowledge of which are worse than useless to the apothecary or the florist?* And, in the course of a "learned" man's speaking and writing, do not many passages occur which might be far more expressively, and accurately conveyed by *a single learned word* than by the tediousness and obscurity of vernacular periphrases?!!!—To be more serious, I make no hesitation in saying that, were your doctrine received, every prodigal esquire, every improving farmer, every cash-thirsty divine, every speculative merchant, every luxurious magistrate, would slight the education of his children: he would say to himself, why need I throw away my money in teaching my sons Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, *which Mr. Cobbett, whose authority is unexceptionable, says, are "worse than useless."* I will put them to writing and arithmetic; and, if they chuse to be "learned," let them read the ancient classics, and study history, which have been both copiously translated into our own tongue. Depend upon it, this would be the case more or less, according to the different tempers of individuals: and the inhabitants of Britain, with a few exceptions, would fall from that high rank which they have long held, and which they still maintain in the European scale of classical literature, and would degenerate into pitiful creatures, fit only to scrawl at desks, to keep shops, or to fill the places of ignorant and miserable peasants.—There is nothing which cultivates the mind more than the mere study of the learned languages [supposing them to be not even directly useful, which, by the by, can be possible in very few cases.] By studying these, the memory is strengthened, the judgment is exercised, and the taste is cultivated. The grammar of our own tongue can never be sufficiently understood *till we are acquainted with universal grammar*. Now, it is as impossible to derive a knowledge of universal grammar from the modern languages, as it is to understand the *principia* of Newton without the elements of geometry. Universal grammar comprehends the construction of all languages both ancient and modern; and, without a knowledge of the former whose construction is so peculiar, and which are the foundation of universal grammar, its beauty cannot be perceived, nor its generality understood.—The languages are the channels by which information is conveyed from one man, from one nation, and from one age to another. A truly learned man, to carry on the metaphor, must be able to swim down those channels whose streams are quiet and limpid from the smoothness which the long running of the water has produced; as well as to be carried

down a rough and hoarse-sounding current, which has *newly* broke out, and which rolls in torrents amid the *rocks* over which it runs. He must, having felt the smoothness of the old-run channels, clear away the sand, and gravel, and hew down the protuberances of the rocks of the new channels, which unpolished, render their waters rough and disagreeable; and must have it in his power to drink from *the old fountains*, in order to quench *that thirst* which the waters of the *new* are unable to remove. To speak plainly, he must be able to consult the ancient languages for those numerous and most valuable branches of *knowledge*, which are *there* only to be found; and, he must, by imitating the style and spirit of the ancient classics, which are the archetypes of all the elegance and taste of modern composition, endeavour to acquire that purity of diction, and taste of fine writing, for which we admire the Greeks and Romans. If this man attempts to make those acquirements *by imitating our modern classics only*, he places himself in a predicament exactly similar to that of a portrait-painter who copies from an old picture instead of drawing from the life. —Of the various and numerous arguments which I might adduce, I shall only give you another, which I consider more cogent, and unanswerable than any which I have stated. For wise ends, it has pleased the Omnipotent Creator to "confound men's language, "that they may not understand one ano-"thers speech:" but his kind Providence has provided, as he has done similarly in most other cases, a remedy for this "confusion" in the very confusion itself. It is admirably ordered that *the more modern are derived from the more ancient languages*; and, it is more than probable, that, were we able to follow the etymology, they might all be traced up to the same common origin.—— Hence, what are called the learned languages, are in a great measure the roots of the modern European tongues. By making ourselves masters of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, we therefore, purchase, or rather acquire *gratuitously*, the essence [so to express it] of our comparatively modern *jargons*; or, while we make ourselves adepts in the ancient languages, we, *at the same time*, become masters in a great measure of all that are derived from them. A person *skilled in the ancient languages*, when he wishes to learn those spoken now, has only to get a few vocables and idioms, and his work is accomplished. The superiority of boys from only the Latin school, over girls, who are not so educated, in studying French, Italian, or Spanish is universally known. How preposterous is it, therefore, to neglect the study of the learned languages, and to bestow those pains in acquiring one of the modern jargons which would at once have introduced us to all the beauties of ancient literature; and have put us in possession of a key to most of the modern languages. How preposterous and fallacious I must also say, till I see your *not-to-be-answered* arguments, is that proposition that "the dead languages are im-"properly called learned, and as a part of "general education are *worse than useless*." ——To cover the rear of my reasonings, I shall terminate them, and this letter [the length of which I hope you will excuse] with a quotation from the writings of the late very learned and sagacious Mr. Dalzel, the bare authority of whose name might have precluded the necessity of any argument. Speaking of the learned languages, he elegantly observes, "*quibus apud nos deficien-*"*tibus cito deficiet omnes doctrina politior*, "*iisdem vigentibus, omnes etiam artes quæ* "*ad humanitatem pertinent una vigebunt.*" ——I am, Sir, your respectful and benevolent reader and correspondent,——J. B.— Scoto Britannus.

P. S. This letter I submit to your candid perusal and disposal. I must most earnestly and respectfully beg that you will excuse any too great freedoms, into which I may have been intruded by the very lively sense which I have of the danger which your doctrines on this subject threaten to the safety of Britain, and to the general welfare of modern literature. ——*Mid Lothian, April 5.*

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 20.

Sir,——If I have no other merit, I shall have at least that of brevity. I do not mean to enter the lists, but merely to correct the mis-statement of a very smart correspondent in your number of the 28th of March, who subscribes himself Attalus: a correction I grant you of little influence on the result. He states three of the greatest writers of modern Italy, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace, to have been totally unacquainted with Greek, and so little with Latin, that in its practical influence it amounted to nothing. I learn, however, from the last volume of Gibbon's History, that Boccace was taught Greek by Leontius Pilatus, and attained in it such proficiency as to execute a prose translation of the Iliad and Odyssey. And with respect to their Latin acquisitions, let works bear witness: all the three wrote much in that language; the two last more than an ordinary reader could master in half a life time.

Nay, to the extent of their intimacy with the classics, and the spirit of imitation it engendered, Hume ascribes their want of native simplicity. Even Dante, the least scholastic of the three, as we learn from Boccace, was most familiar with Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Statius, and the other celebrated poets, and, not satisfied with perusing, endeavoured to imitate them, "(" famigliarissimo divenne di Vergilio, di Orazio, di Ovidio, di Stazio e di ciascuno altro poeta famoso, non solamente avendo caro il conoscergli, ma ancora s'ingegno d'imitarli);" was equally familiar with the Roman historians and philosophers; and long hesitated between writing his celebrated poem in Latin or Italian, having actually once begun it in Latin, of which Boccace gives a specimen. (See *Vita e Costume di Dante del Boccacio*)—— Attalus asserts that their knowledge of the classics must have been very imperfect, because Livy, Sallust, and part of Cicero were then unrecovered. I confess my information on this subject is very defective; but I shrewdly suspect that of Attalus, notwithstanding his reference to the Abbé de Sade, (which seems to be of a piece with that of my friend Anacharsis to Locke) to be equally if not more defective. For I can place as much reliance on Gibbon as on Attalus, and he tells me, "that, in the familiar society of Cicero and Livy, Petrarch had imbibed the ideas of an ancient Patriot;" and speaking of Petrarch's friend Rienzi, he says, "The "study of history and eloquence, the wri- "tings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Cæsar, "and Valerius Maximus elevated above "his equals and contemporaries the genius "of the young Plebeian." And, I believe, the Abbé de Sade informs us, that more of Cicero was perused by Petrarch, than has come down to us, consequently by his friend and contemporary Boccace. Both Gibbon and Attalus cite the Abbé de Sade; and there appears to be this small difference between them, that Gibbon actually read this author, and Attalus has heard of him. In no other manner can I account for so many blunders in so few words. If I have paid 1s. for the postage of this communication, I am notwithstanding, sensible enough of its unimportance; and it would be cruel to tell me that fools and their money are soon parted. —G. N.—*Leith, April* 4, 1787.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Thirty-third Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Berlin, Nov. 17, 1806.——The annexed suspension of arms was signed yesterday, at Charlottenburgh. The season is rather advanced. This suspension of arms settles the quarters of the army. Part of Prussian Poland is thus occupied by the French army, and part of it is neuter.—His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, in consequence of negociations opened, since the 23d of October last, for the re-establishment of the peace so unhappily interrupted between them, have judged necessary to agree upon a suspension of arms; and, for this purpose, they have appointed for their plenipotentiaries, to wit, his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, the General of Division, Michel Duroc, Grand Insignia of the Legion of Honour, Knight of the Orders of the Black Eagle and Red Eagle of Prussia, and of Fidelity of Baden, and Grand Marshal of the Imperial Palace: and his Majesty the King of Prussia, the Marquis of Lucchesini, his Minister of State, Chamberlain and Knight of the Orders of the Black Eagle and Red Eagle of Prussia, and General Frederic William de Zastrow, Chief of the Regiment and Inspector General of Infantry and Knight of the Orders of the Red Eagle and of Merit; who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—Art. I. The troops of his Majesty the King of Prussia, who are at present upon the right bank of the Vistula, shall assemble at Kœnigsberg and in Royal Prussia from the right bank of the Vistula.——II. The troops of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, shall occupy the part of Southern Prussia which is on the right bank of the Vistula as far as the mouth of Bug, Thorn, the fortress and town of Graudentz, the town and citadel of Dantzic, the towns of Colberg and Lenczyc, which shall be delivered to them for security; and in Silesia, the towns of Glogau and Breslau with the portion of that province which is on the right bank of the Oder, and the part of that situated on the left bank of the same river, which will have for limit a line bordering upon that river, five leagues above Breslau, passing through Ohlau, Tobson, three leagues behind Schweidnitz, and without comprising it, and from thence to Freyburg, Landshut, and joining Bohemia to Lieban.—III. The other parts of Eastern Prussia or New Eastern Prussia, shall not be occupied by any of the armies, either French, Prussian or Russian, and if the Russian troops are there, his Majesty the King of Prussia engages to make them fall back to their own territory; as also not to receive any troops of that power into his states, during the time of the suspension of arms.——IV. The fortresses of Hamelu and Nienberg, as well as those

mentioned in Article II. shall be delivered up to the French troops, with their arms and stores, of which an inventory shall be made out within a week after the exchange of the ratifications of the present suspension of arms. The garrisons of these fortresses shall not be made prisoners of war; they shall be allowed to march to Kœnigsberg, and they shall be allowed the necessary facilities for that purpose.—V. The negociations shall be continued at Charlottenburg, and should peace not follow, the two high contracting parties engage not to resume hostilities until having reciprocally given notice to each other ten days beforehand.——VI. The present suspension of arms shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the exchange of ratifications shall take place at Graudentz, at farthest by the 21st of the present month.—In faith of which, the undersigned plenipotentiaries have signed the present, and have set to it their respective seals.——Given at Charlottenberg, Nov. 16, 1806. (Signed) DUROC, LUCCHESINI. ZASTROW.

Thirty-fourth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Berlin, Nov. 23.—We have as yet no advices that the armistice concluded on the 17th inst. has been ratified by the King of Prussia, or that any exchange of the ratification has yet taken place. Mean time hostilities continue, nor will any suspension of them take place until the exchange of the ratification.—General Savary, to whom the Emperor had entrusted the siege of Hameln, had, on the 20th instant, a conference with the Prussian generals belonging to the garrison, and has made them sign a capitulation. Nine thousand prisoners, amongst whom are six generals, magazines for 10,000 men, with six months provisions, and all kinds of military stores, a company of flying artillery, and 300 cavalry, have fallen into our hands. ——The only troops which General Savary had, consisted of a regiment of light infantry, and two Dutch regiments under General Dumonceau.—General Savary has this instant set off for Nienburg, in order to force that place to a capitulation. Its garrison is calculated at between 2 and 3000 men. A battalion of Prussians, 800 strong, who formed the garrison of Caentoschow, on the frontiers of Polish Prussia, capitulated, on the 18th, to 150 chasseurs of the 2d regiment, united with 300 Poles, who had taken up arms and advanced to that place. This garrison are prisoners of war, and the place contains large magazines.

Thirty-fifth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Posen, Nov. 28, 1806.—The Emperor left Berlin at 2 in the afternoon of the 25th, and arrived at Custrin on the same evening about six. On the 26th, he was at Mezeritz; and on the 27th, at 10 at night, he arrived at Posen. The next day his Majesty gave audience to the various states of the Poles —Marshal Duroc continued his journey to Osterode, where he found the King of Prussia, who declared to him, 'that a part of his states were in the possession of the Russians; that he was dependent upon them; consequently he could not ratify the armistice which had been concluded by his envoy, because it was not in his power to fulfil the stipulated conditions.'—The Grand Duke of Berg, with a part of the cavalry of the reserve, and the corps under Marshals Davoust, Lasnes, and Augereau, have entered Warsaw. The Russian General Benningsen, who occupied the place before the French arrived, evacuated it on hearing of the approach of the French, and that they intended to give him battle.—Prince Jerome, with a corps of Bavarians, is at Kalitsch. All the rest of the army had arrived at Posen.—The surrender of Hameln was marked by some particular circumstances.—Besides the garrison, it seems that after the battle of the 14th, some Prussian battalions had taken refuge there. Disorder reigned among this numerous garrison. The officers were exasperated against the generals, and the soldiers against the officers. Scarcely was the capitulation signed, when General Savary received a letter from the Commandant, General Van Scholer, which he very properly answered. In the mean while the garrison was in a state of insurrection, and the first act of the mutineers was to break open the magazines where the brandy was deposited, and with which they were soon intoxicated. In consequence of this situation, the soon began to fire upon each other in the streets —soldiers, citizens, and officers, pell-mell, altogether. Disorder was at its height. General Van Scholer sent courier after courier to General Savary, to request him to take possession of the place, even before the appointed time. To this the general consented; advanced, and entered the place through a shower of bullets. He drove all the soldiers of the garrison through one of the gates into a neighbouring meadow, where he assembled the officers, and gave them to understand that this behaviour was owing to their relaxed discipline.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 16.] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 18, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

" I know it may be said, that I and those with whom I have the honour to act, are no more actuated than " those on the other side of the House by motives of a pure disinterested nature, though my conscience " acquits me of the crime."——Speech of MR. GREY (now Lord Howick) on moving for a reform of parliament, on the 26th of May, 1797.

TO THE

FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XIII.

GENTLEMEN,

Much as I fear, that these letters of mine must prove wearisome to you, I must beg you to indulge me with your attention, until I have submitted to you all the observations which occur to me, relative to the unconstitutional doctrines, of which the recent change of the king's ministers has caused the open avowal and promulgation. And, Gentlemen, I trust, that I shall not be thought to have led you much astray from the subject wherewith we started; for, now, as when I first had the honour to address you, the state of the representation of the people in parliament, and your interests and duties, as therewith connected, it is my wish to describe and exemplify.

In my last letter I deferred giving you my opinion respecting the *remedy* necessary to be applied, in order to remove the political evils, which we all see and feel. To speak of that remedy, which is at once constitutional, efficacious, and of easy application, I now propose, after having taken a view of what passed in the House of Commons, on Thursday, the 9th instant, when a discussion took place respecting the pledge, which, as the late ministers assert, they were called upon to give to the king, as the sole condition, upon which he would suffer them to retain their places.

This discussion arose from the following motion made by MR. BRAND: " That it is " contrary to the first duties of the Confi- " dential Servants of the Crown to restrain " themselves by any pledge, expressed or " implied, from offering to the King any " advice which the course of circumstances " may render necessary for the welfare and " security of any part of his Majesty's ex- " tensive empire."——This motion was discussed for a great many hours, at the end of which, as it appears from the report in the newspapers, a division took place, when there were for the motion 226, against it 258; and, of course, the new ministry, at the head of whom is the Duke of Portland, had a majority of 32; though, as you must have observed, Gentlemen, that, while these ministers were *out of office*, they were unable to obtain, at their utmost need, more than about 60 votes! What! what in all the world could have produced this sudden change? what could have induced so many members, who constantly voted with the late ministers, now to vote with their successors? Mr. Perry has positively asserted, that the present parliament was chosen as fairly, and with as much freedom on the part of the people as have ever prevailed at the choosing of any parliament, *since parliaments were known in England!* He has, Gentlemen, positively asserted this; and, the conclusion, according to him, must be, that the majority aforesaid arose purely from the impulse of conscience in the honourable gentlemen composing it, who, of course, were convinced that Mr. Brand's motion ought not to pass, and, that the late ministers, whom they had so long given their support to, were, at last, in the wrong. The result before-mentioned must, too, have convinced Mr. Perry, that he was much mistaken, when he called the new ministers " adventurers for place, without " talents, and without interest in the coun- " try, men of notorious imbecility and fla- " grant subserviency;" for, if this description had been true, would they have obtained, in the very first division, a majority over men of such great talents, and that, too, you will please to observe, in a parliament chosen so very fairly and freely, as not to yield, in this respect, to any parliament ever before chosen in England? Time is a great teacher, and, if he has not yet sufficiently instructed Mr. Perry, that gentleman will, I hope, now have the candour to thank me publickly, for the consolation, which I endeavoured to give him, for the balm which I strove to pour

into his wounded soul, through my Register of the 4th instant. I found him alarmed at the prospect of a dissolution of the parliament; I found his imagination disturbed by the dread of a ferment in Ireland, where he appeared to foresee, that the people would rise in a mass in favour of the late ministers; I found him shocked at the idea of "a corrupt traffic "in boroughs," which, as he asserted, would be resorted to, I found him seized with horror, at the prospect of new agitations in Middlesex and Westminster; I found his loyal heart sinking within him at the thought of that "jubilee of licentious debate," to which a dissolution might give rise amongst us Jacobins and Levellers. To assuage these torments of his anxious and purely patriotic mind, I used my utmost exertions to convince him, that, for the purpose alluded to, namely, the gaining of a majority over to the new ministers, a dissolution would not be necessary. I reminded him (and I was ashamed to think it necessary to remind him) that reason and reflection were the characteristics of man, as contrasted with the brute creation; that these faculties, which were possessed, in a greater or less degree, by all men not shut up in a mad-house, were, doubtless, possessed by the members of parliament, who, I besought him to remember, were neither stocks nor stones. I pointed out to him the almost irresistible powers of eloquence, especially of a certain sort, employed upon politicians of a certain stamp; and, my conclusion was, that the opportunities for private interviews, for the sweet converse of souls, which would be afforded by a prorogation, particularly during the summer months, when our law-givers would, of course, retire to commune with wisdom and conscience in solitude; my conclusion was, that such opportunities might lead to the producing, in the minds of the members, or, at least, of many of them, a way of thinking, which would induce them to vote for the new ministers, especially as these latter were engaged in protecting the royal *conscience* from violation, a point upon which we well know, that the members of the House of Commons are nice in the extreme. The event of the debate, of which I am now about to attempt an analysis, has proved, that I was perfectly right; or, that, if I erred at all, it was in supposing that a prorogation was necessary for the purpose in view; for, in the short space of ten days, without scarcely any opportunities for the soft powers of persuasion to operate; without any time for retirement or cogitation; without any other aid than that of their intuitive wisdom and integrity, their perspicacity and decision of character, they, as it were from sudden inspiration, at once gave their votes on the side of the new ministers. But, Gentlemen, in place of thanking me for having, and, as it now appears, with such correctness of reasoning, endeavoured to quiet his fears of the effects of a dissolution; in place of thanking me, Mr. Perry has, in his oblique way, most outrageously abused me. Nay, which must, I think, surprize you greatly, he has, in all possible ways, expressed his disappointment, his mortification, and his rage, that the new ministers have obtained a majority without a dissolution, rather than which, as it now appears, he would have seen the dreaded "ferment in Ireland," and even the much more dreaded "jubilee suspension of authority" over us Jacobins and Levellers in Middlesex and Westminster. Leaving Mr. Perry, for the present, we will now proceed to the debate.

Mr. Brand, in prefacing his motion, is reported to have said: "When he perceived that pledges had been demanded "from the late ministers which were dangerous to the constitution, inimical to the "interests of the country, and subversive of "the prerogatives of the crown, he felt himself bound to confine his motion to that "point. The advice to his majesty, to demand from his ministers a written pledge "that they would abstain from giving him "advice upon subjects of importance to the "security of the empire, must have originated with persons who had no regard to "the rights of that house, nor the prerogatives of the crown. His majesty had full "discretion to dismiss his councillors, and to "choose others in their place, but he could "limit the range of advice which they "might give him, and for which they were "to be responsible according to the constitution. Where were they to look for "responsibility for misrule, misconduct, or "mismanagement of the public affairs, if "such a pledge were to be given? Where "was blame to attach for grievances, upon "which ministers might have given a "pledge, not to give any advice to his majesty? Ministers might be men of great "character and exalted name, but after "giving such a pledge, they would not "dare to advise their sovereign on such "subjects. It would not be becoming in "him to delineate the outline of the constitutional principles upon this point. If "they were doubtful, it might be proper "for him to endeavour to ascertain them; "but these principles were admitted, recognized, and supported by the constitutional "law of the land. The oath of a privy

" councillor, as reported by Sir Edward " Coke, bound him to advise his majesty to " the best of his judgment upon all matters " connected with the interests of his realms, " without exception or partiality, and also " with secrecy, and not to publish by word " or letter what passed in council. The " present oath, which was only a translation " of the old oath, was equally binding upon " the privy councillor. But if a privy coun- " cillor was to subscribe to any pledge to " restrain his advice, he would sign judg- " ment upon the violation of his oath to his " king, his country, and his God. He " would be ashamed to argue what he con- " sidered as the axiomatic law of the con- " stitution; but as there might be some " who might admit the principle, whilst " they advised the infraction of it, who " might allow the law of the constitution, " but recommend its subversion, he thought " it would be right to declare that law. He " had confined himself to the immediate " effects and future dangers of the proceed- " ing that had taken place, and did not " mean to go into any consideration of the " measures of the late administration, *their* " *attention to the liberty of the subject*, and " to the rights and comforts of the people, " not of the benevolence that characterised " their act for *the abolition of the slave* " *trade*. When the constitution was in " danger, he thought it not right to depart " from the immediate question, and, there- " fore, should conclude with moving."——

As Mr. Brand did not think proper to go into any account of the " attention which " the late ministers paid to the *liberty of* " *subject*;" nor will we lose our time in endeavouring to find out what the *abolition of the Slave Trade* could possibly have to do with the pledge demanded of the king's servants; but, I cannot refrain from observing, as I frequently have done before, that the abolition of the Slave Trade will, at best, do no good to the people of this country, except, indeed, in the way pointed out by Sir Thomas Turton, that, by throwing the trade into the hands of the French, we might thereby the sooner fill up the measure of their iniquity, and, of course, bring down the vengeance of heaven upon them; an idea of which it is difficult to say, whether it had its origin in legislative wisdom, christian charity, or pious devotion; but, I think, it will be unanimously agreed, that Sir Thomas's is a way of fighting the French perfectly original; and, seeing, that he has taken up the affairs of India, I really do not despair of hearing him propose to throw our manifold sins in that country also into the measure of our enemy's transgressions. To come back to the debate; I think, that Mr. Brand, if the above report of his speech be correct, confounded the office of *privy-councillor* with that of the office *of minister*, or servant of the king. At the time when Sir Edward Coke wrote his famous book upon the laws of England, the king had nothing belonging to him resembling in the most distant degree what we now call a *ministry*; and, indeed, it was not until after the Revolution, at which time the Whigs, as they are called, began to rule in a body, that such a thing as is now called a ministry existed. The duty of a *privy-councillor* is to advise the king in all matters whatever, and at all times, whether he hold any other office under the Crown, or not. The privy council, which, by way of eminence is called *The Council*, is a thing known to the constitution of our government, and is, perhaps, nearly as ancient as the parliament itself. The *Cabinet* Council is a thing quite unknown to that constitution; and, until very lately, has never been named in the parliament. It was not as members of the privy council, that the king demanded a pledge of the late ministers. They were, indeed, members of the privy council; but, there are forty, or more, members of that council; and, if the pledge had been demanded of them, as such, it would, of course, have been, by implication, at least, demanded of the whole of the members of the council. But, and this puts the matter in a light not to be misunderstood, of the late ministers it was demanded to sign the pledge, or to give up their places. They refused the demand; they were dismissed from their places; but, *still they are privy councillors*; from the privy council they are not dismissed; they may still give their advice, as privy councillors, upon all matters whatever; and this clearly shows, that the pledge was demanded of them merely as servants of the king. Whether they, being also privy councillors, could, without a violation of their privy councillor's oath, have given the pledge, is another matter, but, Gentlemen, as the ministers had, at the mere suggestion of the king, abandoned the only measure, at which the pledge pointed; as they had given way here, as they had actually withdrawn a bill which they have declared to be absolutely necessary to the safety of the nation; as they, who had introduced this bill amidst the applauses of the House of Commons, could, at the bare expression of the king's disapprobation, do this, notwithstanding their oaths as privy councillors, one can hardly see why they

should lay such stress upon that oath, as an obstacle to their proposing to the king any other such measure; unless, indeed, we are inclined to admit, that, so curious is the nature of this oath, that it binds you to advise what it permits you to abandon the very next moment. In their minute of council, they claim a right to submit to the king whatever measures they may think requisite for the good of the country. What was the *use* of this minute? They possessed the right. The king had expressed no doubt of it; and the minute had no meaning at all, if it did not mean, that, though they had abandoned the particular measure now, they were resolved to renew it again. "So far "from that," says the king, "I demand of "you a pledge, that you never will renew it "again." This pledge they cannot give; their oath will not let them; but, the very same oath leaves them free to abandon the measure the moment they have advised it, if they find it grating to "the *personal feelings of the king*." Observe here, again, the nice discrimination of their consciences, which will not suffer them to abstain from *giving advice*, on account of the feelings of the king; but which, for the sake of sparing those feelings, will freely suffer them *to prevent that advice from having any effect*. Under this view of the subject, I should have seen no necessity for the adopting of Mr. Brand's motion, and I really wonder, that such a motion should have been supported by men, who had expressed such extreme sensibility towards the "feelings of their gracious master," that being, I think, the phrase recently most in vogue amongst them. It is truly astonishing that men, who, while in place, could, out of pure regard for the feelings of the king withdraw a bill from before parliament, which bill they thought indispensably necessary to the safety of the nation, should, the moment they were out of place, have supported a motion, declaring that which the king had demanded to be contrary to the first duties of his ministers, than which nothing more hostile to the feelings of the king could I think well have been imagined,

So much for the merits of the question before the House; but, there were some other topics, which arose during the debate, upon which, Gentlemen, I must request your permission to offer a few short remarks, as tending, either directly or indirectly, towards the elucidation of the great point which I always endeavour to keep in view, and in which alone either you or I have any real interest.—"MR. MAURICE FITZGERALD "was of opinion that there was not a single "sentence in the resolution, nor a single "part of the conduct of ministers, *which* "*derogated from the prerogative of the* "*crown*. If the prerogative had been in- "fringed, it had been infringed by those "who would *destroy the responsibility of mi-* "*nisters*. He entered into an examination of "the recent proceedings of the late adminis- "tration, and contended, that had they "acted differently, they would have been "guilty of a dereliction of their trust. It "was an administration of talents, of con- "sideration, and possessing the confidence "of the country. By *every man in the em-* "*pire, therefore, it was to be lamented,* "that the services of such men should be "lost to the country. He described the "state of Ireland as very hazardous, deprecat- "ed the *total ignorance, and even, he feared,* "*the apathy*, on this subject, and wished "that he was of sufficient importance to "rouse the attention of the House to the "consideration of this question, namely, "*whether they would command the services* "*of four or five millions of people, or* "*hazard their enmity*."—This speech, as curtailed by the reporters, is very short, but *full of matter*; and, to say the truth, those reporters are exceedingly clever and judicious at this work of curtailing. They frequently sit sweating under a speech of several hours; and then down they clap all the substantial parts of it in half as many minutes; insomuch that some very shrewd men have been of opinion, that it would be of great convenience, if the several orators were to commune with the reporters before hand; but, this opinion, if acted upon, would not only put an end to parliamentary oratory, but would very little comport with the dignity of either House, and we know, from Pitt and Lord Howick, that that is an object of great importance.——Taking Mr. Fitzgerald's points in their due order, our attention is first attracted by the anxiety expressed by the honourable gentleman, lest it should be thought, that the motion tended, even in the smallest degree, to derogate *from the prerogative of the crown*; and, we have, indeed, observed, from the beginning to the end of the discussions, both in doors and out of doors, relating to the dismission of the ministers, the most earnest solicitude on their part, and on the part of their partisans, to *deny*, that, in any respect whatever, *they were not submissive enough to the king*. "They did," said Mr. Perry, "they did "withdraw the bill the moment they found "it *unpleasant* to the king. They did not "wish for parliament to controul his will. "We assert, we *boldly* assert," (pray, ob-

serve the extent of this boldness), "we "*boldly* assert, that the ministers, in the "minute of council, did *not* claim the right "of submitting *to parliament* such mea- "sures as they might deem indispensably "necessary to the safety of the nation, but "*to the king only*;" and, this was the burden of Lord Howick's famous complaint; he complained, that he and his colleagues had been scandalously *misrepresented* by a news-paper *libeller* (mark, and remember the terrible word); and, what was this scandalous, this *libellous* misrepresentation? Why, that Lord Howick and his colleagues (all members of parliament, observe) had, in words, asserted their right to submit to parliament whatever measures they might, from time to time, deem indispensably necessary to the safety of the country. This was the *libellous* misrepresentation of them, who had only asserted their right to submit such measures to the king alone, being ready, of course, to abandon them, if they found them unpleasant to him. Against *this misrepresentation* it is that they have so laboured to defend themselves in the eyes of Englishmen, whom they are, nevertheless, surprized to find totally indifferent as to their fate.

——With regard to the effect which the pledge would have had in "destroying the "*responsibility* of ministers," as the speech before us seems to apprehend, that would be an alarming evil indeed! We have seen how real, how efficient, how active this responsibility is in practice, and Mr. James Perry has, within this week or two, given us the modern theory of it, which is this, that "resolutions of censure, and impeach- "ments, are now become obsolete; that they "can never have place but in the feverish fits "of the constitution; and that, when the "constitution is in its *healthful* state, the real "responsibility of ministers consists in this, "that, when they lose the *confidence of* "*parliament*, they *must quit their places*." And that is all! That is the whole history of the famous responsibility, of which we have heard so much, and which Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald is afraid would be destroyed by the precedent of ministers giving a pledge to the king not to offer him advice contrary to his wishes. If the doctrine of Mr. Perry be the right doctrine; and, we may presume, that it is the doctrine of my Lord Howick and his colleagues, what will the nation lose by the destruction of this responsibility? Besides, we now see that the thing is going on at full swing; for the late ministers *lost the confidence of parliament*, as it has been proved, clearly proved, upon the last division; they lost their places too; and there was the ultimate and complete effect of the responsibility. Now, none of your shuffling, Mr. Perry; here we have you fast; get out of the hobble if you can.

——Of that *universal lamentation*, which Mr. Fitzgerald talks of, as arising from the dismission of the late ministers, and of the *apathy* which he perceives to exist upon the subject of that dismission, which are, doubtless, perfectly reconcileable in his mind, we will speak, after we have spent a moment or two in admiration of the astonishing effect, which he seems to suppose the bill recently withdrawn would have produced; no less than that of commanding *the services* of *four or five millions* of people. Now, though I cannot possibly see any *harm* that the bill would have done, except that of gaining those who joined with the Pitts in order to stifle your voice at the last election; though, the gaining of them some degree of unmerited support is all the *harm* that I can see it possible for the bill to have produced, I can really see *no good* that it could have done, or that any other than a mere visionary projector could have anticipated from it. "Four or five millions of people!" Why, including even the infants in embryo, the Roman Catholics in this kingdom do not amount to more than about *three* millions; and, I think, it may be safely affirmed, that, of those three millions, not three thousand, at the very utmost, would have thanked the king for acceding to the measure proposed. "To tranquillize Ireland," indeed! Tranquillize two or three millions of half-starved, half-naked, half-barbarous people! To the *principle* of the bill I have nothing to object; but, to ascribe to it such amazing practical effects is, surely, most strangely to exaggerate. The state of Ireland is, indeed, full as alarming as the late ministers now describe it; though we cannot but recollect, how earnestly they deprecated all discussion upon the subject, and even all allusion to it, no longer than about four months ago. But, the discontents, the heart-burnings of Ireland, are not to be cured by such means. The giving the Irish Catholics what is called complete emancipation would not, in my opinion, allay those discontents for an hour amongst the great body of the people, though it might gratify and even pacify a few of the principal persons of that sect. Since I have understood any thing of the matter, I have always remained convinced, that Ireland stands in need of something very different from a law merely to enrich, or ennoble, a few scores of men. It is the whole *state* of Ireland; it is the *system of governing Ireland*, that all

men, when they speak their minds, say ought to be changed. To refuse the oath of supremacy is the mere test of discontent at other things. The persons who refuse would have some other test, if they had not that. If the Pope himself were installed in Ireland, the same system of rule still continuing, those who now contend for his supremacy, would combine against him. The feelings of the people of Ireland are those of a people oppressed by their conquerors; but, these feelings are not of recent origin. All that they have had at the hands of the present king, at any rate, is concession. They are oppressed by numerous ills, arising from various causes; and, to suppose, that these could be cured by heightening the ladder of promotion for a few officers in the Army and Navy is, in my opinion, absurd. One of the evils in the state of Ireland, and one, too, of the most mischievous tendency, is, *the flagrant non-residence of the Protestant clergy*; for, even here in England I, for my part, know of few things so grating to the heart of man as the being compelled to yield one-tenth part of the produce of his fields to enrich, or, at least, support a person, who ought to be continually resident in the parish, but who never shows his face in it. This is a point upon which Mr. Perceval stands virtually pledged; and, unless he has the same way of getting rid of his pledges as Mr. Sheridan and Lord Howick and Mr Whitbread and Lord Erskine had, he will surely do something in this way. If he can enforce residence in Ireland; or, if he only does, in Ireland, what his bill of last year (which our friends, the *reformers*, threw out) proposed to do in England, he will do more towards the tranquillizing of that country, than has ever yet been done, or attempted to be done. That is the path for him to proceed in, and not in that of "*extraordinary exertions of the law*;" for, he may, I think, count upon it as a certainty, that every such exertion will be an exertion in favour of France. I, for my part, do not think that mere religious concessions to the Roman Catholics would do any good. Experience has proved, that they have done no good hitherto; but, that, in the present state of Europe, leaving justice and humanity out of the question, policy calls for something to be done for Ireland nobody will deny. It is quite useless to call the Irish by hard names, to revile them as malcontents and rebels; there they are, they are pretty near to us, and, as we cannot make them cease to exist, we must either induce them to love us, or make up our minds to have their hatred with all its possible and probable consequences. A correspondent of mine, after having very ably described the non-efficiency of the bill in question, proposes, as a grand remedy for the evils existing in Ireland, to send *Mr. Hastings*, of all men living, to be the vice-roy of that country! To this I should object, because that gentleman was the ruler of slaves once in his life time. But, it is not in Ireland, any more than here, that a change of rulers is wanted; it is a change in the system of rule, by which I do not mean, a change in the name or the form of the government; but a change in the manner of conducting it, and especially in the manner of raising and expending the public money; and which change, so far from impairing the constitutional strength and permanency of the throne, would strengthen and confirm them. This it is that is wanted. This work, which is not the work of a day, once well *begun* only, all our apprehensions, and dreadful apprehensions they are, about Ireland, would be at an end; but, unless something in this way be attempted, we may consider as mere sublimated reveries all the talk about "extracting the means of defence "from the bowels of discontent."——Sir Thomas Turton, who, though he has taken in hand the questions respecting Marquis Wellesley, found time to reflect upon the subject of the debate before us, said, that "the late ministers had talked a good "deal about pledges to the Catholics, "though they had not hesitated to postpone "the redemption of their many other "pledges, such as that for a *parliamentary* "*reform*, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c."——This was the blow, Gentlemen, and not the less severe on account of the hand, from which it came. Well must you remember, Gentlemen, these pledges. Well must you remember the descriptions which the late ministers, the famous Whigs, gave of the House of Commons, as at present constituted. Often have I had the book of their speeches thereon before me; often have I taken up the pen to make extracts from it; but, as often have I dropped it again, and with still itching fingers, threw away the book of temptation, when I recollected, that Pitt, whose conduct and character they have, since they succeeded to his power, so constantly eulogized, saw prosecuted for sedition, and even for treason, those, who, as the judge himself declared, had only endeavoured to effect such a reform as Pitt had asserted to be absolutely necessary to the preservation of any thing like liberty in England. Yes, Gentlemen, Sir Thomas Turton struck them to the heart. It was so good, so sweet to the ears of us, who had

felt the effects of their reforming spirit at Westminster and in Hampshire, to hear them reminded of this their great and forfeited pledge. And to hear it come, too, not from any of our brethren, the Jacobins and Levellers, but from a Pittite, from a partizan of that "illustrious statesman," from "a friend of government, of social order, and of our holy religion," as the phrase is with John Bowles and Redhead Yorke. If all sense of feeling was not gone, how must they have felt at that moment! Making the change of a word or two in the exclamation of the fallen Woolsey, they must have said in their hearts: "had we "but served the people with but half as "much zeal as we have eulogized Pitt, they "would not thus have treated us in the "wane of our fortunes." Here is their great sin, and here, too, is the *real* cause of their fall. Mr Fitzgerald seems to think, that their dismission has spread *universal lamentation* over the country; and yet he laments the *apathy* that prevails. Not one sensible and disinterested man laments their fall; and the apathy is complete indeed. The change has been productive of much exultation, on the one side, of much chagrin, on the other, and of unprecedented bitterness amongst place-men and place-hunters, and also amongst a few honest fools who yet, from habit rather than from reason, lend their lungs or their pens to one party or the other; but, amongst the people at large, it has produced neither sorrow nor pleasure, and the only feeling that has arisen from it has been merely that of a momentary satisfaction at seeing the late ministers punished, and that, too, in the most appropriate of all ways, for their political apostacy; their eulogizing of Pitt, and their mockery of the country for expecting them to act up to their professions. They now tell us, after all their twenty years of professions and of pledges; after all the hopes which they excited with respect to a reform of abuses, and an amendment in our internal situation, including every thing that is, or that ought to be, dear to us; they now tell us that they had, when they came into power, *two* great objects in view; and what were these, forsooth, but *the restoring of peace to troubled Europe*, and the *abolition of the slave trade*, than which the reduction of one single sinecure place, the relieving us from one single tax-gatherer, would be, beyond all comparison, of more importance to us. How are we to restore peace to troubled Europe? The scourge is sweeping on, and sweep it will, in spite of us; and, as to the abolition of the slave-trade, allowing it to be a good, which I deny, it is not a good *unto us*, who have, besides, amongst our own countrymen and our own colour of skin, a sufficiency of objects for our compassion, the number of our English paupers being three times as great as the number of slaves in all our West-India Islands. Aye, Gentlemen, these were the two great objects that they had in view, and it fortunately happened that by neither of them would any place or emolument have been touched, nor any source of corrupt influence dried up, or diminished. It is so good, it is so just, that, after all their praises of Pitt, after all their uncalled-for praises of his schemes and his character, after all their abandonment of the people, they should have been taunted with their apostacy by the Pittites themselves. Had they been true to their promises, had they made a stand upon some measure for the relief of the people, or for the restoration of those rights, of which they formerly talked so much, then, indeed, would there have been "universal lamenta-"tion" at their dismission; but, the bill, upon which they split, even supposing them not to have abandoned it, was no such measure: it was a measure which would not have been felt by us, while it would have added to their own influence. Not a single measure, in their view of it, did they propose, favourable to the people; for even their putting a stop to new taxes was, by them, *intended* to perpetuate the system of funding and taxing. Of all this they were well aware; but they scoffed at our disappointment, mortification, and indignation, to which we dared not, and yet dare not, give utterance in suitable terms. They said in their hearts, "let them fume; let their "anger consume them; we hate the Pitts, "as much as ever, but we hate them as "rivals for power and emolument, and not "as we hate those, who would tear up "corruption by the very roots." Scarcely were they seated in their places, when we heard them begin to talk of their disregard of "popular *clamour*;" of their resolution to do their duty, "heedless of what *un-*"*reasonable* men might think of them;" and their chief supporter, Mr. Perry, has treated us with several very serious dissertations upon the danger of listening to wild theoretic men, who know nothing of the difficulties which those have to overcome who are burdened with the management of state affairs. The growth of *wholesome* reform is, we have been told, like that of the oak, slow and sure; and that none but thoughtless hot-headed men could expect "his Majesty's government" (for that is a

very fashionable phrase) to do every thing at once. No: we knew they could not do every thing at once; nay, we might have excused them for some part of what they did not do; but, for their doubling of the income tax, while, at the same time, they added enormously to the pensions of the Royal Family and exempted the king's funded property from the operation of the income tax; for these and for many other of their acts of commission, and, above all others, for their incessant praises of Pitt and his system, it was impossible for us to find an excuse. To praise Pitt and the Pitt system of taxation and of funding, to vote the payment of his debts expressly upon the *score of his merits*, was so galling, so cruel, so outrageous an insult to us, who had supported them for the very cause that they attacked that same Pitt and that same system, that it is not in the heart of man to forgive it. How justly, how fitly, are they punished, overthrown as they are, not by us, but by the followers of Pitt, who revile them, too, for having attempted to do, though in a smaller degree, that which Pitt himself attempted to do! If they had begun by a steady adherence to their pledges; if they had said, "have a little patience, and we "will perform all that we promised you;" had they made a *beginning* only, we should have been patient But, no; they scoffed at us. They told us of nothing but their power; and, by their acts they showed, that they praised Pitt's system, because they found it to suit their purpose. There is a singular fitness in the whole of their punishment. The *Wellesleys* form a part of their successors. Let Mr. Paull complain no more. He is amply avenged on them for all their treatment of him and his cause. They took the Pitts to their bosom. All those, who were willing to be subservient to them, they embraced with eager arms; and these Pitts it is who have now crushed them, not forgetting to revile them for the forfeiture of their pledges to us, the people of England.

This appropriate hit of Sir Thomas Turton has led me to wander so far from the debate, that I hardly know where I left off. I must, however, return to it; for there are several points remaining unnoticed; and, besides, it would be unpardonable, and would certainly subject me to a charge of inattention to "dignity," were I to pass over the speech imputed to my lord Howick.

But, first, let us notice the speech of Mr. Romilly, the late Solicitor General, apparently a very able man, and, by all account, a man of excellent principles. He said, "that, to choose his own ministers is, "no doubt, the prerogative of the crown. "By that prerogative the king can call any "man he pleases to his councils. Even a "man in whom that house has no confidence. He may call to his service a man "who has been convicted by that house of "*a gross violation of the law*, who has been "brought to trial and acquitted; but so acquitted, that not one of his powerful "friends in that house had ever yet ventured "to move the rescinding of the resolutions "which stood against him; who could not "come into the other house of parliament "without reading in the looks of men "around him the sentence passed upon "him, and who must still have resounding "in his ears the words, "*guilty*; *upon my* "*honour*." But then *the ministers were* "*responsible for that exercise of the pre*"*rogative*, otherwise the constitution was "no more: the king would be absolute, "and the House of Commons lose its *dear*"*est privileges*."——What, then, do the dearest privileges of the House really consist in a right of demanding, at the hands of some one, an account of the king's choice of his servants? Is this their dearest privilege? Verily it is one of very little importance to the people. That the speech before us aimed at Lord Melville there can be no doubt; but, as often as such allusions are made by the Whigs, so often will I remind them, that they voted the payment of Pitt's debts, expressly upon *the score of his merits*, and that they have, from the day they came into power, been constantly eulogizing the character and conduct of Pitt, who, all the world must agree, was a full participator in all the acts attributed to Lord Melville. What did Lord Melville do? What was proved against him? Why, that he suffered the public money to be, for a time, diverted from the service of the public, and used for the profit of individuals. Well, and was it not proved to the House, upon the oaths of good witnesses, that Pitt was, during the time that Lord Melville so acted, apprized of it? Nay, was it not also proved, that, in one particular instance he himself took 40 thousand pounds of the naval money, and lent it to Boyd and Benfield, two members of the then parliament, without interest, without consulting his colleagues, and also without causing any minute to be made of the transaction? Forty thousand pounds of this very money he lent to two of his loan-contractors to enable them to make good their bargain; forty thousand pounds of the public money, without interest, to enable two members of parliament

to lend that money to the poor public itself, which public had *to pay interest* for the use of its own money so lent to it! All this the Whigs well knew; they had it before them upon oath; and what did they do? What did these lovers of justice, these talkers about *responsibility* do? Why, they supported; nay they *proposed* a bill of *indemnity* for the conduct of Pitt, and for that bill they unanimously voted in that same House of Commons, where they were then moving articles of impeachment against Lord Melville! What was the cause of this? Why, it is now known, that *they were, at that time, negociating with Pitt for a share of the powers and emoluments of office;* and unless the powers of Lord Melville was destroyed, there was no room for them. Lord Howick says, as we shall presently see, that no influence of government was exerted against Lord Melvillle. No; the Whigs had no motive for it after they were in power; and so great is my opinion of their christian charity, that I really believe they rejoiced at his acquittal. After the bill of indemnity for the conduct of Pitt, I became, as the public may remember, very cool with respect to the case of Lord Melville; for I held it to be partiality of the basest description to take advantage of popular opinion for the purpose of hunting him down, while Pitt was not only suffered to escape, but was complimented and praised by the pursuers.——These Whigs do, I know, accuse me of impatience, and I confess, that I am, in some cases, impatient; but of this bad quality they, at any rate, have no reason to complain, as, I think, the public must be convinced. But the public know very little of my forbearance. At the time just mentioned, I remonstrated with them in private, through an infallible channel; I represented to them the impolicy as well as the injustice of their proceedings; at every stage of their political apostacy I endeavoured, in the most earnest and yet most respectful manner, to prevent that which has finally produced their overthrow, and, having, after they came into power, obtained an audience of Mr. Fox, I represented to him the inevitable consequence of following the example of Pitt, namely, the annihilation of not only the party of which he was the head, but also the annihilation of all confidence, on the part of the people, in the then existing race of public men. He who was, in his nature, kind and indulgent to a fault, who was wonderfully gifted in the faculty of perceiving and of judging, whose heart and mind were always disposed to the right side, and who only wanted, as Major Cartwright observes, "the resolu-"tion to *say nay to bad men*," heard me with patience and with attention; but I gathered from the arguments he made use of to quiet my fears, that he had no longer any confidence in his powers of effecting any thing great for the country. In answer to all the reproaches of the Whigs, I might appeal to the gradual public warnings that I gave them; but, I further assert, that, at every stage of their dereliction, I remonstrated privately; I told them that if their impatience for office produced an abandonment of their principles, their power would be of short duration, and they would fall unregretted. That I was right in my judgment, they may now, perhaps, have the justice to say to themselves, if they have not the candour publickly to acknowledge it. The cause of their fall, and especially the cause of their falling unregretted, is to be ascribed entirely to the compromise that they have submitted to in order to obtain power and emolument; and, oh! how often have I, publickly as well as privately, remonstrated against any and every such compromise not only as fatal to the country, but as fatal, as totally ruinous, to themselves! "They "*wished* to do good, they *wished* to relieve "the country;" aye, and Baalam *wished* to do right, when, for hire, he cursed where he should have blessed, and blessed where he should have cursed. "They *wished* to "do good, they wished to relieve the coun-"try;" but, they made us pay the debts, they eulogized the conduct and character, they adopted and pursued the system of Pitt. To this charge, a charge which I will never cease to prefer against them as long as they keep their heads above, or as long as they shall at times make them appear through, the troubled surface of politics, I should be glad to hear *their answer*. I will give it publicity equal to the publicity of the charge; but, I forewarn them, that they must find something far better than the pleadings of their advocate, Mr. Perry, which amount to neither more nor less than an assertion, that a combination of interests and a compromise of principles, amongst great men, are, in this "the *healthful* state "of the constitution," necessary to counter-balance the power of the throne, than which a more detestable doctrine never was preached, the people and their representatives being, by such doctrine, totally excluded from any share in the real powers of the state, and no choice being left us but that of being governed by an absolute monarch, or an aristocracy as absolute, and ten thousand times more oppressive.

In returning once more to the debate, we find, in the speech of MR. PERCEVAL, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, a minute and sort of official account of the steps which led to the dismission of the late ministers, and, as such, it is worthy of particular attention. He said, "That it would, he conceived, be convenient in the discussion to consider the measure which had been the occasion of the dismissal in three stages: First, when the application had been made for his majesty's consent to bring it in; secondly, when it had been brought in in a shape very different from that in which his majesty had understood and sanctioned it; and thirdly, when it was withdrawn, and the circumstances attending that proceeding. As to the first, it was quite clear that his majesty could have understood the original intention only as meant to extend the provisions of the Irish Act of 1793 to Great Britan, by means of clauses in the Mutiny Act. The first dispatch to his Majesty, turning on the anomalies of the law in Ireland and Great Britain, and on the obligation of the pledge given in Ireland in an extension of the law of that country to this, and then the use of the words, of the Irish act in that dispatch, that is, to grant all commissions, and all the arguments offered to gain his Majesty's consent tended to shew that nothing more was meant at that time than to extend that act to this country. This was rendered still more clear and unquestionable by the change which was introduced into the expressions when it began to be in the contemplation of the late Ministers to grant more than was granted by the Irish Act. Then the former expression of commissions was omitted, for it did not apply to the Staff, and the words "warrants and appointments" were introduced into the Bill. It was besides to be considered, that it was not till after much reasoning that his Majesty had been induced to withdraw his dissent from the original proposition; and that his Majesty had then declared, that nothing should ever induce him to go one step, further. His Majesty, at the same time, expressed a hope, that his forbearance in this instance would save him from being pressed further upon a subject upon which his mind was unalterably made up against all further concession. It was not his Majesty alone that understood the original intention in the limited sense of extending the Irish Act to this country. The person who was employed in Ireland (Mr. Elliot) to communicate with the Catholics did not feel himself authorised to give any larger understanding till he had referred to his principals for explanation, and the noble lord employed to communicate to his Majesty (lord Sidmouth,) had understood it merely as a measure to get rid of an anomaly between the laws of different parts of the empire. He believed the noble lord opposite (Howick) when he stated a different understanding on his own part; but, the right hon. baronet, late Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, had given some sanction to the other belief, when, in opposing the delay of the proceedings on the bill, which was urged by some on the ground of the absence of the Irish members, the hon. baronet stated that the bill was already law in Ireland, and already sanctioned by the Irish members. But there was a still further sanction in the understanding of his Majesty, as three members of the late cabinet were under the same difficulty. (A communication from the other side, across the table, only two.) He begged pardon; he thought the Lord Chancellor, The Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Lord President (Sidmouth) had been dissentient to the exclusion beyond the limits of the Irish Act; but he found that the Lord Chancellor had not been summoned on the second day, and he thought it not so right that the lord who had the particular guardianship of the king's conscience should have been omitted in the order of summons; and still further he thought it right that the dissentient members of the council, as well as the consentient should be summoned, in order that the king might have the benefit of hearing the opinion of those who confirmed as well as the opinions of those who invalidated his principles, with respect to the church, which were known to have been heretofore unaltered. Having established that when it was a thing unknown to some of his majesty's cabinet ministers, and to the minister in Ireland, charged to negociate this particular point, that it was intended to exceed the Irish Act of 1793, it was not extraordinary that his majesty himself should have been at a loss to understand the extent of the proposed measure. Here he closed the first point of the question, contenting himself with having clearly established, that his majesty had no knowledge in the first instance of its being intended to carry the measure so far as was afterwards proposed. As to the time when the measure was introduced into the house in its pre-

"sent extent, no communication had been made to his majesty on that subject till 3d March. In the intermediate time, dispatches had been laid before his majesty, stating that the Irish Catholics would not be content with the measure then pending, without large additional concessions. The hope of keeping back the agitation of the general Petition of the Catholics, could not, in the opinion of the lord lieutenant, nor of the lord chancellor of Ireland, who was more particularly concerned, be accomplished without granting in addition to the Officer's Bill, the situations of sheriffs and members of corporations to the gentry, and the situations of king's counsel in the courts of law. The dispatch, containing this intelligence was certainly sent to the king, but without any precise notification of its meaning; and here he must say, without any charge of intention to circumvent, or overreach the king, that the want of precision and explanation that existed was the cause of all, or a great part of the difficulties that were found to incumber this question. When the doubts arose in Ireland, and the dispatch sent back with a view to remove those doubts led to a more clear disclosure of his majesty's mind, it was attempted first to modify the proposed measure to his majesty's wish; but when it was found that that could not be done with the satisfaction which it was at first proposed to give to the Catholics, it was thought better by the advocates of the measure to withdraw it. And here was a point upon which the late ministers had overlooked a material duty indeed. After they had urged that the importance of this business would not admit of its being postponed a single day, they had, he would not say from the motive, but certainly with the effect of keeping their places, by the oddest sacrifice that had ever before been known, the sacrifice of private feeling to public principle. His majesty's late ministers claimed a right, in withdrawing the measure lately before the house, to state their sentiments strongly in favour of that measure, and of a general system of favour towards the Catholics. This was the strangest plan he had ever known; and he wished those who were so anxious to guard against the case of a crown, without responsible ministers, to consider in what situation we should be, if the ministers in this case were allowed to come down and state their own case against their sovereign, to say they were favourable, and they were right, but his Majesty opposed them, and they were obliged to concede. Was not that the fact? and he was sure the noble lord would support himself in nothing but the fact, and every thing he saw and heard confirmed the impression he had stated. What responsibility then had the house to look to? The late ministers would have said, if the pledge had not been required, we are strongly for the measure, but the king is strongly against it, and therefore we must give way. In such a situation, what responsibility would parliament have to look to? His majesty here contented himself upon this too, with regretting that his ministers should have opinions different from his, and with lamenting the necessity of introducing discussions so improper; but when the right of submitting other measures was insisted on, not to combat a mere loose opinion, but a settled principle of his Majesty's mind during his reign, the house would see the mischiefs that must result. He was ready to allow that, abstractedly, ministers were not to fetter themselves in the right to advise how the prerogative, to give or withhold consent to acts of the legislature, should be exercised. But the case in agitation was a case of bringing forward a great legislative question against the crown, with the authority and influence of ministers of the crown. It was ridiculous to say the king had the prerogative of changing his ministers, unless he could change them upon certain topics and principles. His majesty's mind was made up not to concede further upon this question, and further instances could produce nothing but agitation and irritation. If the minute had been suffered to pass without a pledge, an attempt might be afterwards made to bring forward the measure again, on the ground, that it was not contrary to the sanction of the profession, and acquiesced in. His majesty therefore required a pledge in writing, that he should not be disturbed with applications which could only produce distress and irritation; and that pledge at the present moment, went only to extend for a little time, the forbearance which the late ministers were disposed to shew in conceding the measure lately proposed by them. When they could not go farther in that concession, they were bound to no eternity of service, they might resign."

Mr. Perceval defended himself and his colleagues against the charge of having come

into office under a pledge, and also against that of having advised the king to demand a pledge from the late ministers; but of these we must speak after we have heard my LORD HOWICK, who, as the reporter informs us, rose amidst a loud cry of *question! question!* which, Gentlemen, means, "Let "us divide: we want to hear no more." Nothing dismayed, however, and concluding apparently, that those who intended to vote for him and his colleagues, were impatient so to do, the noble Lord, after some prefatory matter, said, "that it was now confessed, that a pledge "had been demanded of the late ministers; "but who advised the proposing of the "pledge was not acknowledged. But there "was no act of the crown for which *there* "*must not be a responsible adviser.* Who, "then, were responsible for the advising "the pledge? Those who *gave it effect*; "the new ministers, the men who con"trived to poison the royal mind. Yes, it "was now well known, and *and these were* "*times to speak plain.* It was lord Eldon "who had an audience of his majesty, at "which, without exactly knowing what "had passed, it was *easy to see* that then it "was that the subject of the pledge was "started. Lord Hawkesbury had also an "audience of his majesty at that conjunc"ture, and that noble lord, in conjunction "with lord Eldon, were employed by his "majesty to consult with the Duke of Port"land, *in framing a new administration.* "These noble lords are, then, *the responsi"ble persons*; for they have *given effect to* "*the demand of the pledge*"——This, Gentlemen, is the reasoning of my Lord Howick, at least so the newspaper reporters of debates tell us. But, was there ever any thing farther fetched, or less worth the carriage? What a whimsical notion, that some one, other than the king, must be responsible for having caused the late ministers to be displaced? It was the new ministers who *gave effect* to the pledge, because, forsooth, they took the places of Lord Howick and his colleagues! But, suppose it had happened, that the demand of the pledge had been advised, supposing it to have been *advised* by any body, which does not appear to be the fact; suppose it had been advised by some one, who had not accepted of a place in the new ministry, what then would Lord Howick have done for a charge of *giving effect* to the demand of the pledge? The true doctrine of responsibility is this, that for all measures, adopted by the king, his ministers, for the time being, are liable to censure and punishment at the hands of the two houses of parliament; but, did any man ever before dream of a parliamentary censure or impeachment of ministers for having accepted of their places as such? If this doctrine were acted upon, how is it possible that the king should ever change his servants, without the previous consent of parliament? For what man would place himself in a situation, which would instantly expose him to punishment? In the choosing of his servants the act must necessarily be the king's own, without any responsibility any where; nor can there arise any harm from this, if the parliament be properly constituted; for, if the House of Commons are convinced, that the king has put foolish or wicked men into offices of great trust, they have the power, and it is their bounden duty, to refuse to suffer any taxes to be raised to be exposed to the management of such men. This is an effectual check upon the king; it is quite as much power as the House of Commons ought to possess; it is agreeable to reason and to the laws and usages of our country, and, at various times, has been exercised with complete effect, and to great national advantage. It is, indeed, that cause to which our forefathers owed those liberties, which, alas! they bequeathed to us. And is it not strange, Gentlemen, that my Lord Howick never thought of it? or, at least, that he appeared not to think of it? His Lordship averred, in the close of his speech, that he had *no confidence* in the present ministers. I believe him with all my heart, and so, I dare say, you will; but, why not, then, proceed in the constitutional way? Why not move to withhold all public money from their clutches? His Lordship, whose office *now* is that of "an *individual* "*member of parliament*," has no confidence in "his Majesty's confidential servants," but yet he seems to think nothing at all of letting sixty or seventy millions of his constituents' money pass annually through their hands. Yes, my lord, "these are times "to speak plain," and I would speak, if I dared, upon many subjects, and particularly upon the deeds of the *last six weeks* of your administration; but, this I dare speak, that I remember those deeds, and, remembering them, I rejoice that you are no longer surrounded by a majority in parliament; I rejoice, that that same majority which supported your motion for reprimanding Mr. Paull, have now, with singular justice, expressed their approbation of your dismission from office.

MR. CANNING, now Secretary of State for foreign affairs, concluded his speech, and the debate in a strain of moving eloquence. He said, "that, whatever might

" be the decision of the House that night, " he *thanked God*" (God, observe!)— " there was *an appeal from the bar of the* " *Commons to the nation.* The discussion " and correspondence that had taken place " however, had shewn his Majesty to be " not only *as competent* as any amongst " themselves to the discussion of the " most important concerns of his empire, " but also to be in *a state of health that* " *promised many years* addition to nearly " the half century that he had auspiciously " already reigned over this empire. What- " ever might be the issue of the division or " the succession of divisions in that House, " his Majesty's ministers would *stand by* " their sovereign, though circumstances " might occur, in which they would find " it their duty to appeal to the country." ——It is not for me, gentlemen, to dictate either to your taste or your feelings; but, for my own part, I think I never read any thing more sublime, affecting, or convincing. First, we perceive profound gratitude towards the Creator for the great blessing of being able to appeal from the House of Commons to the people, convoked, as upon such occasions we knew them to be, to give their free and unbiassed suffrages to their representatives in " the great council of the nation," as the Morning Post, with appropriate reverence, calls the parliament. Next, and as naturally following an act of religious devotion, comes an effusion of loyalty and personal attachment to the king, or " the sovereign," as the modern phrase is, and an assurance to his faithful commons, that he is as competent as any of them (and I dare be sworn to the fact) to the management of the concerns of the kingdom (no, the " empire") at this present time; and not only that, but that he is in a *state of health that promises us many years prolongation of a reign*, which has hitherto been so auspicious. Here I think with great submission however, that Mr. Canning might have closed, without a significant avowal, that the new ministers might *find it necessary to appeal to the country*, that idea having been before pretty fully expressed. But, Mr. Canning is a better judge of these matters than I am; and, besides, I have always said, as well of speaking as of writing, " give me that which " produces the most *effect*;" and, that Mr. Canning's speech was rich in this capital quality, the division, in a few minutes afterwards, abundantly proved. So confident was Lord Howick of a majority in his favour, that he actually talked, we are told, while the division was going on, of *following up* the motion, then deciding upon, with other motions of a similar tendency; and particularly by one respecting " the *threat*," as it is called, thrown out by Mr. Canning in the effusion of heart-melting and mind-convincing eloquence, which we have just been admiring! A *threat!* What does Mr. Perry mean by a threat? Is it to threaten the House of Commons to give them an assurance of the king's competence and good health? Or, is it to threaten them to say, that it is possible that their constituents may have an opportunity afforded them of re-choosing their representatives, or, of choosing new ones? We know, that the House of Commons consists of the people's representatives; we know, that there are the same persons to vote for members that voted last summer; we know, that the law forbids, under heavy penalties, bribery, corruption, treating, or undue influence of any sort, at elections; we know, that every member takes a solemn oath as to his qualification in point of property, and, of course, that none of the members so recently chosen can be deficient upon that head. So that it is really hard to conceive how these people could have discovered a *threat* in the speech of Mr. Canning; for, as the seats of the members, we must take for granted, cost them nothing, and as their views, in offering themselves as candidates, are, as we plainly see from their several election addresses, purely to be able *to serve us*, to watch over our welfare, to protect and cherish our rights, and particularly to guard our money; as their views are so perfectly free from any tinge of self-interest, how could the telling of them that they might probably be dissolved, possibly be regarded as a threat, seeing that the utmost extent of the inconvenience of a dissolution, would be, to some of the members, a day or two of visit to their constituents, and, perhaps, to the far greater part of them, even this slight trouble might be spared, so perfectly satisfied are their constituents with their conduct? Yet, Gentlemen, do the Whigs, and particularly Mr. Perry, incessantly rail against this speech of Mr. Canning; and, since the House of Commons has discovered a majority against them, they rail against that too; and, would you believe it, Gentlemen, that this very Mr. Perry, who, observe, calls *us* Jacobins and Levellers, published, in his paper of the 13th instant, an article which he denominates " *The Puppet Show*," but in which he evidently enough aims at the depicting of political scenes, and which I shall here insert for the purpose of drawing down upon him and his writings your just censure and indigna-

tion: "The *Westminster Company* of independent performers being lately dissolved, and it being thought highly desirable to encourage a taste for pantomime, spectacle, melo-drames, legerdemain, and Bartholomew-Fair entertainments, a new puppet-show has been recently established upon a larger and more expensive scale than any ever before exhibited. No pains have been spared to procure the very best *automata* extant, remarkable for a certain degree of voluntary motion, combined with the utmost docility, and obedient to the slightest touch of the springs which set them in motion.——A few friends have been admitted to a rehearsal, which, however, from the unfinished state of the machinery was entitled to every indulgence. The theatre is in the form of a *chapel*, dimly illuminated by a number of transparencies, the principal of which represent the burning of heretics, assassination, massacres, a conversation between the *pope* and the *devil*, and other subjects calculated to bring to the recollection of the spectator, those dark ages when mumming and puppet-shows were in high repute. The stage, as usual on such occasions, is furnished with a semi-curtain to conceal those managers, performers, or scene-shifters, who either wish to be invisible, or are ashamed to be seen. After waiting a considerable time, some person having called out "*manage*," a voice from behind the curtain replied, "wha wants me? Mun I be the manager—Weel, come awa lads, be steady, and mind what I say—Recollect what you are—You are automata, mere puppets, you are greatly to resemble the idols of old in the hands of crafty priests. You are to have eyes, but to see not; ears, but to hear not; speak you may, but like wise fools, *not a word more than is set down for you.*" The voice was here interrupted by some person who seemed to think these expressions were not intended for the ear of the audience, and who begged leave to remark that a regular performance was not as yet to be expected, the immediate object in view, being to inspect the materials and workmanship, and to see if the different figures were proof against *nose-wringing, ear-pulling, kicks, cuffs, cudgelling*, and the usual indignities to which performers of this class have been immemorially subject, and which constitute the principal part of the entertainment.——In this respect, it must be confessed, the figures have been manufactured in a style of high perfection; with faces insensible to shame, and apparently unconscious of their inferiority, degradation, and disgrace. Hisses, groans, and cries of "off, off," with the usual accompaniments, are to be of no avail. Large sums paid down, extravagant promises, and *threats of a premature death*, and subsequent damnation, are conjointly employed to hire and keep together a large establishment of chorus singers, to drown the loud notes of disapprobation. Nay, it is resolved, that should the theatre even tumble about their ears, John Bull shall still have his favourite fun, and with all the effrontery of itinerants they will continue to play their pranks in every *county, city*, and *borough* in the United Kingdom. Much is expected from the exhibition of a few harlequins, who in the rotatory motion of their heads, and vacillation of their bodies, possess so much rapidity that it is impossible to say on which side of the stage you perceive them.—— A more particular description of this new establishment, the scenery, secret machinery, principal puppets, and general claim to public notice, must necessarily be deferred, not for want of rational anticipation, but until opinion be established by facts."——Who Mr. Perry may mean to designate by "*the devil*," squabbling with the pope, I must leave you to guess, and, indeed, all I shall say with respect to this article, is, that the author, or publisher of it, expressed his alarm, a few days before, lest a dissolution of parliament should produce "*licentiousness of debate*, and a *jubilee suspension of authority*," among us, the agitators of Middlesex and Westminster."

To connect with high and authentic matter, like the foregoing, any notions, proceeding merely from myself, would, I feel, be indecorous in the extreme; and, therefore, I must beg leave once more to defer, until another opportunity, the observations, which I think it may be useful to offer you, upon the subject of what I regard as the sole *remedy* for our political evils in general, and especially for the heart-burnings which incessantly arise about the distribution of power and emolument in the state. In the mean while, anxiously hoping, that you will seriously reflect upon all these matters,

I remain,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful friend,

And obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 15th April, 1807.

P. S. Since writing the above I have perceived, that the committee for trying the Westminster Petition is appointed, as follows: Wm. Tuffnell, Esq Sir. C. W. Bamfylde, Esq. Sir Jacob Astley, Bart. Lord Porchester. T. Foley, Esq. Sir H. D. Hamilton, Bart. N. Sneyd, Esq. G. Campbell, Esq. Sir. L. Palke, Bart. W. Lushington, Esq. A. Hamilton, Esq. W. Honeywood, Esq. G. Colclough, Esq. Nominees—Edward Morris, Esq. Sir John Doyle, Bart—Mr. Paull, from his confidence, doubtless, in the integrity, impartiality, and superior wisdom of the House, of which he must, of course, have seen so much, while he had the honour to be a member of it, did not, it seems, choose any nominee for himself, but left the committee to choose whomsoever they pleased. As the proceedings of this committee will be very interesting to us, we shall, I hope, lose sight of no part thereof. It will be a subject for us to talk upon for a long time to come; and, now that we have taken leave of our old friends, the Whigs, we shall have leisure for such talk.——Now I think of it, I saw no speech from *Sir John Doyle* on the motions in favour of the late ministers. I was afraid that gentleman was in a bad state of health; but, his name appearing as Mr Sheridan's nominee has removed my apprehensions.

UPON THE CHANGE OF MINISTERS AND AFFAIRS OF IRELAND.

To the Electors of Great Britain and Ireland.

GENTLEMEN,——In all probability you will be soon called upon again to exercise your elective franchise, and under the particular circumstances of such a call at present, it is very proper that you should distinctly understand the measure which led to the rupture between the king and his late ministers, as well as the nature of the rupture itself; because, upon both his Majesty and his late ministers are completely at issue.——I therefore take the liberty of stating to you, what, as a plain man, totally unconnected with all parties, and wanting nothing from any, I feel upon this subject.—Upon the nature of the rupture, I think Lord Melville, of whom I am by no means a political admirer, has reduced the late ministers to the horns of this dilemma; either the measure was *indispensibly necessary*, or it was not. If it was not, why urge it as ministers in the teeth of the well known and acknowledged repugnance of the king; and if it was *indispensibly necessary*, why give it up? To which may be also added, why, when they had given it up, were they so anxious to be covered with folly as well as with disgrace, by delivering to the king that notable Cabinet Minute? Was it for the sake of informing the king, that they would in future from time to time act according to their oaths?—Such a formal declaration must either be considered as a deliberate threat to press the same subject again which, notwithstanding its *indispensible necessity* they agreed to abandon; or, as too puerile and contemptible for men entrusted with the administration of a great country to make; it is so much like a woman making up a quarrel with an offended or offending husband: "Now, my dear, remember, though I give "up to you this time, I am determined to "tell all our friends that I was in the right, "and to *twit* you with this affair in future "from time to time, whenever I please." And, in either case, I think the king was perfectly justifiable in determining, that the persons who had sent him that Minute should be no longer his ministers; and it could be with no other view that his Majesty was advised, and I own I think ill-advised to tender them a written pledge which it was impossible for them to sign; for, in my humble judgment, after attending the discussion on both sides, with as much calmness and impartiality as if I had been a juryman, I do think that the refusal of the late ministers to sign that pledge, is all the shadow of a case they have with the public, and upon this point alone did my Lord Chancellor venture to rest their defence; for as to their having deceived the king, Lord Grenville declared, that he was authorised by his Majesty to say, that he acquitted them completely of any such intention; and Lord Grenville also declared, that he was satisfied his Majesty had not understood the extent of the measure which they had proposed to him, although they had understood him to give his *reluctant* assent to it in the shape in which it was brought forward.—Then, as to the measure itself. This is the part of the subject of by far the greatest importance, and most worthy of your anxious and particular attention.—I will not enter at present into the question of the claims of the Catholics to power or preferment, nor will I discuss now, how far the particular measure proposed could tend to endanger the Protestant ascendency in this realm; because, neither of those questions appear to me necessary for the opinion you ought to form upon this occasion. But, I will say this, and, I believe, nine-tenths of the electors of Great Britain and Ireland will go along with me in saying it, that if this measure does tend to

endanger the Protestant ascendency (and in that light it is well known the king considers it) to which Protestant ascendency from the first dawn of the reformation, through all the most important struggles for the rights and liberties of the people, I maintain we have been chiefly indebted for the dearest and most valuable of those rights and liberties, I for one would go to death to-morrow rather than yield it.——But, gentlemen, I think at present we may safely lay out of our consideration every other question but simply this: was the measure proposed a measure worthy of great statesmen for the benefit or government of that country for which it was expressly introduced, either as a means of allaying the discontents of Ireland, or of attaching the numerous population of that country to the fate and interests of the empire at large?" I think the authors of this measure will admit that nothing can be more fair than this view of the question, stripping it as I do of all the other considerations with which it might be entangled.—Gentlemen, I maintain the negative of this proposition, and, in order to do so, it is necessary to adopt the rule of every good physician; namely, to have a clear understanding of the nature of the disease, and also of the remedy.—It is said, and I believe with great truth, that the situation of Ireland is most critical and alarming, and I own it seems marvellous to me that this discovery should have been made so late, or at least avowed so late.—— That there must be some radical defect is obvious to the most careless observer. It was but the other day that we beheld the horrible picture of a large portion of the population of that unhappy country flogged, picketed, half-hanged, and otherwise tortured into obedience to the laws, and these and other outrageous enormities gravely defended in the parliament of that country as *indispensibly necessary*, upon grounds of policy. I remember well how strongly, and how eloquently these enormities were reprobated at the time; but, I have observed no one act done or even proposed by those who were so loud then, to make atonement even to the feelings of this deeply-injured and insulted people, much less to make reparation for all the burnings and devastations of a licentious soldiery, "more formidable," as the immortal Abercromby declared them "to their "friends than to the enemy."—It is well known, and it cannot be denied, that Ireland has been long, too long, most shamefully neglected. It is, perhaps, the greatest reflection upon the two last reigns, which in all other respects seem to have carried the happiness of the country at home, and its prosperity abroad as high as possible, that the state of Ireland was totally neglected; and from the commencement of the reign of his present Majesty, nothing could have been more erroneous than the advice of his ministers with respect to that country.—The leading feature of this advice has been to make concessions from time to time to the Catholics, and at a time, too, when persons of property and the best informed of that persuasion, were coming over very fast to the established church; and what reason can there be why so large a proportion of the population of Ireland should continue Catholics, when almost the whole of the population of Great Britain are Protestants, but that the treatment of one country has been totally different to that of the other.—It is well known, and it is better to avow it at once than give dark and mysterious hints about it, that the great mass of the population of Ireland, are in a state of discontent and irritation, that requires a large army and perpetual observation to preserve the peace and government of the country. What must be the condition of the population of such a country?——If the laborious classes were in possession of any thing like the real value of their labour; if they had any thing like the means of common justice, is it possible to conceive that they would be perpetually in a state of meditating resistance to the government, at the imminent hazard of their lives, and the ruin of their families? But the fact is well known, that their condition is deplorable; and, I must say, that I should have thought it a more statesman-like measure, to have bestowed a little of that humanity of which we have been lately, and suddenly so liberal towards the negroes, upon our fellow subjects in Ireland, whose condition is much worse than that of the Negroes in the West Indies, and I think such a measure would have been more consonant to the strictest rules of morality; for I have always been suspicious of that universal philanthropy, which begins with the whole human race, and passes over all the intermediate gradations.

"God loves from whole to parts: but human soul
Must rise from individual to the whole.
Self love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake;
The centre moved, a circle strait succeeds,
Another still and still another spreads;
Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace,
His country next, and next all human race."

"If a man loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath never seen." If then the state of Ireland is such as I have described it, if it is

a notorious truth, that what with one exaction or another, the labouring classes are ground down to the last stage of wretchedness and despair; what is this grand remedy that is proposed to allay discontent, and give the people of Ireland all at once such an interest in the power and prosperity of England? What is this wonderful *panacea* for which one ministry actually resigned, and for which another ministry not wishing to resign put to hazard being turned out; though as a criterion of the real importance in which both held the nostrum, the ministry that resigned soon accepted of office again; upon a positive pledge, as Lord Melville has now declared, never to renew the proposal, and the ministry that were turned out offered to give it up without even the saving credit of a resignation, the moment they found, as Lord Grenville has declared, that the king disapproved of it.—Why, after all, it is nothing more than that a few generals in the army who are Catholics, may be generals upon the staff, *if the king pleases*, or hold the offices of commanders in chief, or master general of the ordnance, and to secure by law, what is in fact secured by practice, the free exercise of their religion to such Catholics as should think proper to enter into the army and navy.—Now, if there was a remedy not only inadequate to the cure of a disease, but having nothing in common with the symptoms of a disease, it is this.——That a measure so pitiful, so contemptible, should be thought worthy of serious consideration, might surprise any man that ever turned his mind to the science of government, if his surprise were not instantly lost in the stupendous folly of one of my Lord Grenville's magnificent reveries, that this paltry measure would enable us "to call to our aid the discontented population of Ireland, and conciliate four millions of people, and knit together in one common bond of union the whole of his Majesty's subjects." Pray, my good lord, can you shew us how your grand remedy would add a single potatoe to the miserable subsistence of this discontented population, how it would bring shelter, friends or raiment to the naked, forsaken, houseless, inhabitants of Ireland? When your lordship can shew us that, then, and not till then, will we think your scheme worthy of our attention, and also your quarrel with the king.—We know from the mouths of the leaders of the late rebellion, that when Catholic emancipation was contended for, something very different to the admissibility of the Catholics to a few of the higher offices of the state, civil and military, which is the whole of the *large question* as it is called, was intended; they wanted emancipation from real, and not ideal grievances; emancipation from the grinding paw of avarice, injustice, and oppression; emancipation from treatment more suitable to brutes than men; emancipation from being driven from one end of Ireland to the other, to Hell or Connaught.—The few, the very few, who might be gratified by the proposed concession, are not persons from whom the government have any thing to dread, either from open resistance, or what has been called *traitorous inactivity*.—It is to the feelings, the interest, and happiness of the population of Ireland, that any wise statesman would look for the peace and prosperity of that country, and so to the greater strength and better security of the empire, and not "to the taking off for the increase of the public force, from" what is called "a superabundant population, by drawing as it were even from the very sources of discontent, the means of our strength," and this by the kidnapping scheme of holding out to this discontented population *something* which they know to be *nothing*. For the last thirty or forty years the only policy that has been adopted towards conciliating this discontented population, has been concession after concession to the Catholics, and what has it produced? Why, literally what it was worth, just nothing: so little did it benefit or conciliate, (and the one is the consequence of the other) that in the end we saw this discontented population bursting out into open rebellion, and the necessity of a large army at an enormous expense to secure this valuable and vulnerable portion of the empire.——It is evident that mere concessions from time to time to the Catholics, have produced no good, and I have shewn that there is no reason why any good should be expected from them.—What therefore, are we to think of the abilities of statesmen who consider this as their grand measure, as *indispensibly necessary*. Their readiness to give it up, Lord Grenville's declaration, "that he did not wish to conceal "his opinion that the Catholics of Ireland "in persisting to bring the question again "into discussion at the present moment, "were injuring their own cause, and injuring the general interests of the empire," must induce us to think that they considered it merely as a *sop*, vainly hoping thereby to

full the discontents of Ireland, and to put off the evil day when the affairs of that country must be seriously examined, and great sacrifices made before any good can be done or reasonably expected. And independently of other considerations, who could imagine a measure to be *indispensibly* necessary, which they had in vain endeavoured to suppress, or who would hazard even their own stations for the sake of men who persisted in bringing forward a question relating purely to themselves, and by which they were not only "injuring their own cause, but the general interests of the empire?"—The truth is, the situation of Ireland requires other measures. What those measures should be is not a subject for a hasty letter of this sort; however, I will not fear to hazard an opinion. Having shewn that Ireland has been shamefully neglected and abused, I would adopt the same mode of treatment towards Ireland, that his Majesty with his taste and knowledge of farming, would adopt towards a large estate that had been treated in a similar manner. He would give confidence to a dispirited and dissatisfied tenantry, he would repair their habitations, he would sink capital in great and lasting improvements, he would let his lands at fair and easy rents, he would give every encouragement to their industry, his ears would be always open to the complaints and wants of all that lived upon his lands, he would take care that justice was done to all, he would select a faithful, active, honest, intelligent steward to watch over their interests and his own, and always consider them as inseparable. Oh! but it may be said, how many other considerations are there in the government of a country to the management of an estate; I admit there are; but the principle of action is the same in both.—The first thing a great statesman would advise, would be a deep and thorough investigation into all the causes of discontent. This of itself is no easy task; but the very setting about it in earnest would give hope and inspire confidence. In all cases of difficulty or danger, it was a maxim with the Romans to entrust their affairs to an experienced and successful general, and I would, therefore, advise his Majesty upon this great and difficult occasion to look round him and see, whether he has no subject pre-eminently qualified for this arduous service. I think he has a man qualified by abilities, and integrity, that may be well said to have been tried in the fire, by great and long experience, by undoubted and acknowledged success in having saved one part of his Majesty's dominions in times of the utmost difficulty and danger. But this man is connected with no party, his great mind would never stoop to the intrigues of faction: indeed, both parties united to ruin and destroy him; but his character has towered above all the attacks of their envy, hatred, and malice, and the high opinion entertained of him by his sovereign for his long and faithful services, has been completely justified. It is hardly necessary to say, the man I mean is Mr. Hastings. It is now admitted on all hands that he was the saviour of India; and there is but one opinion of his being the worst used man in the kingdom. When Mr. Pitt at last made up his mind for reasons now well known, to vote for the impeachment, he declared that "if Mr. Hastings "was acquitted, there were no honours, "no rewards, to which he was not entitled"——Of him I have heard my Lord Thurlow, who took such pains with every part of his case, and the late Marquis of Lansdowne, who engraved upon his bust *Ingrata Patria*, say, that in their opinions, neither Mr. Pitt nor Mr. Fox could be compared with Mr. Hastings as a statesman; and these two noble lords were competent to judge, and were well acquainted, publicly and privately, with the three persons of whom they spoke.—If his Majesty owes to Mr. Hastings the salvation of India, why may his Majesty not owe to Mr. Hastings the salvation of Ireland. Why should such transcendent abilities, so much virtue, and so much courage be lost to the country in this time of peril?—If Mr. Hastings were to go to Ireland, I will venture to say, he would adopt such measures, either by perambulating the country himself, and inquiring into the real causes of discontent, or by appointing fit and proper persons to do so, that he would soon win the hearts and confidence of the inhabitants, and know what course of policy to recommend as to the government of that country. This he would do *without favour or affection*.—One of the great grievances in Ireland, is the system which prevails there almost universally of letting lands, not directly from the landlord to the tenant, as is the course in England and in Scotland; but to a middle man who immediately sets about reletting, without any other consideration than that of how much more he can squeeze out of the miserable tenants who cultivate the soil; and without any regard to their prosperity he takes *all* the land produces, leaving the unhappy broken hearted tenant a bare subsistence; and the consequence is perpetual change, distraining for rent, no mercy, no indulgence, misery and discontent. This after all is the curse of Ireland.—To remedy this evil requires the

head and heart of a great statesman, but it is and ought to be done. The tenantry of Ireland ought to be conciliated and made happy, in spite of their absent, negligent, or avaricious landlords. All the public burthens are by this system made to fall with intolerable grievance upon this laborious class, whereas there ought to be no pressure of public burdens felt by that laborious class, in which resides the physical power of the country, and which it is so great and just an object to conciliate and attach —— Taxes or public burdens have been likened when fairly levied, and properly employed, to the moisture which the sun draws from the earth, and which falls again in refreshing showers; but when partially levied, and improperly applied, to storms and hurricanes which produce devastation and ruin.—Let this principle be attended to, let the affairs of Ireland be examined and conducted with ability and integrity, in short, let Ireland be attended for a few years by a physician of ability, experience, and humanity, and the troops of surgeons that are kept there at an enormous expense ready to perform operations, may be soon as safely *dispensed* with, as my Lord Grenville's *indispensible* Catholic nostrum may be now.——I am, what every intelligent Englishman will endeavour to make himself,——A TRUE ENGLISH IRISHMAN.

CATHOLIC QUESTION.

SIR,——The Catholic question has, on various occasions, been the subject of much keen discussion, and has never failed to excite very general interest. There are, indeed, comparatively few who do not think, that those restriction laws, which exclude dissenters of this persuasion from political stations, are both impolitic and unjust. In support of this opinion, very many specious arguments have been advanced; but, as it has ever appeared to me, they have all been more or less wide of the truth. It is very freely admitted that the class excluded are *sufferers*; but it is apprehended, that great as their sufferings may be, they do not afford an atonement by any means commensurate, with the vast extent of their moral delinquencies. This assertion will be fully justified, if we advert for a moment to the peculiar tenets of their faith, and the practical consequences which must necessarily result from them. The obnoxious nature of that oath, which is administered to each bishop at his consecration is so very apparent, that to give any comment upon it, were only to insult the good sense of your readers. He swears in the most solemn manner possible, "that he will from that hour forward be "faithful and obedient to Saint Peter, and "to the holy church of Rome, and to his "Lord the Pope, and his successors canonically entering: that the papacy of Rome, "the rules of the holy fathers, and the regalities of Saint Peter, he will keep, "maintain, and defend against all men: "that the rights, privileges, and authorities "of the Roman church, and of the Pope, "and of his successors, he will cause to be "conserved, defended, augmented and promoted. and that heretics, schismatics, "and rebels to the holy father, and his successors, he will resist, and to his power "persecute."—The bare recital of such an oath, is almost as shocking to humanity, as the religion which enjoins it, is repugnant to the dictates of reason, and of common sense. It is evidently pregnant with the utmost possible illiberality, absurdity, and cruelty. But it is insinuated, that no danger is now to be dreaded from the Catholics, as the principles of toleration are generally understood among them, and as they are very willing to renounce all connections with a foreign head. Our fears respecting them are termed romantic, wild, and visionary. Accordingly, an host of ecclesiastics are prepared to abjure the pope, to reprobate every clause of the oath referred to, and to maintain that the principle which denies "that faith ought to "be kept with heretics," is palpably absurd, as well as glaringly impious. This is all very well; but still it will admit of a doubt, whether we have yet got any satisfactory evidence of their conversion. Their words and their oaths would seem to be equally deserving of credit; for we have already had fatal experience, of the real value of both. In fact, a free pardon may be obtained for any crime, how great soever may be its magnitude, by which an augmentation of the power, or the wealth, of the See of Rome is acquired. That opinion too, which, of all others, is most dissonant to morality, namely, "that "it is commendable to do evil that good may "come," is not only a favourite dogma; but it is incorporated with every ceremony, of holy church. It were vain to deny, that there are in her communion many valuable characters, who would scorn to be guilty of that vile duplicity, which marks all her proceedings, and which is so frequently practised by her clergy. But it is likewise true, that the religion itself, is not only favourable to tyranny and superstition; but that both are strongly inculcated by it. In good truth, those who adhere to it, at least the majority of them, and still more especially the clergy, wish nothing so much, as the subversion of

the constitution of this country, whether in church or state. Their emancipation is far from being the only, or even the chief object, of their ardent desires. On the contrary, such an ascendency in the state, as may ultimately pave the way for the legal establishment of their faith, is that which they have invariably in view. It is possible that they may not be too sanguine in their expectations. Their innocency, integrity, and uprightness, as well as the harmlessness of their principles, are now become fashionable topics of conversation. But it is an old adage, and it is a very true one, that "*it is "not all gold that glitters.*" Fair professions are made very easily: they cost little, and the greatest knaves ordinarily abound with most of them. We are invidiously asked whether it is not highly proper, that all religions should be tolerated, and whether the members of opposite communions, ought not to be eligible to places of trust and emolument under government? Both these questions are susceptible of a very easy and obvious solution. Every religion ought to be tolerated, how absurd or unreasonable soever its tenets may be, if they are not dissonant to the principles of humanity and social order. The doctrine of the universal right of conscience, embraces equally the disciple of Moses, of Confucius, or of Christ. Every human creature ought assuredly to be allowed, (but on no account required) to worship his Maker, under the dome of a cathedral, or within the unconsecrated walls of a dwelling house, without ever coming under the cognizance of any penal statute. But if he shall be at once foolish and depraved enough, to attempt the extirpation of his neighbour's religion, or, if he believes that it is incumbent on him to do so, then ought his actions immediately to be suspected, and each of his motions cautiously watched. No one can deny that this is reasonable, and just, and politic. So much then for the first question. In answer to the second, it may not be improper to make a few desultory remarks, on restrictive laws in general, and more particularly, on those which presently affect the Catholics. And it is nothing more than justice to say, that considered *abstractly*, or without any relation to the end proposed to be answered by them, they are peculiarly oppressive, if not wholly unjust. They serve to place the tomb-stone on the venerable head of genius: nor do they ever fail to check activity, and stop the march of improvement. We can scarcely suppose, that genuine patriotism will ever thrive in a soil, where the noxious weeds of distrust and suspicion, are nurtured with vigilance, and care, and toil. Honour and wealth are found to be the principal motives, which prompt human exertion, in the present imperfect state of society. Unless, therefore, means are employed to allure self love into the service of the public, we shall in vain expect to find individuals, growing into permanent habits of virtue, or increasing in love to their country. Let us apply these observations to the subject presently under discussion. The Catholics, every one knows, form a very considerable part of the population of Great Britain and Ireland But for their religious sentiments, many of them would rank high in the army, and not a few would be eligible to political stations. Many of them are no less distinguished for the brilliancy of their talents, than for the excellency of their hearts. Is it reasonable, or proper, or even expedient, therefore, that their genius and worth should lie hid in obscurity, instead of being called forth into notice, in order that the public might enjoy the full advantage of both? This question is confessedly deserving of a serious answer. There are few who would feel inclined to deny, that by far the majority of Catholics, can lay little claim to intellectual or moral worth. Their knowledge is limited to a meagre list of insipid dogmas, which shrink from sober and manly investigation. It is not indeed, easy to suppose, that a mind capable of giving serious credence, to the doctrines of transubstantiation, and the trinity: the infallibility of the pope, and auricular confession, could be any great acquisition to a society of sensible mechanics, and certainly much less so, to a Cabinet Council, or a British House of Commons. One cannot help thinking, therefore, that those enlightened individuals, who are found in the communion of the Romish church, do not really believe the absurdities, which custom and education have taught them to hold sacred. They would rather appear to have a feeling, as if they were walking over a precipice, and anxious to keep the safest side. But apart from the intellectual poverty of the professors of this religion, the majority of them are still more destitute of that integrity, which can alone render one being an object of trust and confidence to another. This is confessedly an awful charge; but it is undeniably true. We all know that nefarious advice, which the holy successor of Saint Peter, tendered to the unfortunate monarch of France. The purport of it was, that he might lawfully deceive his people, by calling heaven and earth to witness the sincerity of his professions with regard to the new constitutiot, while he purposed in his heart its final overthrow. May

I compromise, inquired the unhappy sovereign? Yes, you may, rejoined the most consummate of all hypocrites. Leo the tenth could say among the wits of his time, "what a fine thing this same fable of Christ "has been to us;" and calmly enjoy those splendid emoluments which *then* resulted from the publication of it. Many other instances are on record, which serve equally to evince, that the priesthood of the Catholic church inherit all those qualities, which human nature ought not to possess. As are the *priests*, so are the majority of the people, and, indeed, it were unreasonable to suppose the contrary. I need scarcely inquire, whether it would be prudent to place confidence in such characters? If it be really, and in good faith, a sentiment of their religion, that it is lawful to deceive their fellow creatures by false professions, and at the same time to call upon the Judge of the whole earth to witness their sincerity, what Englishman, what consistent Protestant, nay, what honest infidel, would wish to see the management of the important interests of his country, consigned into their hands. But neither is this the only vice, with which they are chargeable. In their character, a dreadful compound of duplicity and cruelty, will be found to exist. Let the early part of our history be appealed to, in proof of this assertion, as well as that of every Catholic country. Nor cannot be alledged in their behalf, that their opinions are merely speculative, and that they have no effect upon their practice, as we all know that the contrary of this is true. The public mind has become extremely altered with regard to them, from what it was about a century and an half ago. Anciently, it was usual to view them with the utmost conceivable jealousy, cautiously to mark all their movements, and to guard against their slow and almost imperceptible encroachments, with a vigilance which could alone be equalled by that consummate wisdom, with which it was dictated. Our venerable ancestors were unwilling that these old serpents should sting them twice, and they were careful to warn their posterity, against their malice, and cruelty, and cunning. For a long while subsequent to the revolution in England, they were known by the name of "*the Common Enemy*," and were recognised as such by government. But, it should seem, we have got more enlightened now, and we can laugh very heartily at that silly ignorance, which could dread any serious injury from the devotees of the Romish faith. Let there be no more of this. We are not surely ignorant of the very intimate alliance which subsists, between the Catholics in this country, and his holiness at Rome. We know likewise, or at least we ought to know, the sanguinary nature and tendency of their principles, as well as the motives which prompt them to petition for a redress of their grievances. If we are not then dead to every sentiment, which ought to agitate the breasts of freemen; if we would not wish to see barbarism and superstition again usurp the sacred empire of truth and reason; if we would not have our posterity again bow to gods of wood and stone; if we would not chuse that absolute monarchy should once more be venerated as the best of governments, and the monarch himself adored as the anointed of the Most High; if we would deprecate all those dreadful evils, let us guard against the treachery of the Catholics, at least until they shall have fully expiated their crimes, and until we shall have obtained better evidence of the sincerity of their professions, than either their words or their oaths can afford. The Test Laws cannot be justified, however, in as far as they operate against the *Protestant* Dissenters, either on the ground of justice, or of expediency. They are a class of patient sufferers, who have long struggled under the frowns of the court, and the anathemas of the orthodox. You are well aware, that they are excluded from political stations, in consequence of that act which enjoins the reception of the holy eucharist, according to the rights and ceremonies of the established church, upon every individual capable of holding any office under government. The act of indemnity, it has been said, is equivalent to the total abrogation of this statute; but than this nothing can be more false. It is freely admitted, that a certain description of Dissenters may, and, as there is reason to think, do, conform to it without compunction; but, it is worthy of remark, that between their religious opinions, and those of the established church, the shade of difference is much too minute to merit serious attention. The followers of the Geneva reformer will feel very little interest in the repeal of the Test Laws, while they do not immediately affect themselves. But there are a numerous and highly respectable class of Protestant Dissenters, who, were it not for their religious opinions, would be eligible to political station; and who have never, almost in a single instance, been found to qualify themselves in terms of the statute referred to. No danger need be apprehended from the dissemination of their principles, whether political or religious, as these former are in perfect unison with those of the British constitution, and as the latter have all a re-

ference to the "world to come." Between them and the Catholics there is no similarity. The peaceable principles of the rational Dissenters are become, in a manner, proverbial. Instead of encouraging wars and persecutions, they have all their lives been loudly protesting against both. Moreover, we can depend upon their words and their oaths. They have got no indulgences for dissimulation; nor have they the remotest connection with a foreign head. If the act of indemnity do indeed render the penal laws existing against them obsolete, as is pretended, why are they not expunged from our statute books? But even supposing this should never be the case, why should any one propose to elevate the Catholics so much above them? This is neither reasonable, nor fair, nor just. ——! remain, Sir, with great respect, yours, &c —SIMPLICIUS.—*Aberdeen, 27th March, 1807.*

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

SIR,——Anxious that merit should be the concomitant &c talent, my inclination was prone to the honourable mention of the eminent men who formed the stay and bulwark of the late administration; and, I confess, Sir, I struggled hard in my own mind to have acquitted them with eclat, and to have rescued them from the sable cloud with which you had enveloped them, by the publication of your last week's letter; but, I must admit my efforts were vain, and I am compelled to leave them smarting under the lash of your pen, which though severe, seems just. I was at first dazzled with an apparent dignity softened with conciliation, which seemed to breathe through the speeches of Lords Grenville and Howick, but I was called from my delusion, on considering the position which you so forcibly put, viz. that if the measure they proposed relating to the Catholics (*pestis ero vivens*) were just and necessary, why did ministers offer to relinquish it; and, if it were of a contrary tendency, what must have been the motives which led to its adoption. The position and the inference are too strong for me, with all the warmth of my wishes, to controvert; more particularly when informed (as the late and present ministers have taken care we should be) of the nature of a privy counsellor's, and consequently of a minister's, oath; for if it be the unquestionable duty of a minister, to advise his sovereign to the best of his judgment, unswayed by partiality or interest, it must be also his duty to recede from the office of official adviser to the crown, when those measures which in his judgment he has advised as fit and expedient to be adopted, have the royal sanction refused them: for that advice, to use your language, Mr. Cobbett, "must be worse than useless," which passes by unheeded. If there be an act to be done, a parliamentary measure to be instituted which the safety of the state, or the happiness of the people requires, it is the duty of ministers to advise the executive power to give effect to such a measure; but if the measure be just and expedient it ought to be carried into effect, and the omission or refusal to do so is an injury to the state; to answer for which injury, there must be somewhere a responsibility, and the fundamental maxim and laws of the country designates ministers as the responsible persons. By consequence, therefore, no minister or official adviser can constitutionally continue in office, who has proposed a measure in his conscience advantageous to the state, to which his Majesty, or rather the executive power, refuses an acquiescence. In such predicament did the late ministers stand when the qualified emancipation of the Catholics was proposed, and the royal consent withheld; but they varied from the plain line of conduct which, if I am correct, it was their duty to follow, and offered to capitulate by an abandonment of their plan. To have so capitulated unless convinced of the fallacy of the measure (which they now even positively disavow) was to have been guilty, as it occurs to me, of an indisputably unconstitutional act, and a dereliction of their duty as ministers; and had his Majesty, satisfied with their humiliation, permitted them still to have continued his official advisers, it would have become, I apprehend, the duty of parliament to have humbly addressed his Majesty to have removed them from his counsels; and had not such recommendation had its desired effect, we might have said in the language of a Roman Consul, "Errare cives, si tum senatum aliquid in republicâ posse arbitrabantur." It seems admitted on all sides; by the gentlemen who have left, as well as those who have succeeded to the administration of affairs, that the present state of the country cannot be called a "Bed of Roses;" and as it has been the habit of those in power to weary their auditors with turgid and fulsome eulogiums on the prosperity and stability of the country, we may fairly, I presume, interpret this negative bed of roses, to imply a very uneasy, if not a flinty couch. But, Sir, if the country be so critically situated, if our condition be so truly perilous, what consolation is left us, but the hope that we may have the guardianship and assistance of ministers endued with luminous

minds and inflexible integrity, and who possess the *essential qualification* of an intimate acquaintance with the principles of the constitution. But, Sir, where are our hopes to find a resting place? How are they to be realized, when we find that the very *rudiments* of the constitution are unknown by men, under whose protecting power the country is to be placed? Strange and paradoxical as this may appear, it is, I affirm, incontrovertibly true. Lords Grenville, Howick, and Hawkesbury are at this moment at variance on the mere simple question, of what is the duty of an official adviser of the crown; and yet will these gentlemen take their posts as such advisers with all the firmness of conscious worth. Lord Hawkesbury insists, that for a minister to propose a measure in parliament, to which his Majesty may be averse, is to divide the executive power from the monarch, and to throw an odium on the royal person, which is unconstitutional. Lords Grenville and Howick assert, that a minister has two duties to perform; the one as official adviser, the other as member of parliament; and, that in the latter capacity, a minister may constitutionally propose and advocate a legislative measure, without the approbation of the crown; provided it be not one which falls within the precinct of the ministerial office; how far that ministerial office extending, the noble lords omitting to give us any information. Now, Sir, if it be a maxim well-founded, "that the life of government is REPUTATION," in what a hopeful condition is it now placed, surrounded with dangers, and deprived of its "bed of roses." What rational expectation has the people, I ask, of being relieved from the fearful exigency of the times, when the fundamental principles of government are professedly not understood by those to whom the safety of the state is entrusted? This dispute among his Majesty's late and present ministers is particularly ill timed; "non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit!" it chills the warmth of our expectations, and nothing but the "leprosy of eloquence" could have induced them to have agitated the subject: but as it has been agitated, I will trouble you with a few words relating to it. It is an admitted fundamental maxim of the constitution, "that the king can do no wrong;" a maxim most desireable, and which at once establishes the unbounded loyalty and affection of a people towards their monarch: but the same wisdom which established the maxim, necessarily established, also, that responsibility should attach somewhere; and as it could not attach on those who were unconnected with the acts of the executive power, it became an essential branch of the constitution, that the king should have official advisers, in order that there might be those on whom the responsibility could justly fall. Now, it is a clear and fundamental principle of justice, that no man should be responsible for what he cannot avoid; and of necessity, therefore to make the official advisers of the crown responsible, they must be perfectly free and uncontrouled in their right to advise; and equally free to cease to be such official advisers, when their advice shall be rejected. So long, therefore, as a minister continues in his office, the executive branch must be presumed to have acceded to every recommendation that such minister may have made; for, as it is clear, a minister would be responsible for *omitting* to do, what in his official capacity he found was necessary to be done, it cannot for an instant be supposed, that any minister would continue in office under the penalties of responsibility, when his judgment was either opposed, or in any manner counteracted.—I have deduced the nature, and principles of responsibility thus far, in order that I might satisfy you, Mr. Cobbett, that Lords Hawkesbury, Grenville, and Howick, notwithstanding they differ as to the duty of a minister, are not either of them correct in their ideas of the subject. Lord Hawkesbury says, that for a minister to advocate any measure in the House inimical to the feelings and disposition of his Majesty, (who will probably refuse his concurrence to it) is to throw upon his Majesty an *odium*; which cannot be constitutional: and Lords Grenville and Howick, who under "existing circumstances" denied the truth of that proposition, admitted, however, that it was the duty of a minister not to introduce any measure in parliament which had not his Majesty's previous approbation. Now, both those positions of these political luminaries, are, I contend, Sir, unquestionably fallacious; and the last two noble lords perceived the difficulty of maintaining their proposition, without absorbing the member of parliament in the minister, which, however, upon no principle of sound sense could be supported; and they, therefore, insisted on the individuality of the two characters, though they contended for the accuracy of their proposition. Now, I take it to be quite clear, Mr. Cobbett, that a member of parliament, being minister, holds the two characters perfectly distinct; and that he has a right; and, indeed, it is his *bounden duty*, as a member, to propose in parliament whatever measure he shall think expedient, or that the exigency of the state shall re-

quire; but having so proposed it, if it eventually receive the concurrence of the two Houses of Parliament, the proposer (being at the same time the King's official adviser) would be responsible that the measure should receive the executive sanction; and if his Majesty, in his *undoubted* discretion, should refuse his assent, the consequence of such refusal, being injurious to the state, must of necessity attach on the minister; who in such case, to redeem himself from the consequences, would have no alternative but to resign; as by continuing in office, he could defend himself with no possible exculpation. Now, there is no anomaly I insist in this doctrine; it is as perfectly consistent (apparently to me) with the principles of the constitution, as it is agreeable to the dictates of reason. That a very great, and almost self-evident anomaly prevailed in the mind of Lord Hawkesbury, when he talked of "*throwing an odium*" on the King, cannot I think, admit of doubt; for there can be constitutionally no such thing *as odium attaching on the monarch*; and by making such an assertion, my Lord Hawkesbury, with all due deference to his lordship's wisdom and talents, most satisfactorily established to me, that although he admitted the maxim that the king can do no wrong, he did not really understand it. That he did not do so will clearly appear, when we consider, that to admit that *odium* can be thrown upon his Majesty respecting any parliamentary measure, requires that we should previously admit, that his Majesty may have done that which is wrong; for without a wrong either real or supposed, no man can by *possibility* be the subject of odium; but by the fundamental maxim of the state, the king can do no wrong; the supposition, therefore, that any odium can be reflected on his Majesty, instantaneously vanishes. When the late ministry introduced a measure which they felt necessary to the welfare of the state should be adopted, but to which his Majesty's sanction could not be obtained (and which I for one do most unfeignedly thank his Majesty, for I feel fully persuaded of the truth of that maxim which says, "ubi papa, ibi Roma! in sæcula sæculorum!") it was their duty to have resigned: at the same time, Sir, though the omitting to do so was an indiscretion, they at least deserve our thanks for not entering into the pledge which has been the subject of so much discussion; as such pledge, so long as it had been adhered to, would have struck at the very vitals of the state; for, how can responsibility exist without a freedom of will, and how can such freedom and a pledge be compatible? No argument is necessary to establish that a pledge is inconsistent with the principles of the constitution; but if it be so, how have the present ministry avoided it? Have they not virtually, if not actually, entered into such a pledge? It strikes me as impossible for them to get rid of the charge. If I discharge my servant for refusing to do a particular act which I require of him, and I take another who enters my service with a full knowledge of the cause of my parting with my former one, does he not virtually assent to do the particular act, whatever it may be, for not doing which, I parted with the servant he has succeeded? A tribunal of justice would so decide it. And these gentlemen so jealous lest any *odium* should attach upon their monarch, cannot shield themselves by saying that his Majesty required of Peter what he would *not* require of Paul; because, if Paul and Peter are to fill precisely the same situations, there would be nothing of distributive justice in varying the services required of each. Lord Chatham suggested the expediency of "infusing a portion of new health into the constitution, to enable it to bear its infirmities," but, I should suggest, Sir, as a preliminary measure, the expediency of infusing a portion of new health into the *intellects* of those who have the care of the constitution intrusted to them; for, without that Hygiean valour, I am afraid, Mr. Cobbett, they will not be enabled to say with Augustus, "we found the city of brick, and have left it of marble."

—M. S.—*Lincoln's Inn, March* 31.

CATHOLIC BILL.

SIR;—I am a constant reader and admirer of your Register, and as such, I take the liberty of submitting a few remarks on a subject, upon which at present, I am inclined to differ from you.—In your last Saturday's Register, in treating upon the subject of the king's interference in regard to withdrawing the Catholic Bill, it does appear to me, and it is with the greatest deference that I submit my opinion to your consideration, that you have laid a greater stress of disapprobation upon this supposed interference than the nature of the case will warrant.—The distinction, in the case before us, that I am desirous of establishing, is this, that it would be highly improper and unconstitutional for his majesty to shew his disapprobation, or to make use of his influence, to stop the progress of any Bill brought into Parliament by any individual member, *not in the cabinet*, until it comes before him in its regular and constitutional course, for his sanction or refusal; but that, on the other hand, he is

competent, without infringement of the constitution, to express to his ministers his disapprobation of any bill brought into parliament by them, *as members of the cabinet*, without his previous concurrence.—And the distinction appears obviously this, that he communicates to them his disapprobation, of this their immediate act, as his servants and advisers, and not as members of the legislature; and consequently, that they ought previously to obtain his consent to any bill or measure, concerted as his servants, and intended to be brought into parliament by them; and further, that the king as the head of the cabinet, must be considered as a party to every measure which originates in it; and he has, so far, an undoubted right to be *fully* acquainted, with the nature and extent of the measures *so originating*: in short the king appears in a very considerable degree identified with his cabinet.—If this doctrine should seem to you unsound I have no doubt but the ill consequences which might result from its application, will immediately present themselves to your mind, though at the moment none of any considerable weight, occur to me.—It in fact amounts only to this, that the ministers, *as servants of the king*, ought not to *originate* any bill, known to them as hostile or distressing to his feelings and conscience, without his positive concurrence;—it is their business, first to convince his mind that the measures they propose, are such as he can conscientously assent to, are necessary for the good of the state, and are founded in wisdom and policy. And for this reason, that it would reduce both the king and his ministers, to a most awkward dilemma, were a measure originating in this quarter, to pass both Houses of Parliament, and *afterwards*, to meet with an obstacle in the ultimate sanction of his majesty, with whom (as identified with his cabinet) it would seem, to a certain extent, to have originated.—It therefore follows, if any particular measure so circumstanced, shall appear to the ministers as indispensable to the welfare of the country, they ought without hesitation, as honorable and independant men, rather to resign their situations, and immediately bring it forward as individual Members of Parliament, than abandon any measure which they concieve, to the best of their judgements, calculated to produce an essential benefit to their country.—The distinguishing characteristic of servitude, I take for granted, to be obsequiousness to the will of the master or employer, in a more or less degree, according to the various situations in life. When that ceases, the proper relations between master and man are at an end, and a course of disorder and insubordination follows, totally destructive of the natural order of things. Now, as the ministers are continually calling themselves, the King's servants, they surely do mean to acknowledge, a degree of obsequiousness to his will to a certain extent, as a characteristic of their servitude. And upon this ground, it would seem only decorous on their part, to consult and study his wishes and inclination, in matters of personal and *conscientious* considerations at least, as far as they can consistent with their duty and honor, and when called upon to go further, the remedy is short and straight before them—let them unfetter themselves from all restraint of duty or obedience, as servants of his majesty by the resignation of their places.—I leave to you, Sir, to decide upon the merits and plausibility of the defence of the late ministers, and to determine whether they had or had not obtained his majesty's consent, to the introduction of the Catholic Bill; and shall content myself with expressing one sentiment, (and which I doubt not is become very general, from the experience and insight, now had of their views and inclinations) and which is, that whatever cause may have led to their disgrace and dismissal, I hail it as a happy circumstance to the country at large, and a just reward of their apostacy and shameful dereliction of the principles and professions with which they have amused the country for so many years past.—I trust and hope Mr. Cobbett, that you will not relax your exertions so honorable to yourself, in exposing to the public view whatever may occur in the new, or any succeeding administration, that shall require your admirable animadversions.—I am Sir, &c. C. H. M.—*London 31st March*, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 21.

SIR,——I am one of those unfortunate dogs, whose nature has something in it so repugnant to Greek and Latin, that no time nor labour can make them assimulate. For 7 long years was I incessantly Τυπτω ing it away, and for as long did my worthy preceptor, with Syntax in his left hand, and the birchen twig in his right, assidiously apply them *à priori* and *à posteriori* to my tender parchment, but all in vain. How have I smarted under the lash of Cicero's Eloquence! And I am sure that my blood, which Cæsar has so often shed, will rise hereafter in judgment against him. But, do not imagine, Sir, these years of unsuccessful drudgery have produced no effect. From Alpha to Omega, I hate the classics all; and

it is now in the exultation of my heart, that I congratulate you on the prospect of ultimate success in your undertaking.—Boldly to have planted the standard of revolt, and defied the tyrants even in their strongest fastnesses, was nobly done: at first, I feared to ask whether you survived the daring act, but now I breathe again, and hope one day to revel in the sweets of gratified revenge.—I cannot suppose that you have proclaimed yourself without duly considering the means and strength which your antagonists possess. When I behold their fortifications, which time and folly have for ages past been contributing to render impregnable, they make me tremble. It needs not me to tell you, that these despots are intrenched in Universal Grammar to their teeth: their Auxiliaries are numerous and disciplined: every hero of antiquity will be summoned to furnish his quota. Cohort upon cohort of Latin quotations are embodied. The compact legionaries of Polyglots and Lexicons present an impenetrable front. This is but their first line; behind it range the Grecian Argyraspides in Phalanx. Declensions, Moods, and Tenses sixteen deep, whose innumerable close locked ranks and files extend in long and terrible array. At every pass and interval, redoubts of Commentaries, Notes and Glossaries are raised, between whose embrasures, that murderous Artillery the Parts of Speech, peep out ready to mash the invaders brains to atoms. In presence of such a formidable host I shrink involuntarily appalled. I trust that you are not unacquainted with the temper of this foe. A specimen of the crushing dictatorial authority, whose accumulated weight you will have to contend with, is afforded by your correspondent Scoto Britannicus (No. 19). With all the magnificence of privileged importance, he asserts that from the "Learned Languages" almost all the "Modern Jargons" are derived, without these cannot be understood, and wanting these, that perspicuity, elegance, energy and taste are not to be attained. Now, it must be confessed this *ipse dixit* carries force, when we reflect that all our *English Jargonists*, not omitting Shakespeare and Burns, were so notoriously skilled in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, Etymons and Roots. But, notwithstanding the deadly blows of Johnson's ponderous Vocabulary, and Mr. Dalzel's Latin Mace, I hope, Mr. Cobbett, you will still survive to prove that Scoto's conclusions are not quite conclusive. From the long string of arguments (as he calls them) with which he threatens you, he culls out one "more cogent and unanswerable than all the rest," to terminate his solemn packthread. The cogency of this same argument you will notice when you think fit; meanwhile, I hope when next he condescends to communicate in *English Jargon*, he will explain what "MORE unanswerable" signifies. It is clear this learned Dun—s Scotus can instruct us in all the various *degrees of impossibility*; after which, his readers may or may not, as they deem it expedient, "cover their rears with his reasonings."—But, Sir, have you marked the matchless arrogance of this Trencher Cap. He says, (and he is but the echo of the whole fraternity), unless we can explore with monkey-like facility, each root and branch of their vaunted tree of knowledge, (to me the Bohon-Upas of the understanding) that we are but "pitiful creatures, fit only to scrawl at desks, to keep shops, or to fill the places of ignorant and miserable peasants." Why, what a sweep would this make! For, only trace the inference; nobility, gentility, and worth must fit the iron bedstead of this new Procrustes or chuse among the alternatives he presents—to be clerks or counter men, hewers of stone or drawers of water. I think the cup of their iniquity is full. To you, Sir, the champion of our cause, the vindicator of our wrongs, the asserter of our freedom, we turn with anxious eyes: remember, that nothing but extermination will appease the wrath of the unrelenting tyrants you combat. You have drawn the sword, then throw away the scabbard and advance. I cannot help fondly cherishing the belief, that I shall live to see their overwhelming insolence and scorn repaid with ample vengeance. I long for the day that is to see the lightning of your disquisitions against

"——— these frowzy squadrons hurl'd,
"To rush and sweep them from the world."

For my part, alas! save a few Greek and Latin pellets, I can offer you no assistance, these seven years bondage withered all my pith, nothing but my prayers remain, which, depend upon it, shall be fervently offered up for your success, by your hearty well wisher,

DUNCE.

P. S. After the tide of victory, as you will think it cruel to deprive the hordes you have discomfited, not merely of the means of resistance, but of subsistence, it will then be for the legislature to consider of some way of employing them. Perhaps it may be thought adviseable to allow the superiors and professors, at least a moderate stipend for keeping the best Translations of the Classics in repair. I know it will be a sinecure for each, and that it will make a large addition to our already grievous long list of placemen and pensioners, but it is inconsist-

ent with the generosity of Englishmen to strike a fallen foe; besides, it may be observed, that time, at no remote period, will have reduced them to that number which government may think sufficient for the above-mentioned purpose.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Thirty-six Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Posen, Dec. 1.—The head-quarters of the Grand Duke of Berg were, on the 27th of November, at Lowicz. Gen. Benningsen, who commanded the Russian army, had, in the hope of anticipating the French, entered Warsaw, and pushed forward an advanced guard to take positions along the river Drizura.—On the 26th the out-posts of the respective armies fell in with each other, and the Russians were thrown into confusion. General Beaumont passed the Drizura to Lowicz, killed and wounded several Russian hussars, and made a regiment of Cossacks prisoners, and pursued the enemy to Blonie.——On the 27th some skirmishing took place between the advanced posts of the cavalry of both armies, when the Russians were pursued, and some taken prisoners.——On the 28th, towards evening, the Archduke of Berg entered Warsaw with his cavalry, and on the 29th the corps of Marshal Davoust advanced to the capital. The Russians had retreated over the Vistula, and had burnt the bridge after they had passed. It would be difficult to describe the enthusiasm of the Poles. Our entrance into the capital was quite a triumph, and it is impossible to form an idea of the zeal which the Poles of every rank display.—Patriotism and national spirit have not diminished in the hearts of this people, but have acquired new force amidst misfortune. The most fervent desire, the only wish of the Poles, is to become again a nation. The powerful abandon their castles, and come to implore with earnestness the restoration of their nation, and offer their children, their fortunes, and all their influence towards accomplishing that end. This spectacle is indeed interesting. They have already every where resumed their ancient dress, and their former customs.—Shall the Polish throne be re-established, and shall the great nation secure for it respect and independence? Shall she recall it to life from the grave? God only, who directs all human affairs, can resolve this great political question. But certainly never did more memorable, more important events, arise. From a congeniality of sentiment, which does honour to the French, the few stragglers, who were guilty of excesses in other countries, have experienced so good a reception from the people here, that no severe regulations have been necessary to make them conduct themselves with propriety.—Our soldiers often observe, that the solitary wildernesses of Poland are very different from the smiling fields of their own country—but they immediately add, that the Poles are good. Indeed, the people of this country exhibit themselves in such a light, that it is impossible not to take an interest in their destiny.—The day after this Bulletin was published, namely, the memorable 2d of December, there was addressed, in the name of the Emperor, to the grand army, the following proclamation:

Imperial Head-Quarters at Posen, Dec. 2, 1806.

Soldiers!——A year ago, at this same hour, you were on the memorable field of Austerlitz. The scared cohorts of Russia fled defeated before you, or, surrounded, laid down their arms at the feet of their conquerors. To the moderation, and the (perhaps) blameable generosity, which overlooked the criminality of the third coalition, is the formation of a fourth to be ascribed. But the ally on whose military skill their principal hope rested, is already no more. His principal towns, his fortresses, his forage and ammunition magazines, 280 standards, 700 pieces of cannon, are in our power. Neither the Oder nor the Warta, the Desarts of Poland, nor the rude season of winter, have been capable of arresting for a moment our progress. You have braved all dangers, have surmounted them all, and every enemy has fled on your approach. In vain did the Russians wish to defend the capital of ancient and illustrious Poland. The French Eagles hover over the Vistula. The unfortunate, but brave Poles, on contemplating you, fancy they behold the celebrated legions of the Great Sobieski returning from a military expedition.—Soldiers! We shall not lay down our arms until a general peace has confirmed and secured the power of our allies; until it has restored to our commerce its freedom, and given back to us our colonies. On the Elbe and on the Oder we have re-conquered Pondicherry; all our possessions in India, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. What right has Russia to hope that she shall hold the balance of destiny in her hand? What right has she to expect she should be placed in so favourable a situation? Shall there be a comparison made between

the Russians and us? Are we not then the soldiers of Austerlitz?

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Thirty-seventh Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Posen, Dec. 2.——The following are the particulars of the capitulation of Fort Czentoskaw: 600 men of the garrison, 30 pieces of cannon, and some magazines, have fallen into our hands. A treasure has been found, consisting of a number of valuables which had been dedicated by the Poles to the Holy Virgin, as the tutelary guardian of the country. This treasure the Emperor has ordered to be given up to the original proprietors. —The part of the army at Warsaw remains fully satisfied with the patriotism of the people of that city.—This day the city of Posen gave a ball in honour of his Majesty, who remained present an hour. *Te Deum* was also performed to day, in consequence of its being the anniversary of his Majesty's coronation.

Thirty-eighth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Posen, Dec. 5.——Prince Jerome, who commands the army of the allies, after having closely blockaded Glogau, and caused batteries to be constructed around that place, proceeded with the Bavarian divisions of Wrede and Deroi towards Kalitsch, to watch the Russians, and left General Vandamme and the Wirtemberg corps to continue the siege of Glogau. The mortars, and several pieces of cannon, arrived on the 29th of November; they were immediately placed in battery. After a few hours bombardment, the place surrendered, and a capitulation was signed.——The allied Wirtemberg troops have displayed great gallantry. 2,500 men, considerable magazines of biscuit, corn, powder, nearly 200 pieces of cannon, are the results of this conquest, which is so important, particularly on account of the excellence of the works and the situation of the fortress. It is the capital of Lower Silesia. The Russians have refused battle on this side of Warsaw, and have repassed the Vistula. The Grand Duke of Berg has passed that river in pursuit of them, and has taken the suburb of Praga. The Emperor has consequently given orders to Prince Jerome to advance on his right, towards Breslau, and to invest that place, which must also soon fall into our power. The 7 fortresses of Silesia will be successively attacked and blockaded. When the temper of the troops which are in those places is considered, no one can expect them to make a long resistance.—The little fort of Culmbach, called Plassenburg, has been blockaded by a battalion of Bavarians. Being furnished with provisions for several months, there was no reason to expect that it should have surrendered soon. The Emperor ordered artillery to be prepared at Cronach and Forchein for battering this fort. On the 24th of Nov. 22 pieces of cannon were placed in battery, which determined the governor to surrender the place. M. De Beckers, colonel of the 6th Bavarian regiment of the infantry of the line, who commanded the blockade, displayed much skill and activity in the situation in which he was placed.—By the articles of capitulation of Plassenburgh, the Prussian garrison were to remain prisoners of war, at the disposal of the King of Bavaria The officers to be released on their parole. The sick soldiers to remain till recovered. The invalids to retain their allowances, and to be removed to Bayreuth. All the pictures and genealogical tables relative to the royal family of Prussia, were to be preserved in the depot for the King of Prussia —There were found in Plassenburg, 68 pieces of cannon, 64 quintals of powder, 600 lb. of salt-petre, 400 quintals of lead, 40 quintals of bar iron, 1144 muskets of different kinds, 700 old muskets, 74 carbines, 200 pistols, 200 sabres, 29 pair of old colours, 29 old standards, 46 new standards, 150 cartouche boxes, 8000 flints, 2,700 hedge bills, 8 caissons, 14 trains, 9 forges, 9 kettle drums, &c. &c.—The troops consisted of Major-general Baron d'Uttenhosen, 4 majors, 7 captains, 7 lieutenants, 600 privates of the line, and 150 invalids.

Thirty-ninth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Posen, Dec. 7.——A courier has arrived with intelligence to the Emperor, that the Russians have declared war against the Porte; that Choczim and Bender are surrounded by their troops; that they have suddenly passed the Dneister, and advanced as far as Jassy. It is General Michelson who commands the Russian army in Wallachia. The Russian army, commanded by General Benigzen, has evacuated the Vistula, and seems inclined to bury itself in the interior. —Marshal Davoust has passed the Vistula, and has established his head quarters before Praga. His advanced posts are on the Bug. The Grand Duke of Berg remains at Warsaw. The Emperor still has his head quarters at Posen.

Fortieth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Posen, Dec. 9.—Marshal Ney has passed the Vistula, and entered Thorn on the 6th. He bestows particular encomiums upon Colonel Savary, who, at the head of the 14th reg. of infantry, and the grenadiers and voltigeurs of the 96th, and the 6th light infantry, was the first to pass that river. At Thorn he came to action with the Prussians, whom, after a trifling affair, he compelled to evacuate the place. Some were killed, and twenty made prisoners.—This affair gave occasion to a very singular exploit. The river, 200 roods in breadth, was covered with ice; the vessel occupied by our advanced guard stuck fast and could not be moved, when a number of Polish seamen from the other side of the river evinced a disposition to venture through a shower of balls, in order to get the vessel afloat. In this intention they were opposed by some Prussian sailors, and a battle with fists ensued between them. The Poles succeeded in throwing the Prussians into the water, and brought the French vessel to the other side. The Emperor has inquired respecting the names of these brave fellows, to reward them —This day the Emperor received the deputation from Warsaw, consisting of M. Gutakouski, Grand Chamberlain of Lithuania, Kinight of a Polish Order; Gouzenski, Lieut. Gen., and Lubenski, Knights of the same Order; and Alexander Potocki, Knight of the Orders of St. Stanislaus and Lusweski.

Forty-first Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Posen, Dec. 14 —The General of Brigade Belair, of the corps of Marshal Ney, left Thorn on the 9th, and advanced upon Galup. The 6th battalion of light infantry, and Capt. Schoeni, with 60 men of the third regiment of hussars, met a party of 400 cavalry belonging to the enemy. The two advanced bodies immediately came to an engagement. The Prussians lost an officer and 5 dragoons taken prisoners, and had 30 men killed, whose horses we took. Marshal Ney praises highly the conduct of Captain Schoeni on this occasion.—On the 11th, at 6 in the morning, a cannonade was heard on the side of the river Bug. Marshal Davoust had ordered General Gauthier to pass that river at the mouth of the Urka, opposite the village of Okunin. The 25th of the line and the 89th having passed, were already covered by a *tête-du pont*, and had advanced half a league farther, to the village of Pomikuwo, when a Russian division presented itself, for the purpose of storming the village. Its efforts were useless, and it was repulsed with considerable loss. We had about 20 men killed or wounded.——The bridge of Thorn, which is constructed upon wooden piles, is re-established. They are now busied in re-establishing the fortifications of that town. The bridge from Warsaw to the suburb of Praga is completed: it is a bridge of boats. They are forming an entrenched camp at the suburb of Praga. The General of Engineers Chasseloup, has the chief direction of those works ——On the 10th, the Marshal Augereau passed the Vistula, between Zakroczym and Utrata. His detachments are employed upon the right bank, in covering themselves by entrenchments. The Russians appear to have forces at Pultusk ——Marshal Bessieres advances from Thorn with the second corps of reserve of the cavalry, composed of General Tilly's division of light cavalry, of the dragoons of Generals Grouchy and Sanue, and of the cuirassiers of General Hautpoult. Messrs. Lucchessini and De Zastrow, Plenipotentiaries of the King of Prussia, passed through Thorn on the 10th, to join their Master at Koningsberg.—A Prussian battalion, of the regiment of De Klock, has deserted in a body from the village of Brok: it arrived at our posts by different roads. It is composed partly of Prussians and Poles. All are indignant at the treatment that they receive from the Russians. 'Our Prince,' they say, 'has sold us to the Russians, we will not go with them'——The enemy has burned the fine suburbs of Breslau: many women and children have perished in the flames. Prince Jerome has given succour to those unfortunate inhabitants. Humanity has triumphed over the laws of war, which prescribe, that one should drive back again into a besieged town those useless mouths that the enemy wish to send away. The bombardment has been commenced. General Gouvion is named Governor of Warsaw.

Forty-second Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Posen, Dec. 15 ——The bridge over the Narew, at its confluence with the Bug, is now finished: the *tete-du-pont* is finished, and protected with cannon. The bridge over the Vistula, between Zacreczym and Utrata is also finished: the *tete-du-pont*, protected by batteries, is a formidable work. The Russian armies come in the direction of Grodno and Bielock, along the Narew and the Bug. The head quarters of their

divisions were on the 10th at Poltusk, upon the Narew. General Dulauloi is Governor of Thorn.—The 8th corps of the grand army, commanded by Marshal Mortier, is advancing. Its right is at Stettin, its left at Rostock, and its head quarters at Anclam. The grenadiers of the reserve of General Oudinot are arriving at Custrin. The division of cuirassiers, lately formed under the command of General Espagnac, is now at Berlin. The Italian division of General Lecchi is to join at Magdeburgh. The corps of the Grand Duke of Baden is at Stettin. In 15 days it may be placed in the line. The hereditary Prince has constantly followed the head quarters, and was present at every affair. The Polish division of Zayenscheck, which was organised at Haguenau, is 6000 men strong: it is now at Leipzic, to get its cloathing. His Majesty has ordered a regiment to be raised in the Prussian states, on the other side of the Elbe, which is to assemble at Munster: Prince Hohenzollern Sigmaringen is colonel of that corps.——Peace with the Elector of Saxony, and with the Duke of Saxe Weimar, has been signed at Posen. All the Princes of Saxony have been admitted into the confederation of the Rhine. His Majesty has disapproved of the levy of contributions in the states of Saxe Gotha and Saxe Meinungen: he has ordered the restitution of what has been raised. Those princes who have not been at war with France, and who have not furnished contingents to Prussia, were not subject to war contributions ——The army has taken possession of the country of Mecklenburg. This is a consequence of the treaty signed at Schwerin, on the 25th of Oct. 1805. By that treaty the Prince of Mecklenburgh granted a passage to the Russian troops commanded by General Tolstoy.—The season is astonishing. It does not freeze; the sun appears every day, and it is quite autumn weather.—The Emperor sets out this night for Warsaw.

Forty-third Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Kutno, Dec. 17.—The Emperor has arrived at Kutno, at four o'clock in the afternoon, after having travelled all night in the calochees (a sort of carriage) of the country, as the thaw makes it impossible to travel in the common carriages. The caloche in which Duroc, Grand Marshal of the Palace, travelled, was overturned. That officer has been severely hurt in the shoulder, but his hurt is not dangerous. This accident will oblige him to keep his bed for eight or ten days.—The *têtes-du-pont* of Praga, of Zakroczym, of Narew, and of Thorn, are acquiring every day a greater degree of strength. The Emperor will arrive at Warsaw to-morrow.—The Vistula being extremely broad, the bridges are every where 3 or 400 toises in length, which makes the labour very considerable.

Forty-fourth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Warsaw, Dec. 21.—Yesterday the Emperor inspected the works of Praga, where 8 fine redoubts, with palisadoes, bastions, &c. inclose a space of 1500 toises, and form, upon the whole, the entrenched camp.—The Vistula is one of the largest rivers in the world. The Bug, though considerably smaller, is still larger than the Seine. The bridge over the Bug is completed. Gen. Gauthier, with the 25th and 85th regiments of infantry occupies the *tête du pont*, which Gen. Chasseloup has fortified with great skill: so that this *tête du pont*, which is nearly 400 toises in extent, together with the morasses and the river, inclose an entrenched camp which is capable of covering the whole army upon the right bank, and protecting it from any attempt by the enemy. A brigade of the light cavalry of the reserve has skirmishes with the Russian cavalry every day.—On the 18th Marshal Davoust felt the necessity of strengthening and improving his camp upon the right bank of the river, and likewise occupying a small island at the mouth of the Urka. The enemy perceived the convenience of this post, and a heavy fusillade immediately commenced between the advanced posts; however, the conquest of the island remained with the French. Our loss consisted of a few wounded. The officer of the engineers, Clouet, a young man of great promise, received a ball in the breast.—On the 19th, a regiment of Cossacks, assisted by the Russian hussars, endeavoured to surprise the picquet of light cavalry at the *tête du pont* of the Bug; but the picquet had taken such a position as secured it against any surprise. The first regiment of hussars, and a colonel, with a squadron of the 13th, immediately coming to the assistance of the picquet, the enemy were thrown into confusion. In this trifling affair we had 3 or 4 men wounded, but the colonel of the Cossacks was killed and thirty men; 25 horses fell into our hands. There are no men so wretched and cowardly as the Cossacks; they are a scandal to human nature. They pass the Bug, and violate the Austrian neutrality every day, merely to plunder a house.

in Gallicia, or to compel the inhabitants to give them brandy, which they drink with great avidity. But since the late campaign, our cavalry is accustomed to the mode of attack made use of by these wretches, and notwithstanding their numbers, and their hideous cry on these occasions, they await them without alarm, and it is well known that 2000 of these wretches are not equal to the attack of a squadron of our cavalry.——Marshal Augereau passed the Vistula at Utratta. General Laivesse entered Plonsk, after drawing out the enemy.——Marshal Soult passed the same river at Vizogrod——Marshal Bessieres was at Kikol on the 18th, with the second corps of the cavalry of reserve. His advanced guard is at Serpez. There have been several affairs between our cavalry and the Prussian hussars, of whom a great number have been made prisoners. The right bank of the Vistula is quite cleared.——Marshal Ney, with his light corps, supports Marshal Bessieres: and his right, at the same time, extends to that under the command of Marshal the Prince of Ponte Corvo.—Thus every corps is in motion, and if the enemy remains in his position, a battle will take place in a few days. With God's help, the issue cannot be uncertain. The Russian army is commanded by Gen. Kamenskoy, an old man about 75 years of age. The Generals Buxhowden and Benningsen command under him.—General Michelson has, beyond a doubt, penetrated into Moldavia, and there are accounts that he arrived at Jassy on the 29th of Nov. We are assured that his generals took Bender by storm, and put every one to the sword. Here behold war declared against the Porte without reason or pretext! But at St. Petersburgh it was thought that the moment had arrived when France and Prussia, the two powers who had the greatest interest in preserving the independence of the Porte, being at war, was the most favourable period for subjugating the Turkish empire. Still the events of one month have defeated that project, and to these events the Porte shall be indebted for its preservation.—The Grand Duke of Berg has a fever, but he is better. The weather is as mild as at Paris in the month of October, but rainy, which makes it inconvenient. We have taken measures for the delivery of a sufficient quantity of wine, in order to support the vigour of the troops.—The palace of the King of Poland, at Warsaw, is a fine edifice, and well furnished. There are several noble palaces and private houses in this city. Our hospitals are well established, which is no small advantage in this country. The enemy seems to have a number of sick; they also lose greatly by deserters; and of the Prussians we hear nothing, for even whole corps of them have deserted, to avoid that continual contempt which they might expect among the Russians.

Forty fifth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Pulusky, Dec. 27.—The Russian General Benningsen had the command of an army which was estimated at 60,000 men. At first he intended to cover Warsaw; but he took a lesson from the intelligence of the occurrences which had taken place in Prussia, and determined to retreat towards the Russian frontiers. Without having been compelled almost to fight a single battle, the French entered Warsaw, passed the Vistula, and occupied Praga. In the mean time Field Marshal Kamenskoy joined the Russian army, just at the moment when General Benningsen's corps formed a junction with that under Buxhowden. He was indignant at the retreat of the Russians, conceiving that it tended to sully the honour of his country's arms, and he accordingly made a movement in advance—Prussia remonstrated with the most earnest importunity; and complained, that after all the promises of support made to her, she was abandoned; representing, that the way to Berlin was not by Grodno, Olita, or Brezse; that her subjects had began to abate in their zeal for their sovereign; and that the habit of beholding the throne of Berlin in the possession of the French was dangerous to him and favourable to the enemy. The Russians not only ceased their retrograde movement, but they again began to advance. On the 5th of December General Benningsen moved forward his head-quarters to Pultusk. The orders issued were to prevent the French from passing the Narew, to retake Praga, and to occupy the banks of the Vistula, until the moment when more important offensive operations could be adopted.—The junction of Generals Kamenskoy, Buxhowden, and Benningsen, was celebrated at the Palace of Sierock with rejoicings and illuminations, which were descried from the steeples of Warsaw. Nevertheless at the moment when the enemy were cheering themselves with festivals, the Narew was passed. 800 Frenchmen having suddenly crossed that river at its junction with the Ukra, entrenched themselves the same night; and when the enemy appeared next morning, with the intention of forcing them back into the river, they found themselves

too late. The French were secure against every event. Being informed of this change in the enemy's operations, the Emperor left Posen on the 10th; at the same moment he put his Army in motion. Every report which had been received of the movements of the Russians gave him to understand that they designed to resume offensive operations. Marshall Ney had been for several days master of Thorn: he united the different corps of his army at Gallup. Marshall Bessieres, with the second corps of the cavalry of reserve, consisting of the divisions of dragoons of Sahuc and Grouchy, and the division of Hautpoult's cuirassiers, marched from Thorn to proceed to Blezun. The Marshal Prince of Ponte Corvo marched with his corps to support them. Marshal Soult passed the Vistula opposite Plock; and Marshal Augereau passed at Znckrocyn, where the utmost exertson was made to establish a bridge. The same activity was exerted in constructing that on the Narew. On the 22d the bridge on the Narew was completed. All the reserve of cavalry instantly passed the Vistula at Prega, on their march to the Narew, where Marshal Davoust had collected the whole of his corps. At one o'clock in the morning of the 23d the Emperor set out from Warsaw, and passed the Narew at nine On reconnoitring the Ukra, and the considerable entrenchments thrown up by the enemy, he ordered a bridge to be thrown across at the confluence of the Narew and Ukra.—By the zeal of the General of Artillery, the bridge was completed in two hours.

Forty-sixth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Golymin, Dec. 23.——Marshal Ney, charged with executing the manœuvres by which he was to drive the Prussian Lieut. Gen. Lestocq from Wrka, to outflank him, and by these means to cut off his communications with the Russians, has executed these movements with his accustomed ability and intrepidity. On the 23d, Gen. Marchand's division moved to Gurrzno. On the 24th, the enemy was pursued to Kunzbrock. On the 25th the division came to an action, by which the enemy's rear suffered some loss. On the 26th, the enemy having collected at Soldau and Miawa, Marshal Ney was determined to advance and attack him. The Prussians were in possession of Soldau, with 6000 infantry, and about 1000 cavalry, and, being defended by morasses and other obstacles about the place, they thought themselves secure against any attack. All these difficulties, however, were surmounted by the 69th and 76th regiments. The enemy defended themselves in all the streets of the place, and where every where driven with fixed bayonets. Gen. Letoscq, observing the small number of the troops that had attacked him, wished to retake the place. In the course of the night he made four successive attacks, without effect. He afterwards retired to Neidenburg. Six pieces of cannon, some colours, and a great number of prisoners are the effects of this affair at Soldau. Marshal Ney praises Gen. Vonderweldt, who was wounded. He also makes particular mention of Col. Brunn, of the 69th, whose behaviour was highly encouraging. On the same day the 59th marched to Lauterburg. During the action at Soldau, Gen. Marchand's division drove the enemy from Miawa, where also a great action took place. Marshal Bessieres had already taken possession of Biezun, with the second corps of cavalry, on the 19th. The enemy feeling the importance of this post, and observing that the left wing of the French army wished to cut the Prussians off from the Russians, made an attempt to retake the place; this gave rise to the engagement at Biezun. On the 23d, at o'clock, the enemy approached by various ways, Marshal Bessieres had placed the only two companies of infantry he had upon the bridge; when seeing the enemy approach in great numbers, he ordered General Grouchy to advance with his division to meet them. The enemy had already made himself master of the village of Carmeden, into which he had already thrown a battalion of infantry. Being attacked by General Grouchy's division, the enemy's line was soon broke; the Prussian infantry and cavalry, 9000 strong, were thrown into confusion, and driven into the morasses. Five hundred prisoners, five pieces of cannon, and two standards, are the fruits of this attcak. Marchal Bessieres bestows the highest encomiums upon General Grouchy. General Rouget, and his Chief of the Staff General Roussel; Renie, the Chef d'Escadron of the 6th dragoons, distinguished himself. M. Launay, Captain of the select company of that regiment, is killed.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"There hath been, within the compass of a few years, much talk, and God knows, too many ill effects "too, of Factions in this kingdom; and we have lived, in our days, to see the two great Parties, of late "known by the names of WHIG and TORY, directly change the ground; and those, who were formerly "the Anti-Courtiers, become as pliant and obsequious, as ever they were who had been the most found "fault with on that score. But, we are humbly of opinion, that, at this time of day, neither of those "Parties have the game in their hands as they have formerly perhaps fancied to themselves. But they "who shall be so honest, and so wise, constantly to prefer the true Interest of England to that of any "other country or people, preserve the Religion and the Laws, and thriftily and providently administer "the public Treasure; that Body, whomsoever it shall be composed of, shall have the Weight of England "on its side; and if there can be any of another frame, they must, in the end, prove so many ROTTEN "REEDS."——Preface to Lord Clarendon's History, p. ix.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—The war upon the Continent, in which England has now no more real interest, than she has in the wars of Tartary or Hindostan, affords abundant matter for newspaper and coffee-house speculation; and the "victories" of General Beningsen seem to have gone almost to the producing of illuminations in London. Yet, for the life of me, I can discover no victories that he has gained, except upon the principle of Ralpho, that, "when the fight becomes a chace, he wins the day that wins "the race." We are told by the Courier newspaper, and, indeed, by all its fellow labourers, that the recent *Message* of Napoleon to the Senate, accompanied with *a project of a law*, is a proof that his army is wasted, and that he entertains great apprehensions even for his personal safety. In speaking of the Senate the Courier gives way to an expression of indignant feeling truly worthy of an English writer. "That *wil-* "*ling instrument of tyranny*," says he, "the *Senate*, has been convoked, and a "Message from Buonaparté laid before "them, with the report of the minister of "war;" and he adds, "that the necessity "of passing the law was urged by the *ora-* "*tors of government*," whereupon the thing was done, of course, without even any sham debating about it. I was so forcibly struck with this passage of the Courier, that I had half a mind to take it for a motto to this sheet; and, after all, if I have preferred my Lord Clarendon, it has been merely for my respect for antiquity. Nothing in the world, that ever was, yet thought of, nothing that could be invented by the most wicked of men; nothing that any one who had sworn incessant and implacable enmity to the human race, nothing that the devil himself could invent, ever was, or ever could be, a more efficient instrument in the hands of a tyrant, than a senate corrupted to the core, no matter by what means, assuming the forms of deliberation, but having, in fact, no free voice, and being, in reality, the mere tools of the ruler, made use of by him for the base purpose of causing the people to believe that there is some check upon his authority. What! "*a Project of a Sena-* "*tus Consultum!*" That is to say, of an *Act* or *Law*; and this sent, ready cut and dry, by the ruler in chief to the senate! The senate thereupon pass it, without, perhaps, the ceremony of putting it to the vote, and of extracting a half-articulated *aye* from a dozen or two of the drowsy hirelings present! This they call a proof of their liberty, do they? This they call deliberation, and the passing of laws? And yet, if I mistake not, these same law-givers were assembled in consequence of what they termed *an election!* Insulting mockery! To call such a set of vile instruments, bribed by the executive power, no matter by what means, the representatives of the people! A sheer, undisguised despotism is not half so bad, not half so galling, as this mockery of legislation and representation. Why not issue the "Se-"natus Consultum," or decree, or act, or law, or whatever the accursed thing ought to be called, from the closet of the ruler at once? Why send it to be cried *aye* to by a set of fellows, who, as all the world knows, *must* cry *aye* to it, be it what it may? Oh! there is a very good reason for it. The sending of it through this corrupted channel causes the attention of the people to be distracted; it confuses them as to the origin of it; their resentment is enfeebled in seeking for the proper object; some of the most foolish of them are amused by the despicable ceremony; while the innumerable swarm of dependents of the ruler and of the gang of

plunderers, by whom he is surrounded, preach up the necessity of obedience to *the law*. In short, a degraded and corrupted senate seems to be the only means, by which a nation can be completely enslaved, and rendered contented, or, at least, perfectly passive under its slavery.——But, though I agree with the writer in the Courier thus far; though I am but too well convinced of the truly diabolical tendency of such a senate, I am far from being convinced, that the Message of Napoleon is a satisfactory proof, or, indeed, any proof at all, that Napoleon finds himself in embarrassed circumstances; for, have we not, within the last seven years, seen the conscription anticipated several times? And, have we not constantly seen, that the French have called forth their troops in the hour of victory with even more activity than in the hour of defeat?——I have bestowed common attention, at least, upon the accounts from Poland; and I cannot perceive any ground for supposing, that Napoleon will not effect the objects, which he has always evidently had in view, namely, the annihilation of the military power of Prussia, the independence of Poland, the shutting of Russia out of the South of Europe. I may be deceived; but, I wish not to *deceive myself*; and, therefore, until I see some solid reason for hoping, that Russia will be able to make head against him, I shall be very careful to abstain from encouraging such a hope, in any of those readers, who may think my opinion worth attending to.——To form an estimate of Napoleon's "alarms," as the Courier calls them, we have only to observe, that the ground of one of them is, *England's* extraordinary levy of *two hundred thousand men*, not one of whom has, after almost a year's talking about it, yet made his appearance at the drilling place; and, the utmost that this "extraordinary levy" is intended to do, is, to learn as much of the art of war as it is possible to learn, under the joint command and instruction of serjeants and constables, in the space of about three or four hours in a day, for twenty four days in the year, that is to say, about fifty or sixty hours all together. Napoleon must know all this full as well, if not rather better, than our king's ministers know it; and, therefore, I leave the reader to guess how real his "alarms" are, seeing that this "extraordinary levy" is the subject of one of them.——The truth is, that the language of the Message of the Emperor and King is exactly the language that has been held by him in all his communications to his senate, and which communications are intended much more for the purpose of producing effect in Germany and in England than in France. They *amuse*; and that is the chief object. They draw off men's attention from his great designs of conquest. We see, that this present Message has had that effect with us. The newspapers are exulting at his embarrassments; they are anticipating his reverses and his final overthrow, instead of keeping the mind of the nation steadily fixed upon his design of conquering us, and upon the means of preventing his success. They have, any time these six months, been telling us, that the Germans were ready to rise upon the French and cut their throats, the moment they should be defeated by the Russians, and compelled to retreat. I never believed a word of this; and my sincere opinion is, that there is not a state in Germany, where the French were not welcome guests, and where, such is the feeling of the people (a most *perverse* feeling, no doubt), that they would rather be under the French than under their former rulers. We have been constantly told of insurrections against the French; and we have never yet seen one real insurrection against them. With false accounts and false prophecies we shall be amused to the last; to the very hour, I fear, that the enemy will land upon our shores. ——An instance of this propensity to fabricate falsehoods to deceive us, relative to these matters, we have recently witnessed in the history of "the bombardment of "Constantinople," and "*the treaty*" resulting from it. Whence could that falsehood have proceeded? With whom could it have originated? Its source, doubtless, was, the sanguine imaginations of those, who conduct our newspapers, who first deceive themselves, and then deceive us. The mischief that this deception, this system of deception, I may call it, does in the country, is not to be described. When the famous lie about the grand defeat of the French was circulated, some time back, the commanders of volunteer corps, with a degree of discretion truly characteristic of them, called out their troops, in many places, and announced to them the glorious event. The particular object in doing this it is not very easy to guess at, unless, indeed, the representing of their enemy as destroyed was regarded as likely to insure their future zealous attention to their duty; but, we may be pretty certain, that the representation has never been contradicted; so that these "defenders of the country" have, ever since that time, slept sound in the confident hope, that it wanted no defence.——The

writers of the newspapers are continually talking about the "salvation of Europe." The partizans of the late ministry tell us, that the Whigs, being engaged in the "salvation of Europe," had no time to think of their former pledges to England; while the partizans of the present ministry affirm, that their predecessors did nothing at all for "the salvation of Europe;" but, none of them ever tell us *what they mean by* "the salvation of Europe." If we were to guess at their meaning, however, we might suppose it to be, that by overthrowing Napoleon, and by placing the Continent in the same state in which it was previous to the year 1790, Europe would be *saved*. Saved *from what?* What would it be saved from? That is the question. Why John Bowles and his associate Redhead would answer, that it would be saved from *Jacobinism*. But, then, again, *what is* Jacobinism? Is it despotism? Is it a loss of liberty and property and personal safety? The trade of Anti-Jacobinism has been a thriving one with John Bowles and Redhead; but what has the nation got by it? Napoleon, however, is no Jacobin and Leveller. He has a senate as subservient as even John Bowles could wish; and though he is not quite mean enough to have recourse to sham deliberations amongst his senators, no one can accuse him of suffering the people to have any more weight in the government than the crows and magpies have. Why, then, should John Bowles dislike him, who talks as eloquently and as sincerely about "regular government, social order, and our "holy religion" as John himself? It is, to superficial observers, the strangest thing in the world to hear John Bowles railing against *the Emperor and King*, whose sacred person we might, on the contrary, expect him to revere. Aye, as Emperor and King; as despot; as the ruler of a venal and subservient senate; as the grinder of a passive people; as the stifler of the press; as the ear-clipper, the transporter, or the hanger of every man who dares to promulgate political truths; as all these John likes him well enough; but, John has, thanks to Pitt, a snug little revenue out of the taxes of England, and, if the Emperor and King were to conquer all Europe, he might afterwards conquer England, in which case John might (though I see no reason for it) lose that revenue. My opinion is, and always has been, that, if Napoleon were to conquer England, which I trust, the sense and courage of the independent part of the nation will always prevent, the favourites of the conqueror would be those who now most ravenously prey upon the people. But, these are a prudent race. They always prefer a certainty to an uncertainty; and, therefore, it is perfectly natural, that they should be so anxious for "the salvation of Europe," which, being fairly interpreted, means the salvation of their own emoluments. They have no feeling in common with the mass of the people; their minds take a totally different turn; and though we, too, may pray for the lessening of Napoleon's power, our motive must be different from theirs, or it is worth but very little indeed.——"The salvation of Europe," to be worthy of our solicitude, must embrace something more than the mere object of transferring the people of the several states back to their former masters; and, unless we are satisfied, that the retransfer would be productive of happiness to those people, we should be very careful how we pray for it. Perhaps John Bowles may be able to give us satisfaction upon this head; but, until he, or some one of his worthy coadjutors think proper to indulge us so far, we shall act wisely in restraining our anxiety for the salvation of Europe, and confine it to the salvation of England, the means of insuring which have not, I am afraid, engaged much of John Bowles's attention, except, indeed, in the case of his pamphlet against the thinness of petticoats, handkerchiefs, and stomachers, or rather, against the total absence of these latter articles of female attire. John's morality is sound and good; and, though not very forcibly urged, has nothing objectionable in it. But, Mr. Bowles, it is strange, that, in observing so justly upon the flagrant vices of the times, you should never, even by accident, have mumbled upon the *cause* of them. It is strange, that, when you saw a flood of vice breaking through the ancient dams of the constitution, you should have gone, with your thimble-like pail, to lade it out of the distant rivulets. You complain of the execrable scenes in the metropolis; you complain of the luxury, the prodigality, the debasing effeminacy, the insulting disregard of all decency in the displaying of these to the world; but, while you do this, you stigmatize, as Jacobins and Levellers, as sworn enemies to "regular government, social order, and our holy religion," all those who wish to see a change in that system, by which forty millions a year of the earnings of the people are collected, and distributed into hands, through which they naturally pass to the metropolis, and where they as naturally produce all the vices of which you complain. Some of your

follow-placemen, or place-hunters, who do not happen to be taken with a pious turn, call them, not *vices*, but the marks of a "*highly polished state of society*;" and, it must be confessed, that, if the regular increase of pauperism amongst the many, and of splendour amongst the few, be such marks, we are, in point of *polish*, the envy of the world.——Leaving to your sagacity to find an application of this to the subject of the continental war, and hoping that it may lead you to view the probable events of that war with an eye more philosophical than you have hitherto surveyed them with, I shall now proceed to matters more immediately interesting to us.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.——Since my last observations upon these proceedings, some uncommonly hard debates have taken place in both Houses.——On Monday, the 13th instant, a motion was made, in the House of Lords, by Lord Stafford, similar to the motion of Mr. Brand, in the House of Commons, when, upon a division, there appeared for the motion, 90, and 171 against it, leaving the late ministry still further behind than before.——On Thursday, the 16th instant, MR. LITTLETON made, in the House of Commons, a motion in the following words: "That this House, consi-" dering a firm and efficient administration " as essentially necessary at the present " crisis, feels the deepest regret at the late " change in his Majesty's Councils."—— Upon a division, there appeared 198 for the motion, and 244 against it; and thus the late ministers were left in a still decreasing minority, though Mr. Littleton failed not to remind the House, that of those acts of the late ministers, which he now called upon the House to approve in a lump, the House had, almost unanimously before approved of in detail. But, this honourable gentleman does not appear to have considered, that, the House having already approved of them was the very best of all reasons for their looking upon it as unnecessary to approve of them again; for, as to the trifling circumstance of the ministers being *before in place* and *now out of place*, that could, of course, have no weight at all. Mr. Littleton dwelt much upon the publication of the famous minute of Council, which he is reported to have said, "had been committed to *venal jour-*" *nalists* by perjured councillors;" and, though I shall say nothing upon the latter point, I am, I must confess, glad to hear it acknowledged in parliament, that there are such persons as "venal journalists."—— MR. WARD (not Robert) made a speech, from which I must insert an extract, as it contains most valuable matter. He said, that " he regretted the late change in his majes-" ty's counsels, as we thereby lost a wise, a " patriotic, and an efficient government, " and because it was replaced by one directly " the reverse in almost every point. The " merits of the late ministers had already " been stated in detail, but he would just " remind the house of the steps that had " been taken with respect to the public ex-" penditure, of the plan of finance that had " been brought forward, and of the abuses " that had been corrected, at the expense " of diminishing their patronage. This plan " had produced the most sensible effects, it " had *diminished the confidence of the ene-*" *my*, and raised that of the country; it had " *saved us from new taxes for some years.* " He was not saying that it would do so in " the hands of the present ministers; and " by *that means alone, they had done more* " *than any one act of any administration* " *whatever, to keep up the spirits of the* " *people*, and secure the confidence of our " friends abroad. In the hands of the pre-" sent ministers indeed it might fail of its " object. Millions might be wasted for the " purpose of rousing unwilling cabinets to " arms. English gold, or in other words, " *English labour, and English misery*, would " be applied to bring about another battle " of Austerlitz, *which our bulletin manu-*" *facturers might again convert into splendid* " *victories*, and he hoped that the manufac-" turer would be brought up from the Ad-" miralty Court to the Foreign Office by a " special retainer for the purpose. So many " plans of finance had been proposed by the " friends of the Chancellor of the Exche-" quer, that he, with great prudence, per-" haps, had taken none of them. The late " ministers were anxious to reduce the ex-" penditure at the expense of their power— " they set their faces against abuses, and " they were too sparing of the public money " not to experience *the enmity of all rob-*" *bers, and the whole of the vermin that* " *lived on the public plunder*. These *wretches* " were in the utmost terrors when they " observed the diligence of the late minis-" ters in their inquiries, and their ardour in " detecting and punishing delinquents. But " the change had relieved them from all " their fears—they now raised their heads " and rejoiced—*the good old times were re-*" *turned*. The golden age was come again, " and the present ministers were sensible of " the advantage which they had, in this re-" spect, over their rivals, and they were de-" termined to make use of it. With what " satisfaction must this description of per-

"sons look to the restoration of a noble lord "to the situation of a privy councillor, "whose defence, standing in this house "(though it was a confession rather than a "defence) was, that he had expended ten "thousand pounds of the public money, of "which he would render no account to the "constitutional guardians of the public "purse? What a glorious set-off was this "to the Committee of Finance and others, "which the gentlemen on the other side, if "he might judge from the smile on their "faces, would perhaps say were appointed *for the sake of patronage!* "What a glorious set-off was it against "these committees which had brought "abuses and defaulters to light, and, "*he hoped* to punishment, and which were "in the way of doing a great deal more "good of the same nature! What a satisfaction must this be to those who acted in "this affair in opposition to the people, and "to the dignity of the house of commons! "and how gratifying must his restoration "be to those who advised his majesty to "admit him again to his councils, with "the resolutions of the 8th of April still "on the journals of the house! The present administration, with few exceptions, "consisted of those who had attempted to "screen the person alluded to from censure "and punishment; and now, therefore, the "fear of rigid inquiry was past."——This was, as far as I have quoted it, an excellent speech; but, the whig partizans must give them up, or fall into inconsistencies. Mr. Ward, in the former part of his speech, attempted an apology for *withdrawing the bill*; and he talked about *better times*, when resigning at once would have been preferable. His words, as given in the report, were these: "In better times (he did not "allude to the Brentford mob, the Corresponding Society, or any thing of that "kind; but to the sense of all the people "who were not mere creatures of the "court) in better times it would have been "considered as more proper for the ministers to have retired when they were compelled to abandon the Catholic Bill, and "not to have waited for the last disgrace "which was preparing for them. If they "had done that he would have stood by "them. But, *perhaps*, there was *something in the times*, prejudices raised by "the French Revolution, which, by a *reaction*, prevented the progress of real religion and toleration, by operating on "men's fears, which would have rendered "this an imprudent step This was the "consideration, he was well assured, that "weighed with the late ministers, and *not* "*the desire of continuing in office.*"—— What had the "*Brentford mob*" to do with this? They said nothing about Catholic emancipation. And, as to the language of Sir Francis Burdett, it has always been precisely that of Mr. Ward in the above extract. Mr. Ward talks of the exportation of English gold, or, "in other words, English *labour*;" Mr. Ward says, that the only true way of raising the spirits and securing the confidence of the people, is to diminish the taxes that press upon them; Mr. Ward talks of "*robbers* and *vermin* "who live on the *public plunder*," and says, "these *wretches* were in the utmost terrors "at the prospect of an examination into "their delinquencies." Has not Sir Francis Burdett always said precisely the same? And have we not always seen him assailed by "*these wretches?*" Why, then, should Mr. Ward call *his* hearers *a mob?* Mob as they were Mr. Ward never saw them applauding Sir Francis to-day, and hissing him to-morrow. Mob as they were they did not shift from side to side like the winds in April. If, indeed, for the sake of base lucre, they had turned their backs to-day upon the very man and the very principles that they had cheered but yesterday, then Mr Ward might justly have denominated them a mob, and a vile mob too, however small or however large their numbers, in whatever vestments clad, or called by whatever names——As to the allusions to Lord Melville, they might have passed without any observation from me; but, Mr. Ward chose, in the latter part of his speech, to follow the example of Lord Howick and his colleagues, and to *eulogise Pitt*, who lent, not *ten* thousand, but *forty* thousand pounds of that very same money (for the misapplying of which Lord Melville was impeached) to Boyd and Benfield, two members of the then parliament, without interest, though the public paid them interest for that money. This he did without the consent of parliament; without the knowledge of his colleagues; without making any minute of the transaction; and, when the fact was *detected* by the Commissioners, the late ministers, then in the opposition, moved a *bill of indemnity* for him, at the very moment that they were impeaching Lord Melville; and when Pitt died, they joined most heartily in a vote to make the people pay his debts "*upon the score of his* "*MERITS!*" Let Mr. Ward find a justification for this; let Mr. Ward tell us why he eulogizes Pitt; and we then may join him, perhaps, in what he says against those who have advised the re-introduction of Lord,

Melville into the Council; but, not until then will a man of us join him; and, though he seems not to think that this is the sentiment of *the people*, he may be assured, that it is the sentiment of every really independant man in England.——Mr. HAWKINS BROWN followed Mr. Ward, who in one part of his speech had drawn a ludicrous picture of the calling of Mr. Perceval from the bar to preside at the board of finance, to which Mr. Brown most triumphantly replied by observing, "that that *great and illustrious man*, "*Mr. Pitt* (the very words made use of by Mr. Ward) "quitted the study of the law for "the study of finance, and that, surely, the "same might be done by Mr. Perceval, who "had the further advantage of having al-"ways been in habits of intimacy with that "great man." He might have added, too, that Lord Grenville quitted the study of the law for that of finance; and, indeed, this is miserable cavilling against Mr. Perceval, who, if he had been a country-gentleman, would have been twitted of quitting the plough for the seals of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. It is the *place*, with its attendant power and emolument; it is the being in this place when others wish to be in it, that constitutes, in their eyes, the whole of the incongruity. Why not, as Mr. Hawkins Brown asked, why not be Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as Pitt? He can make speeches if not quite so loud, full as long and as good as those of Pitt; he can make loans as well; he can bring in bills as well; he has the same office, the same power, the same patronage; as to majorities, he has a greater at this time than Pitt had when he first came into office; and, if he wants a greater still, he has the example of "that illustrious "statesman" before his eyes, which example, in this respect at least, he will, doubtless, follow.

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT——My readers will do me the justice to remember, that, at the first dawn of the late change, I foresaw, that His Majesty would again, with his usual paternal goodness, be graciously pleased to give his people an opportunity of re-chocsing, or of rejecting their representatives; and this, if I am rightly informed, he will do about the middle of next month. Of my sentiments upon this subject the reader is already in possession; and so unequivocal are the advantages of an election, to the people at least, that I should suppose there are very few persons, unconnected with the late ministry, who must not rejoice at the prospect. To choose our representatives is amongst the most precious of our rights. It is our great franchise; and, can there be a voter in the whole kingdom, who objects to have an occasion to exercise it? Can the exercise of it come too often? Yet, for expressing a sentiment of this sort, I have been most cruelly treated by Mr. Perry, who calls me a Jacobin and Leveller, because I wish to see the people exercise this inestimable right as often as may be. The Whigs, the great clamourers for a reform of parliament, proposed, amongst other things, to *shorten the duration* of parliaments, and some of them, amongst whom was Mr. Tierney, went so far as to propose *annual* parliaments; yet, if the newspapers speak truth, as probably they may in their reports of debates, the Whigs now consider the mention, on the part of Mr. Canning, of an appeal to the people, as a terrifying threat. One would think, to hear their outcries, that he had threatened to blow them all up with gunpowder, after the manner of Guy Fawkes; and, it is particularly to be observed, that Mr. Tierney is represented as being one of the loudest in this outcry, and as having said, that, though the prerogative of dissolving is undoubted, yet that the House of Commons has a right to be informed of, or to inquire into, the causes of it. Now, mark the consistency of this doctrine, according to which the king is to appeal to the House upon the question of changing his ministers, which ministers, observe, make part of the House, but he is not to appeal to the people, that is to say, to the choosers of the House. These are pretty decent principles for parliamentary reformers! But, it is Mr. Perry, the great Whig champion, and, only the other day, the staunch friend of "regular government, social order, and "our holy religion;" it is this gentleman, whose language is most worthy of notice, and, I must say it, of reprobation. It will be remembered, that amongst the sentiments and opinions that I lately quoted from him, were those of profound respect for, and implicit confidence in, the present House of Commons, who, as he positively asserted, had been chosen as fairly as any House of Commons ever had been, since parliaments had existed in England, and who, as he also asserted, would not fail to support the late ministers against the new ones. Now, supposing the former assertion to have been true, it follows, of course, that parliaments never were fairly chosen since their existence, or, that the late parliament was fairly chosen. If the former, then what becomes of the doctrine of Blackstone and Paley, and what becomes, too, of the profound respect of Mr. Perry?

If the latter, which was evidently his meaning, then the present House of Commons are the real representatives of the people; and, as that House contains a majority against the late ministers, the conclusion is, that the people, truly so called, prefer the present ministers to the late ministers. But, it was in the latter assertion, the assertion that the House would support the late ministers; it was here that Mr. Perry was deceived; and this may, I hope, teach him to qualify his assertions. He should have said: "the present House was as fairly "chosen as any house that ever existed, "*if they continue to support the men who* "*have given me a place.*" A qualification of this kind, expressed, perhaps, with a little more refinement in point of taste, would have spared him that disappointment and mortification, which are now but too visible in his writings, and which, it grieves one to perceive, has driven him to speak with no common degree of irreverence against that very House of Commons, whom he had before so eulogized. His words, in his paper of the 22nd inst. are as follow:—"The report of the dissolution of parliament daily gains strength; and it was "said yesterday that the dissolution will "take place about the end of May. We "are not sorry to see *those men who voted* "*with the new ministers, merely to secure* "*their precarious seats, thus sacrificed.* As "to the propriety of the dissolution, every "man is capable of forming an opinion. The "object is to secure, if possible, a majority "in the House of Commons, upon which "the new ministers can rely. Notwithstanding all their boasts on the late majorities, they are sensible they do not "possess the confidence of the House of "Commons. They must therefore endeavour to *fit the House of Commons to their* "*mind,* and supply their want of reputation "and of public esteem, by the *lowest and* "*most hackned arts of the Treasury.*" ——What Mr. Perry may mean by *fitting the next House of Commons to their mind,* by the *lowest and most hackned arts of the Treasury,* we must be content to guess, until he shall be pleased to explain himself, but, he tells us plainly (though, doubtless, rashly,) that there were men in the present House of Commons, "*who voted with the new ministers merely to secure their precarious seats;*" and observe these men belong to that House, which he assured us was chosen with perfect fairness! This, too, is the man, let it be remembered, who, but only the other day, professed unshaken attachment to "regular "government, social order, and our holy religion;" and who earnestly and even vehemently deprecated a dissolution of parliament, least it should afford to those (and me amongst others,) whom he called "the "agitators of Middlesex and Westminster," an "immoderate *licence of debate,*" a "jubilee suspension of authority!" —— My Lord Howick and others are said to have professed, that *they do not intend to set up a harrassing opposition;* how far this corresponds with the hope, which Mr. Perry tells us was expressed by his lordship, in the lobby, that Mr. Brand's motion would be *followed up with others of a similar tendency,* I need not attempt to point out; but, this profession of moderation certainly comes a little of the latest, and, like other Whig professions, will now pass for exactly what it is worth. It would really seem, that the Whigs, like Sir Sampson in the play, having found that force was unavailing have had recourse to wheedling; but, they have old birds to deal with, and old birds are not easily caught with chaff.

Botley, 23d. April, 1807.

TEST ACTS.

SIR,——The obnoxious bill lately introduced into the House of Commons, and which caused the removal of the late administration, has given rise to many observations relative to the Test Act, and the petition of the University of Oxford, and, I believe that of Cambridge, expressly request that there should be no repeal or relaxation of the Test Act, which those learned gentlemen state to be essential for the security of our constitution in church and state. It may not, therefore, be improper to state, through the medium of your Register, how the law now stands, and what operation this famous act has upon persons holding commissions in the army and navy, and how far it is effective in excluding Roman Catholics from either.——The Test Act is well known to have been enacted in 1672, the 25th of Charles II. Not many years after, it was found that many persons who held offices under government had not qualified under this act; their services therefore must have been dispensed with, and they must have lost their places, unless some method was devised to screen them from the disabilities and penalties of the statute; accordingly, in the year 1700, an act was passed, indemnifying from all penalties such persons holding places as had refused or neglected to take the test, and allowing them a farther time to do it. In the following year a similar bill passed, allowing all defaulters to continue so until the month of August, 1703. Soon af-

ter two bills passed, the first allowing three months, and the second six months to persons appointed to offices before they are required to take the test. Since this time these acts of indemnity frequently passed, and for the last 50 or 60 years not one session of parliament passes, without the law being enacted to indemnify all past defaulters, and to appoint a period within which they may comply with this essential duty. Before that period arrives care is taken to pass a similar law, so that any person may hold an office or commission during his whole life, and never conform to the test act.—Now, Mr. Cobbett, permit me to ask you or any of your readers, how, as long as this annual act of indemnity passes, the Test Act can be said to be any security to the constitution either in church or state. If the admission of Roman Catholics into the army and navy be, as the Oxford doctors assure us it is, dangerous to the state, what impediment is there to the King filling the army with Roman Catholic officers, and trusting his fleets to admirals of that religion? Under these acts of indemnity the King may appoint a Roman Catholic commander-in-chief, and he would hold his situation in spite of all the penalties of the Test Act. Permit me, then, Mr. Cobbett to express a wish that our learned Universities in their zeal for the welfare of the constitution, will petition against this annual indemnity bill, which effectually undermines this bulwark of the state, and makes this great effort of human wisdom, the Test Act, a mere dead letter. The other clause of this unfortunate bill which has caused so much real or pretended alarm, allows to Roman Catholics and Dissenters who enlist in the army and navy, the practice of their respective religions, as far as it is consistent with their military duty, and exempts them from attending the service of the church of England. Now, Sir, if I am not much misinformed, many Roman Catholics have taken commissions in the army, and a great number of the same persuasion have enlisted as common soldiers and sailors; but when any individual of the former has arisen to a certain rank in the army, his promotion has been stopped under the plea of the Test Act, although the act of indemnity would screen him; and the person who is promoted in his stead, no more conforms to the test than he would. Here, Sir, let me remark, that it is equally required to conform to the test to be an ensign, as to be a general. That such a plea as I have mentioned is not necessary for the purpose I confess, and we have a strong instance of the promotion of an officer being stopped without assigning any reason, in the case of Col. Cochrane Johnstone.—To be consistent, either no commissions should be given to the Catholics, or they should be allowed their promotion; and liberty of conscience should be given to the privates, or serjeants should be forbidden to enlist either Catholic or Dissenter. As things now stand, the officer may say with truth you accept my services in subaltern situations, but you refuse me that reward of those services which you grant to all other subjects, though your Test Act is not more violated in one case than in the other, and the men who are enlisted may say, we are willing to spill our blood for you, and in return you torment our consciences. ——I am, Sir, &c.——T. I.

CATHOLIC QUESTION.

Sir,——A Political Register is evidently so unfit a vehicle for polemical disquisitions, that, if I could possibly suspect you were inattentive to the preservation of that celebrity which you have justly acquired by your publications, I should imagine that certain passages in some of the essays lately inserted had wholly escaped your notice. The justice and policy of admitting Catholics and Dissenters to the full exercise of the birthright privileges of Englishmen, or the converse of this proposition, are questions which properly come under the consideration of the politician and the philosopher: but the conformity of the doctrines of any church or any assembly of Christians with reason or scripture, is by no means a fit subject of discussion in public life, or in popular assemblies, wherein the judgment is so frequently warped or perverted by prejudice, or the influence of worldly passions. These reflexions are naturally suggested by the following passage in the letter signed Simplicius, which is so extraordinary from its illiberality that it cannot be passed over without a remark. "It is not indeed, easy "to suppose," says he, "that a mind capa- "ble of giving serious credence to the doc- "trines of transubstantiation and the trinity, "the infallibility of the pope and auricular "confession, could be any great acquisition "to a society of sensible mechanics, and "certainly much less to a cabinet council "or a British House of Commons." The author of this very extraordinary assertion is, as he stiles himself, *a rational dissenter*, that is, a professor of Christianity so far as Christianity is comprehensible by the powers of the human intellect: he consequently subtracts from his creed every thing which is intricate and mysterious, every thing which cannot be reconciled with the general order of Providence, as observed in the moral go-

vernment of the world. Peace be to such men, if it be really true, as Simplicius asserts, that "the peaceable principles of their "sect are become in a manner proverbial:" but let it not be forgotten, that the rational Dissenters of France, who, like the brethren of Simplicius, had been "all their lives "loudly protesting against wars and perse-"cutions," were no sooner possessed of power than they displayed all the malignity of character, which, during their humiliation, had lurked under an exterior of moderation, and had vented itself occasionally only in contemptuous expressions. The priests and professors of Christianity were then no longer exposed merely to insults and terms of reproach: their persons were branded with infamy, their profession was reviled; they were swept from the face of the earth like poisonous reptiles, their churches, their sacred vessels, their vestments, and their scriptures were polluted to the vilest purposes; while the rational Dissenters elevated a prostitute on a pedestal, decorated her with the title of Reason, their favourite deity, and bowed their knees, from spontaneous impulse, before a viler object than Pagan Rome had ever been compelled to celebrate with divine honours. Simplicius belongs to a sect so insignificant in the number of its adherents, that it no more breaks the uniformity of the Christian world, than a grain of dust destroys the sphericity of the artificial globe: yet this man has so contracted the circle of his philanthropy, as to refuse to all dissentients from his received opinions the perfect enjoyment of their mental faculties. The belief in the Trinity is, and has been, professed by every established church in Christendom since the first propagation of the Christian doctrines; and now, by one undistinguishing sentence, all the worthies in modern history, all who have distinguished themselves in science, in literature, in governing kingdoms, or in conducting war, are pronounced inferior to a society of sensible mechanics. Simplicius dates his letter from Aberdeen. Now I can readily suppose, that a man of common understanding, living in an obscure town in a remote province, who by dint of greater application has overstepped the ordinary qualifications of his neighbours, may, in their eyes, appear a kind of prodigy from his vast acquirements, and may himself, from listening to repeated adulation in his college, his chapel, his corporation, or his club, become so convinced of his superiority, that, finding within the sphere of his own acquaintance nothing equal to himself, he may at last, give way to the foolish illusion, that he rightly appropriates to himself the appellation of a rational dissenter from the general opinions of mankind. But let Simplicius step from his pedestal, let him shake off the dust of Aberdeen, let him breath the air of the capital, let him mix with society in Edinburgh, let him extend his peregrinations to London, let him pass over to the continent, and on his return to the society of the mechanics of Aberdeen, let him solemnly pronounce, if he conscientiously can, that a believer in the Trinity cannot communicate to them any portion of useful knowledge. Hitherto I have considered the assertions of Simplicius only so far as they regard Christianity in general; but as you had formerly given insertion to my imperfect essays, I again request your permission to call the attention of your readers to the consideration of his arguments, as directed against the doctrines of the Catholic church, to which I profess a peculiar attachment. "One cannot help thinking," says this rational dissenter, "that those enlightened "individuals who are found in the communion of the Romish church, do not really "believe the absurdities which custom and "education have taught them to hold sacred:" which absurdities he pronounces to be the doctrines of transubstantiation and the Trinity, the infallibility of the Pope and auricular confession. After the volumes which have been written on the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, to the conviction perhaps of those only who were already preconvinced, it would be truly ridiculous if Simplicius and myself were now to take up the gauntlet, and exhibit in the *arena* of your Political Register, the trite but inexhaustible train of arguments, which have been repeatedly advanced on opposite sides of this great question. I feel the doctrine to be in no danger from his attack, and shall not stretch out my feeble arm to support its majestic fabric. Besides, the doctrine of the Trinity is incorporated with the religion of the state, and in England, as in the rest of Europe, it needs no champion.—Another doctrine, equal to the last (according to Simplicius) in absurdity, and peculiar to the Romish church, is transubstantiation, or the reality of the divine presence in the Eucharist. I do allow that to men whom custom and education have not taught to hold this doctrine sacred, the belief of it does appear to present inexplicable difficulties: and yet we do believe it in sincerity of heart, because the church has so interpreted, what the Scripture has so revealed. The rational dissenter may deride us for our easy faith; but the Christian of any of the re-

formed churches who rejects the doctrine of transubstantiation, will with difficulty be able to justify his retaining the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. For if the elements used in the administration of it be really and simply bread and wine, can bread and wine impart relief to the afflicted *soul?* Is it not a mockery to load the stomach of the expiring penitent with common food, in order to prepare him for his passage to eternity? Was the ancient custom of placing a piece of money in the hands of the deceased more irrational? If the use of the Sacrament be retained merely in commemoration of our Saviour's death, by what *antiperistasis* do bread and wine, the means of supporting animal life, bring into our minds a livelier recollection of this awful event? I do not attempt to explain, nor will I even undertake the defence of, our faith in this instance: but to me it appears a necessary conclusion, that unless I believe that the words of Jesus to his Apostles, "this is my "body and this is my blood," were understood by them, not as a rhetorical flourish, but as a sacred, though a mysterious, truth, the Sacrament of the Eucharist itself is nugatory and inefficacious. Let men of the reformed churches pull out the mote from their own eye, let them explain why they hem round with all the terrors of religion the simple action of eating and drinking, why they declare that he who approches the holy table unworthily eats and drinks his own damnation, if this eating and drinking be in no respect different from our daily use of food for the sustenance of our earthly bodies. The Baptists argue against the practice of infant baptism from the precept delivered to the disciples, "go and "teach all nations, baptising them," &c. because say they, we are commanded to teach before we baptise, and consequently the persons admissable to baptism must be previously capable of receiving instruction. And do we speak more irrationally when we maintain, that our Lord would not have delivered his commandment to his disciples in an unintelligible manner concerning a practice which it is essentially necessary to their salvation to perform worthily. I apologize to you and your readers for having spoken on doctrinal points. To the government of our country and to our fellow subjects we hold ourselves bound to discuss and explain the doctrines of our church, only so far as they affect the moral conduct of its professors. And by what perversion of logic can it be shewn that a belief in transubstantiation tends to deprave our hearts, to vitiate our conduct, or to weaken our sense of moral and civil obligations?—Auricular confession neither contains any absurdity in itself, nor is it, nor indeed can it be, injurous in its practice to the state, to society, or to individuals. The church of England, as may be seen in the visitation of the sick, has retained auricular confession, and acknowledges the validity of absolution pronounced by the priest. And if its custom be disused, it only shews that the church of England, an innovation in Christianity, can enforce its precepts by no authority: it points out what is right to be observed, but can only *recommend* the observance of it. I in vain endeavour to comprehend by what reasoning auricular confession and the other tenets of our church can be represented as "a moral delinquency "of so vast an extent, that all the sufferings "of the Catholics" (which Simplicius himself, allows to be great) "do not afford an "atonement by any means commensurate." Voltaire, by no means a favourer of Catholicism, speaks of confession, in more than one instance, as the means of preventing erroneous or sinful conduct. I, who know its effects as well as Simplicius, acknowledge it to be a powerful check upon irregular conduct; and I will beg leave to mention an observation which I have made on comparing the general manners of England with those of Catholic countries, that the scandalous licenciousness of unmarried women in our country, which is without a parallel in the whole world, is attributable chiefly to the circumstance of girls being so much exposed to the solicitations of young men, while at the same time they are unprotected from their seductions, and unapprized of their own danger, by a counsellor in whom they have been taught to confide, and to whose admonitions they have learned to listen with respect and reverence. "In "fact," says Simplicius "a free pardon "may be obtained for any crime, how "great soever may be its magnitude, by "which an augmentation of the power or the "wealth of the See of Rome is acquired." This is indeed a proof of Simplicius's docility to the instructions which he recieved from the *gude wife* who taught him his catechism in the nursery; but boys in general, when they are removed from under the care of their nurses, dismiss such lessons from their minds, and reject them as absurd prejudices. The absolution which the Catholic priest pronounces is no encouragement to licenciousness: it is declared to be efficacious only if repentance is sincere, and is no more in fact than what every Protestant pronounces to his own heart. The mind which is stored with precepts of morality may perhaps per-

sist in virtuous conduct without extraneous support; but the uncultivated mind of innocence can in no institution of human society find greater assistance, than by being invited and enjoined to make a timely confession of the first inclination to irregularity, and to listen with themselves to the prudent admonitions of a devout and virtuous ecclesiastic. I have known in many instances that virtuous resolutions have been strengthened, that vicious propensities have been corrected, by the advice of a confessor; and I think in general it must be admitted, that all, except the abandoned and hardened sinner, will hesitate to commit a fault which they must reveal, but which they are sensible they cannot reveal, even to their confessor, without being covered with confusion. The infallibility of the Pope is a doctrine which Catholics have never held. Simplicius knows our religion only from our calumniators, accordingly, he says, "an host "of ecclesiastics are prepared to abjure the "Pope;" but, on the contrary, we affirm, that no temporal advantages shall induce us to abjure one tittle of that perfect body of faith which has been delivered down to us by our forefathers. We glory in the name of papist, we believe it to be impossible that the whole church, against which Christ has declared that the gates of hell shall not prevail, can fail, or be deceived, in any one point of faith; and though we believe that the visible head of Christ's church is assisted with a particular helping grace with respect to his office and functions, for the benefit of the whole flock, *yet we do not believe, nor has the church ever declared, him to be infallible, much less impeccable.*—Where then is our moral delinquency? Where our mental inferiority? Why are we taxed with duplicity, when it is evident, that if the charge was founded, we should not hesitate to subscribe to the terms on which we should be permitted to exercise public employment? No instance can be produced of a Catholic, continuing in the communion of the church, conforming to the conditions prescribed to those who hold offices under government; yet Simplicius does not hesitate to affirm, "that it is really and in good "faith a *sentiment* of our religion, that "it is lawful to deceive our fellow-"creatures by false professions, and at the "same time to call upon the Judge of the "whole earth to witness our sincerity," and therefore he exclaims, "what Englishman, "what consistent Protestant, nay, what "*honest infidel*, would wish to see the ma-"nagement of the important interests of "his country consigned into their hands?"—I have thus reviewed the chief arguments which Simplicius has urged against the liberal toleration of our religion. I have not inquired into the correctness of his statements of the oath which, he says, is administered to catholic bishops; but I beg that it may not, from my silence respecting it, be concluded to be authentic. I purpose, if ever you allow me to resume the subject, to compare the oath, even as stated by Simplicius, with that required from graduates in the English universities, which he will find equally "pregnant with the utmost possible "illiberality, absurdity, and cruelty." The accusations hitherto brought against the catholic religion by several of your correspondents (and I am sorry to add, by yourself,) are desultory and vague. If, however, it can be pointed out in what particulars the tenets professed by Catholics are so "dissonant to "the principles of humanity and social or-"der," that it would be improper or impolitic to tolerate their religion, I engage myself, unless a more able advocate steps forward, to repel, without duplicity or sophistry, every part of the charge, for I would not adhere to opinions which I could not vindicate.—A. B. *Hampstead April 23, 1807.*

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 22.

SIR,——You are a man of little ceremony yourself; it will, therefore, be unnecessary to attempt an apology for addressing you with that sort of freedom, which may be thought to display more sincerity than politeness.—Chance threw in my way your number of the 28th of March, where I saw part of the discussion, which you invite the public to canvass through the medium of your Register, on the utility of the Learned Languages as forming a branch of education.—Your friend the Arch Perriwig of Mauclin (No. 13) and his worthy coadjutor the sage Attalus, of Liverpool, (No. 16) have both demonstrated this truth; that neither the acquisition of a certain number of Latin *vocables*, nor even a University education (if indeed, the gentleman be a son of Rhedycina) have the power of communicating good sense, or the faculty of good writing to those pericrania, on which nature had originally affixed the stamp of dunce. The question, nevertheless, appears to me to lie in a small compass. Classical learning is certainly of no use to the mechanic or the shopkeeper, or to any of that numerous class of mankind whose lot it is to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. To the gentleman, how-

ever, it is an ornamental accomplishment, and a source of refined pleasure. To the man of literature who writes for the instruction or the amusement of the public, to the orator of the senate, the pulpit or the bar, it is more: the study of these relics of ancient elegance is an indispensable requisite, if they hope to shine in their several pursuits. A mind tinctured at an early period with these studies receives a flavour, if I may borrow an idea from a Roman poet, which is diffused over all its extemporaneous effusions or elaborate compositions; and this we seek in vain in the productions of mere mother-wit. Translations—but who is to translate if nobody learns—may give somewhat of the sentiment of an ancient author; but the spirit of the expression will in general be lost; and without this no sympathetic fire will be kindled in the bosom of the reader. A cast of plaister of Paris, or an ordinary engraving may convey some idea of the Apollo, or of the Laocoon, or the wonders of Raphael's pencil, or the enchanting scenes of Claude; but the artist desires to view and to feel the graces of the inimitable originals. My argument is not shaken by adducing instances of the powers of uncommon genius without the aid of classical education. We look with admiration on the creative fancy of Shakespeare, that great master of the passions, and we listen with delight to the wild wood-notes of Burns; but, at the same time, we are not blind to the faults of the bard of Avon or of Ayr. Had they possessed superior advantages, the world might have enjoyed from their extraordinary talents, works of more perfect excellence. The irony of your Maudlin correspondent was not required to convince us that all the Christian virtues may be practised by a man without any learning at all; and it may be granted perhaps, that a plain country congregation may be well instructed by a pastor without these acquirements; but, as it is the privilege of religion to "raise her mitred front in palaces," as well as to visit the humble dwellings of the poor; as men of education have not in this country yet left off frequenting places of public worship; it is desirable that those persons who are appointed to inculcate the moral duties and religious precepts, should have gained that polish of mind—that their discourse should attract hearers of the superior orders, and keep up their attention by making "Truths divine "come mended from their tongue."—As I wish to avoid prolixity, I will only hint at one other use of the dead languages. By the common consent of Europe, Latin is the vehicle of that information which public inscriptions are intended to convey to the natives of different countries and distant ages; if the language of the Romans ceased to be cultivated, these monuments would soon be as useless as the Egyptian hieroglyphics are to us at this day.——After all, whatever is said on this side the question, Sir, is but waste of words. Self-applauding ignorance can no more comprehend the advantages derived from learning, than a man born blind can understand the theory of colours. Every circle of pot-house politicians, will doubtless, with one voice give the victory to the gigantic champion of the Vandals; and, probably, in the still less sophisticated symposia of a night-cellar, you might hear these doctrines carried still farther, and the opinions of those active reformers, Messrs. Tiler, Straw, &c. who proscribed writing and reading altogether, might there be voted by acclamation. That some species of oratory, and a certain style of writing may flourish, without the aid of previously studying ancient authors, I am ready to admit. The flowers of rhetoric of Billingsgate and St. Giles's, would probably acquire no new strength from an acquaintance with the energetic eloquence of Demosthenes, or the flowing periods of Cicero. A political writer too, of strong natural parts, however coarse his style, may excite and retain the attention of the public, unindebted to the stores of antiquity, if he takes care to season his olio with a due quantity of scurrility and abuse. Your predecessor Junius, who like you assumed the office of censor and chastiser of men high in office, knew the value of those ornamental acquirements, which you affect to despise. His labours full of venom as they are, will be preserved as models of composition, as long as the English language subsists, whilst yours will be speedily consigned to the trunk maker and the pastry cook. Still, however, your exertions are not useless. We are at least satisfied by your publications, that we enjoy the inestimable blessing of a free press; and it is possible that the dread of your knout may check improper conduct in great men, as the lash and the cord of the executioner are the means of preventing crimes among the lower orders of mankind. Proceed then in your course; but let me warn you to confine yourself to your vocation. Believe me, the direction of the taste of a nation is a business quite out of your sphere; the public will not attend to your strictures on classical learning, with more patience than they would listen to lectures on the fine arts delivered *ex cathedrâ* by Professor Ketch from the New-drop in the Old Bailey.——I am, Sir &c.——OUDEIS.—*Oxford, April* 12, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 23.

SIR,——I have already written you two long letters upon the subject of the "Learned Languages," and certainly did not intend to write another. I had ranged myself upon your side of the question, because I thought it the right one; I declared my sentiments fully, because I disdain equivocation. But, in your last Register, there has appeared a letter, pretending to correct an error in my statements; and to this letter I wish to make a reply; not for its intrinsic merit, that is indeed too humble, but because I am unwilling that I should stand charged of incorrectness in such a blundering way. I write indeed under a fictitious name; there are, however, those who know my signature, and who will look for some vindication of myself. I, therefore, confess that I more earnestly wish the insertion of this letter, than of either of the other two; and I feel confident that you will not deny me the means of clearing myself through the same channel by which I have been daubed.—— Your correspondent's letter (who signs himself G. N. Leith, April 4, 1807), is a blunder from beginning to end, and could have been written only from native obtundity of intellect, or from a mean desire to cavil without truth or sense upon his side. The primary object of his letter is to tell me, that in the fourteenth century, Livy, and other Roman writers were known to Dante, Petrarca, and Boccacio. For this purpose he quotes Gibbon, to shew that Petrarca acquired the spirit of a Roman citizen from the writings of the Romans. But, where was the necessity of all this? Whom was it to correct? Whom to instruct? Surely not me? If this G. N had any such intentions, I can only beg him and your readers to peruse the following lines from my letter, No. 16, p 509. "At that time" (i. e. the age of Dante, Petrarca, and Boccacio) "there were "few manuscripts yet discovered, and those "few difficult of attainment: Sallust, Livy, "some of the works of Cicero and a "few of the poets." And yet this sagacious Scotsman comes to correct me, and tell *me* just what I had before told *him!* Pretending that I was ignorant of all this he sits down to write a rude letter acquainting me with the very facts which I myself had brought forward, and surely could not be ignorant of. As to his illiberal and ungentlemanly insinuation, that I had quoted De Sade without reading him, the only disgrace it reflects is upon the person who departs so far from candour and good breeding as to make it.—It needs no further arguments to show, that this G. N. has blundered most contemptibly upon my letter; but I will take this opportunity to say a few words upon the knowledge this triumvirate possessed of Greek, and its revival in the West; for your correspondent also says a passing word upon that. I exclude Dante altogether, for it is true, almost to demonstration, that he knew nothing of Greek; and Petrarch knew so little of it, that when his friend Nicolaus Sigerus made him a present of the poems of Homer, he acknowledged in his letter of thanks, that it was indeed valuable, but it would have been more so had it been attended by a person who could *explain* it to him, and conduct him through the labyrinths of the Greek language; for want of which, he adds, Homer was dumb to him, or, rather, he was deaf to Homer. (*See Mem. of the House of Medici, by Sir Richard Clayton, Vol I. p.* 141. *Gibbon, Vol. VI. p* 420. *Godwin's Life of Chaucer, Vol. I. p.* 267.) Petrarch's first Greek instructor, Barlaam, died early, and he was so disgusted with the uncouth manners of Leontius Pilatus, the friend of Boccacio, that he made little progress under him. Sir Richard Clayton says, (N. 140) that Petrarca and Boccacio "had tasted imperfectly some Attic treats," but allows Boccacio to have had the most Greek of the two. He unequivocally assigns the æra of the revival of the Greek language in the West to the age of Cosmo de' Medici and the Council of Florence. Ib. 143. Gibbon places it a little earlier (vi. 423); and Roscoe in his Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, says, (Vol. I p. 33) that it was not until the beginning of the fifteenth century that the ancient MSS. began to be sought for. This elegant historian remarks also, (p. 43) that in 1423 Aurispa arrived at Venice with 238 MSS. among which were the works of Plato, Proclus, Plotinus, Lucian, Xenophon, the histories of Arrian, Dio, and of Diodorus Siculus, the geography of Strabo, the poems of Callimachus, of Pindar, of Oppian and those attributed to Orpheus; and that the first Greek Academy was founded at Florence, towards the close of the fifteenth century by Lorenzo de' Medici. (Vol. II. p. 104.) From these facts, therefore, I am borne out in my reasonings which this G. N. so petulantly would overthrow. But there is another circumstance mentioned by De Sade (Mémoires pour servir, &c. Vol. III. p. 627) which strengthens incontestably the tenor of my argument. Boccacio wrote a Latin * letter to Petrarca in 1360, under

* Observe that this letter was not in Greek, but Latin; a tacit confession that

the name of Homer, in which that poet is made to complain of the various indignities he has suffered; such as the ingratitude of his imitator Virgil, who has not even mentioned him, &c.; and among others, he complains that Leontius Pilatus has dragged him to Florence, where he is in a manner exiled, having found only *three* friends, and he begs Petrarca to take him under his protection. Petrarca in his answers consoles him for his different chagrins, and says, it is not astonishing he should find only *three* friends in a commercial town like Florence; but, he adds, inquire well, and you will find a *fourth*. His biographer says in a note, "le quatrième est *peut-etre* Petrarque."—He makes it merely a supposition, and he says besides, that the *three* were Boccacio, the prior of the Holy Apostles, and Collucio Salutati, *si je ne me trompe* or Francis Bruni (Ib. 628); and to this I may add that, at the very æra of this triumvirate; and afterwards the Greek language was so utterly uncultivated that it became a proverb in the lectures of the professors: "Græcum est, non potest legi," were their words when they came to a Greek passage, and passing it over, went on with the Latin text.——I am, therefore, warranted in maintaining the assertion, that the knowledge of the ancient languages has *no effect* upon the efforts of native genius; the other points of their *inutility* I have already discussed, and here, for my own part, I take leave of the controversy. I could not permit such an egregious blunder as the whole of G. N.'s letter is to pass unnoticed, when he so grossly charges me with oversights which the most careless perusal of my letter would have shewn was false; and, perhaps, (though I am not ambitious of it) I have convinced him that Dante and Petrarch were *no* Greek scholars; and, that Boccacio was but an indifferent one. Again hoping that you will do me the justice to insert this letter, I remain, &c.—ATTALUS.——*Liverpool, April* 13, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 24.

SIR,——For the first time in my life, I have dared the task to address a public man; perhaps, justly you may conceive, that as I am placed here, it is for other purposes than to interfere in the bustle of politics, inexperienced as my years, and especially my talents must have made me; yet I cannot forbear to tell you, that these two years past I had been a constant reader of your Register. I had admired it, I had endeavoured to frame my sentiments to abide by it, for this plainest of reasons, that I had beheld in yours alone, of the public papers of the day, the most correct, the most pure understanding of that happy constitution, under which I boast my birth. I had never viewed you crouch to the prostituted frown of power. I had seen you stand forth the defender of oppressed virtue, and of patriotism; and my young heart has glowed with the desire of some future period, when I might publicly and practically glory in imitating, and in enjoining, the precepts you will have left behind, when the concerns of this life shall no longer have their weight, and returned to the dust, whence you sprung, point another instance to mankind of the visionary pursuits of this life.—With these emotions, and I sacredly assure you, I felt them even to enthusiasm, judge my chagrin, when at length I fancied I beheld you condescend to the weakness of party rancour. God grant I might be mistaken. I would wish to look to you as the glorious palladium of *real* liberty. I have witnessed your talents, and I have believed your integrity, and had it not been for your language in the paper of this day, April 11, I would have waited longer to have considered the bias of your mind; but, I am now determined, and I proceed, indeed, with diffidence, to remonstrate with you on the inferiority of your late papers contrasted with those of some months past. —Your Register was *truly* denominated *Political*, it was made precious by its subject matter being always guided by moderation and argument; directed only to those, whose corrupted principles, or prejudiced errors merited the chastisement of a prudent reviser, or whose exalted conduct demanded the approbation of ripe ability.—While the hireling papers of the day were burning with the officious hatred of party, and maintained the principles of the ins and outs, only for the base motives of interest, we beheld in you the consideration of either side balanced justly, rejected and protected equally by the firmness of a man of honour. You gathered *exactly* each State Paper that might be an object of consequence; and in your paper we beheld, unimpaired, the French Bulletins, as they officially arrived, which will be a subject of great curiosity to posterity.—— During the late Westminster election, I had been told, you were the hireling of Horne Tooke; I disbelieved it. I thought you too firm a man. I regretted the abuse, which I sometimes saw in your paper, for although each print equally displayed it, and in the hurry of an election had been allowed to be

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neither of them knew much of the former language.

pardonable, yet I had expected Mr. Cobbett, whose moderation had hitherto been unexampled, and whose principles, hitherto impartial, would not have condescended to stain his pages with the language of low life. At length that was dropped. Alas! it was succeeded by the bombastic rhodomontade of school craft, and your *Political* Register became the receptacle of each unmeaning and ridiculous effusion that issued from the pen of any pedant, who attempted a vindication of your attack on what you please to call the "Learned Languages;" an attack I was sorry to see you had started, for no one purpose, but to afford your enemies *contempt* for your ignorance, and your friends, regret for your intemperance. Those pages that had supplied fresh matter to the fertility of statesmen, that would have enriched the minds of many of the younger members of either House, by leading them to consider truth, unbiassed and impartial; those pages, I say, instead of being filled with a political harvest, are, I am sorry to say, obliged to contain such nonsense, that would have *even* disgraced Redhead Yorke's opposition Register; and this merely to gratify a private pique. We are to be told in the mean time, that you intend to continue the contest, and on that account, are sorry that you cannot keep pace with the Bulletins and State Papers, but must delay the insertion; they indeed, which complete the most excellent part of your performance. But all this trash, Mr. Cobbett, is excuseable to your Register of this day, wherein you attack the principles of the hireling editors of the press, and entirely exclude the noble science which once dignified your paper. What are Mr. Perry, Mr. Heriot, Mr. Walter, or Mr. Bowles to you? Leave them to the contempt of the country, which, if they deserve, they will sooner or later meet; appear not to be guided, as they, you say, are, by the wish to sacrifice your country to their own interest and their own paltry disputes; for, I regret to say it, but the being so particular to state the failings of another, hastens the inquiry home to yourself, and I begin to fear, that the mind of Mr. Cobbett is not unstained, as it formerly was. However, it is not too late, as yet you have the wish, with most reflecting men, to be correct, they see in you that ability which rightly directed will still protect our tottering country. Retain it, nor lose that character which of all others is most dignified; the man who stoops to nothing mean, and is actuated only by the noble feelings of honour. Think not you will demean yourself by discontinuing the contest; they who read you with the wish to improve, will rejoice. Pardon me while I stedfastly thus step forth to remonstrate with you. With no one of your readers do you stand higher in the estimation than myself, and while I endeavour to point out your mistake, regard my words with no impatience, but rather with indulgence.—Your endeavouring to attack the languages is weak, because you have not the ability to support it. The Almighty distributes his gifts in various ways; with one branch of science he has liberally and graciously endowed you; aspire not farther; your education, your habits of life, are in opposition to your attempt at persuading mankind you have the ability to turn the noblest remnants of antiquity into ridicule. I fear, that if you continue, you will sink into contemptuous oblivion. Resume your former rank in the consideration of your fellow-countrymen, and while your pages again display the native genius, and ardour of a Briton, scorn in silence the base-born motives of your adversaries who are shackled by the threats of party and the lust of gold. Reflect what joy, what gratitude awaits you from your drooping country, if you again start its defender from the oppression it daily endures; throw not away the time in frivolous, in puerile disputing, when rightly employed you may contribute to save your country ransacked as it is by internal division; rouse yourself from this abusive inactivity, dare the glorious task that once illumined your pages, and become again the champion of England's constitution, worded as it was by our ancestors, and for the continuance of which I devoutly and heartily pray.——I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,—TYRO-OXONIENSIS.——*Oxford.*

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

CAPTURE OF CURACOA.——*From the London Gazette Extraordinary Sunday, Feb. 22, 1807.*

Admiralty Office, Feb. 20.——Captain Lydiard, of his Majesty's ship the Anson, arrived here this morning, with dispatches from vice-admiral Dacres, commander in chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to W. Marsden, Esq. of which the following are copies:

Shark, Port Royal, Jan. 11, 1807.—Sir, I have much satisfaction in congratulating my lords commissioners of the Admiralty on the capture of the island of Curacoa, on new year's day in the morning, by the 4 frigates named in the margin * under the orders of capt. Brisbane, of the Arethusa; a copy of whose letter I inclose.——Whilst I contemplate the immense strength of the harbour of Amsterdam, and the superior

* Arethusa, Latona, Anson, and Fisgard.

force contained in its different batteries opposed to the entrance of the frigates, I know not how sufficiently to admire the decision of capt. Brisbane in attempting the harbour, and the determined bravery and conduct displayed by himself, the other 3 captains, and all the officers and men under his command; and is another strong instance of the cool and determined bravery of British seamen. ——Capt. Brisbane being from his situation obliged to act as governor, I have, as an acknowledgment and high approbation of his conduct, continued him in that situation till his majesty's pleasure shall be known; and request, in the strongest manner, that their lordships will be pleased to recommend him for that appointment.—Capt. Lydiard, who will have the honour of delivering this, and who fully partook of the conquest, and has before distinguished himself off the Havannah, I beg to refer their lordships to for any information. I shall put an acting captain into the Anson until his return, or I receive directions thereon.——I am, &c.——J. R. Dacres.

His Majesty's ship Arethusa, Curacoa, Jan. 1, 1807.——Sir,—It is with the most lively and heartfelt satisfaction I have the honour to inform you, that his majesty's squadron under my command has this day opened the new year with what I humbly flatter myself will be deemed an enterprize of considerable consequence to my country. —I proceeded in the execution of your orders of the 29th of Nov. with every possible avidity, but the adverse wind and current prevented me from reaching this island before the 1st instant. In my way up I met Capt. Bolton, of the Fisgard, going to Jamaica; I took him under my orders, according to your directions, and proceeded with the squadron off this port, having previously resolved on that system of attack which British seamen are so capable of executing. My arrangement having been previously made known to the respective captains, I was satisfied nothing further remained for me than to put it in execution. My line of battle consisted of the Arethusa, Latona, Anson, and Fisgard; and very soon after the break of day, I made all possible sail with the ships in close order of battle, passing the whole extensive line of sea batteries, and anchored the squadron in a stile far surpassing my expectations. Being still desirous of having the effusion of human blood spared, I wrote the inclosed, No. 1, on the capstan of his majesty's ship Arethusa during the action, which was not regarded, as they did their utmost to destroy us. Words cannot express the ability of the squadron. The harbour was defended by regular fortifications of two tier of guns; Fort Amsterdam alone consisting of 62 pieces of cannon; the entrance only 50 yards wide, athwart which was the Dutch frigate Hatslar, of 36 guns, and Surinam, of 22, with two large schooners of war, one commanded by a Dutch commander; a chain of forts was on Misselburg commanding height; and that almost impregnable fortress, Fort République, within the distance of grape-shot, enfilading the whole harbour.—At a quarter past 6 we entered the port; a severe and destructive cannonade ensued; the frigate, sloop, and schooners, were carried by boarding; the lower forts, the citadel and town of Amsterdam, by storm; all of which, by 7, were in our possession. For humanity's sake I granted the annexed capitulation: and at 10, the British flag was hoisted on Fort Republique, the whole island is in our quiet possession. The strength, commerce, and value, I understand, are immense. It is now become a pleasing part of my duty, although impossible to do justice to the merits, gallantry, and determination of captains Wood, Lydiard, and Bolton, who so nobly headed their respective ships' companies to the storm; and the same gallantry and determination are due to the officers, seamen, and marines, for following up so glorious an example. Inclosed is a list of the killed and wounded in his majesty's squadron. I have not yet been able to ascertain that of the enemy, except those in the ships. The Dutch commodore was killed early in the action, and the captain of the Surinam severely wounded I have appointed, by Proclamation, Wednesday next, for the inhabitants, which amount to 30,000, to take the Oath of Allegiance to our most gracious Sovereign; those that do not choose, will be instantly embarked as prisoners of war. For any farther particulars I must beg to refer you to that gallant officer, Captain Lydiard.——I have the honour to be, &c.——Charles Brisbane.

No. 1.—His Majesty's ship Arethusa, Curacoa Harbour, Jan. 1, 1807.——Sir,—The British squadron are here to protect, and not to conquer you; to preserve to you your lives, liberty, and property. If a shot is fired at one of my squadron after this summons, I shall immediately storm your batteries. You have five minutes to accede to this determination.—I have the honour to be, &c.—C. Brisbane.—To his Excellency the Governor of Curacoa. [*To be continued.*]

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 18.] LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

"If the House reject this petition," [which it *did reject*] "notwithstanding the strong grounds upon which "it is supported, what will be the consequence? What a proud precedent shall ministers have to boast of "in this precious sample of their Treasury correspondence——then may they fix a Treasurer in every "county, in every town, in every borough, then may each member circulate through his respective bar- "rack department, *the decree of the government against the subject's birthright*; provided only that they "keep within the cautious limits of their precious precedent; provided only they do not pronounce actual "menace; provided only they convey, through the medium of an *innocent* freeholder's letter, a bribe "taken from the public money; provided they keep within such limits, they are safe—the precedent of "this night will bear them out, *and they will again find a House of Commons who will countenance them in "their breach of that House's privileges, and in the violation of the subject's constitutional rights*, provided "only that in the act of such breach and violation, the forms of discreetness and decorum prescribed in the "present precedent, be observed."—MR. PERCEVAL'S Speech, on the Hampshire Petition, 21st Feb. 1807.

TO THE

FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XIV.

GENTLEMEN,

The event, which we anticipated, has already taken place, the parliament has been dissolved, and another is immediately to be called.——This is a proper, and most favourable time, for us to take a view of our national situation, particularly as far as relates to any real share of political power, which the people enjoy through the means of that House, which is, when assembled, said to contain their *representatives*.

Upon the intrigues and cabals and contests which have led to the dissolution of parliament, I have already taken the liberty to address you; and, my present intention is, first to give an account of the last transactions of the House of Commons, and of the prorogation and dissolution, and then to offer you a few observations thereon.

After the late ministers had lost their places, and, with those places, *their majority* in the parliament, they began, as has been the invariable custom in similar cases for many years past, to make what is called "*An Opposition*;" they began to make motions for inquiry into abuses; they began to set about harrassing those who had succeeded them; in short, they began to use all the means in their power to turn out their successors, and, of course, to get into place again themselves. Their successors, however, in nowise disposed to yield their places, and thinking them not secure without changing the House of Commons which had been elected during the day of their opponents' influence, advised the king to dissolve the parliament; and, accordingly, dissolved it was, after a statement of the *reasons* had been given to the two Houses in the following speech, delivered by commission, on Monday, the 27th of last month. But, before I insert the speech, let me dwell for a moment on the critical circumstances, as to time, under which the parliament was prorogued. There had been appointed during the power and influence of the late ministry, a committee denominated the "*Committee of Finance*," and the *professed* object of it was to produce economy by examining into and correcting *abuses*; but, the real object, on their part, seemed to be to amuse the nation, and, perhaps, to let their opponents (who had been in offices while the abuses were committed) see, that they had a rod ready pickled for them. This committee appeared, accordingly, to be doing little or nothing for several months; but, as soon as the places of the late ministers had been filled with other men, the Committee of Finance became wonderfully diligent; and, some of the late ministers themselves, who were members of the Committee, and who had scarcely ever attended it before, *now attended it every day!* Upon a remark of this sort being made, Lord Henry Petty observed, that his occupations as a minister took up so much of his time, that he was unable to attend the Committee before; but that, having been released from those duties, he had now time sufficient to attend the Committee. Be the cause, however, what it may, the effect was, that the Committee made a progress truly astonishing; insomuch that it had, in the course of a few days, made discoveries of enormous misapplications and defalcations; and, it is positively stated, that they had a report drawn up, and ready to lay be-

fore the House on Monday evening. But, of this their alacrity and dispatch others were acquainted as well as themselves, and, just as they were going to make this report, which must have speedily found its way out into the world, came a command for the House to attend in the House of Lords, where they heard a speech, which, at once prevented the making of the report of the Committee of Finance, which annihilated that Committee, and which put an end to the existence of the House itself. Lord Howick wished, apparently, to say something, there was an anxious desire, on the part of the late ministry, to send forth something to the public by way of exposure; but, the *Usher of the Black Rod*, was ready at the door some minutes before the Speaker arrived; and, the moment the latter took the chair, the former, with his three well-known knocks at the door, sealed up the lips of every one present, and the House was compelled to go to the Lords to hear its death pronounced. With this little preface, gentlemen, we shall proceed with advantage to the perusal of the speech, every word of which is worthy of our attention.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—We "have it in command from his Majesty to "inform you that his Majesty has thought "fit to avail himself of the first moment "which would admit of an interruption of "the sitting of Parliament, without ma- "terial inconvenience to the public business, "to close the present Session: and that "his Majesty has therefore been pleased to "cause a commission to be issued, under "the great seal, for proroguing parliament. "—We are further commanded to state to "you, that his Majesty is anxious to recur "*to the sense of his people*, while the events "which have recently taken place are yet "fresh in their recollection.——His Ma- "jesty feels, that in resorting to this mea- "sure, under the present circumstances, "he at once *demonstrates*, in the *most un- "equivocal manner*, his own *conscientious "persuasion* of the rectitude of those mo- "tives upon which he has acted; and af- "fords to his people the best opportunity of "testifying their determination to support "him in every exercise of the prerogatives "of his crown, which is conformable to "the sacred obligations under which they "are held, and conducive to the welfare of "his kingdom, and to the security of the "constitution.——His Majesty directs us to "express his entire conviction that, after "so long a reign, marked by a series of in- "dulgences to his Roman Catholic sub- "jects, they, in common with every other "class of his people, must feel assured of "his attachment to the principles of a just "and enlightened toleration; and of his "anxious desire to protect equally, and "promote impartially, the happiness of all "descriptions of his subjects —— Gen- "tlemen of the House of Commons,— "His Majesty has commanded us to thank "you, in his Majesty's name, for the sup- "plies which you have furnished for the "public service.—— He has seen, with "great satisfaction, that you have been able "to find the means of defraying, in the "present year, those large but necessary "expenses, for which you have provided, "without imposing upon his people the "immediate burden of additional taxes.—— "His Majesty has observed with *no less sa- "tisfaction* the inquiries which you have "instituted into subjects connected with "public economy; and he trusts, that the "early attention of a new parliament, "which he will forthwith direct to be call- "ed, will be applied to the prosecution of "these important objects.—— My Lords "and Gentlemen,—His Majesty has di- "rected us most earnestly to recommend to "you, that you should cultivate, by all "means in your power, a spirit of union, "harmony, and good will amongst all "classes and descriptions of his people.—— "His Majesty trusts that the divisions na- "turally and unavoidably excited by the "late unfortunate and uncalled for agitation "of a question so interesting to the feelings "and opinions of his people, will speedily "pass away; and that the prevailing sense "and determination of all his subjects to "exert their united efforts in the cause of "their country, will enable his Majesty to "conduct to an honourable and secure ter- "mination, the great contest in which he "is engaged."

Now, Gentlemen, the question which is particularly interesting to us, is, what was the *real cause* of this dissolution.——Those public prints; which are partizans of the late ministry, assert, that the cause was not that which is held forth in the speech of the Lords Commissioners; though men who reflect coolly before they write or speak, may censure so hasty and disrespectful an assertion, particularly as coming from the "friends of regular government, social order, and our holy religion;" but, it is but fair to hear what they say, which we will do, contrasting it with the assertion of their opponents, and then form our opinion.—— The Morning Chronicle, which, as we well know, is the official partizan of the late

ministry, contained, on the 27th of April, the following article:—"The present ministry, in dissolving the parliament, can have no other than the most manifest party objects. They cannot pretend to appeal to the people at large, as to the wisdom of their measures. They cannot pretend as yet to have claims to confidence from the experience of the past. They therefore avail themselves of a wicked clamour, which only one of them has had the front to avow and to justify; and while a certain degree of effervescence exists in the public mind, they will endeavour to procure a house of commons to their purpose by every method which the actual state of the representation enables them to employ. They have brought this matter *more home to the senses of the people of this country than all the reforming societies for the last thirty years.*—But besides the object of getting a parliament more favourable to them than the present, the new ministers *have another motive in dissolving the parliament without delay.* The committee of the house of commons lately appointed are *daily making discoveries* of the greatest importance, and if they sat but *a month longer*, it is *impossible to say who* might not be effected. Committees like this would make every department responsible. We are informed that something very important is come out respecting an issue of *one hundred thousand pounds of the public money, which remains wholly unaccounted for.* The proceedings and progress of the committee leave us no doubt of the determination to dissolve this parliament. It is absolutely necessary for *certain persons*, that *inquiry should be quashed*—As to the party objects which ministers expect to gain; we are confident they will be disappointed. None of the present ministers, nor any man who supports them will, on the ground of their merits, try a popular election. Lord Castlereagh will not stand for the county of Down, but will sneak into an English borough. We do not believe that all their influence will carry even one member for Westminster, if proper candidates offer. In Ireland they will gain nothing, even with the menaced vigour of Mr. Perceval hanging over that county. Notwithstanding all the courtly doctrine and the religious bigotry, by which the ministerial candidates recommend themselves, the people at large have not been deluded, and are very little inclined to support the present minis-

try.—We have said, and we repeat, that it is the discoveries made, and likely to be made, by the committee of the house of commons, that have precipitated this dissolution. We hope, however, if there is time this day, that some independent member of parliament *will state the facts and point out the true causes of the dissolution.* It would be of the greatest service to the public. In one of the parliaments of Charles I. when a house of commons was about to be dissolved for its faithful examination of public abuses, the famous Sir Edward Coke boldly came forward and *named* the Duke of Buckingham as the great grievance of the nation, and in himself comprehending every other grievance. If there were a member of the house of commons bold enough to follow this example, and to *denounce the abuses ministers wish to screen, he might do his country infinite service, and check that torrent of corruption which must in the end, if unchecked, lead to the most fatal consequences.*—The sudden dissolution of the parliament at a time so many private bills have at a vast expense been carried almost to their termination, must be greatly felt by many individuals. But ministers had no time to lose, and therefore they cannot be blamed. Their existence and that of the present parliament was incompatible. They had not a moment to lose, and it is no wonder that they preferred themselves and *those who at present protect them*, for the *sake of protection*, to every consideration of public advantage."—Before we take the other extract from the Morning Chronicle, we may be permitted, perhaps, just to ask Mr. Perry, since when it is, that he has discovered there is a "*torrent of corruption*" existing in our government, seeing, that not many weeks have passed since he severely rebuked all those, who threw out insinuations that the government stood at all in need of correction. But, Mr. Perry is now *out of place.* Place and profit are apt to produce mental blindness as to such matters; and, it is truly fortunate for the country and for truth, that place and profit have been taken from the late ministers. They will now see abuses with eyes very different indeed from those that they saw them with before; but, Gentlemen, however much we may rejoice at the exposures which they will make (for make them they will), we must never lose sight of the fact, that, while in office, they used every art in their power to prevent similar exposures. Never, do what they will, in the way of exposure, never shall I

forget their abominable treatment of Mr. Paull, whose only crime, in their eyes, was, that he wanted to make exposures. Their treatment, too, of poor *Atkins*, the Barrack Master, whom they completely ruined, if not starved to death, with his numerous family. This is another thing which will always occur to my mind, when I hear them inveighing against *abuses*. When Mr. Robson moved for the papers relating to the Barracks in the Isle of Wight, we remember with what difficulty he obtained them; and, I do hope, that we never shall forget, that Lord Henry Petty refused the papers, in the first instance, merely upon the ground, that Mr. Robson *had not submitted his motion to the ministers before he made it!* Any thing more arrogant than this, more hostile to all notions of freedom of deliberation, more degrading to the House of Commons, I never heard of in my life. And all this was justified by Mr. Perry. It was all applauded by him, who has now discovered, that it is blameable in ministers to screen those, who have been guilty of peculation. He told us, that *wise* men went slowly to work in such matters; that it was easy to set up a cry about abuses; but, that, to reform them was a thing that required consideration. All his heroes, too, took the same tone; they discovered no haste in reformations of any sort; they seemed to set inquiries on foot for mere party purposes; and, in no one instance, did they seriously attempt to bring any public robber to justice. ——But, let us hear him again from his paper of the 28th of April.——"What we "yesterday stated, has taken place; parliament is dissolved, and dissolved in such a "manner as leaves no doubt whatever of "th emotives which led to it. We have now "to state a fact in corroboration of what "we yesterday mentioned, and we defy "" *all the swindlers*" in the country, great "and small, to deny it. Nay, we defy "any member of the present administration "to deny it.——The finance committee of "the house of commons met yesterday, and "had prepared a report to be presented to "the house, but they were prevented by an "artifice of ministers, which would have "been worthy of "*all the swindlers*" in "the country.——The members of the "committee were in the house, and the "chairman was ready to present the report. Ministers, however aware of what "might take place, and dreading a charge "that would have been made against a most "*notorious peculator and defaulter*, kept "the Usher of the Black Rod in attendance "at the door of the house of commons, and "the instant PRAYERS were over, the "Black Rod rapped, and being introduced, "summoned the house to the house of "peers. By this manœuvre did the new "ministry prevent the formal present-"ment of the peculators who have been "plundering the public.—We are happy, "however, in being able to relate, in addition to the above circumstances (the truth "of which we challenge any man to deny) "that the report of the committee of finance, states in substance, that a sum of "19,800l had been applied by a late pay-"master of the forces to his own use, and "that *this fact came to the knowledge of his "colleague, the Right Honourable George "Rose, who did not give any direction to "the clerks on the subject.*—The report also "states, that the committee had discovered "*other and great abuses in the public money concerns, on which they should shortly proceed to report.*—These are facts, "for the truth of which we pledge ourselves. We leave it then to the public to "judge of the motives which led to the present precipitate dissolution. It is, indeed, "a strange thing that those who have on "every occasion, and now most palpably, "endeavoured to protect the peculators of "the public money, should have the impudence to hold themselves out as most distinguished for their affection to pure and "undefiled religion, snd their attachment "to the church of England! Such hypocrisy is truly shocking.—The proceeding "of yesterday, and the management of the "Black Rod to prevent disagreeable observations, so forcibly reminds us of the conduct of that misguided Prince, Charles I. "on a case very similar, that we cannot help "detailing the circumstances. On the 5th "day of June, 1628, Sir John Finch, the "Speaker of the House of Commons, delivered a message to the house from the "king, importing that his majesty had fixed a day for putting an end to their session, and therefore required that they "should not enter into a new business, or "lay *aspersion on the government or ministers thereof.* This produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Elliot, advancing somewhat as if he meant to touch the "Duke of Buckingham, the Speaker rose "up and said "*There is a command upon "" me that I must command you not to pro-"ceed.*" Upon this a deep silence ensued; "and then the house resolved itself into a "committee to consider what was fit to "be done; and ordered that no man should "go out on pain of going to the Tower. "The Speaker, however, desired leave to

" withdraw, and had leave so to do; and " Mr. Whitby being in the chair, Sir Edward Coke spoke to the following effect. " —" We have dealt with that duty and " " moderation, that never was the like, " " *rebus sic tantibus*, after such a violation of the liberties of the subject. " " Let us take this to heart. In 30 Ed. " " III. were they *then in doubt in parliament to name men that misled the* " " *King?* They accused John de Gaunt, " " the King's son; and Lord Latimer and " " Lord Nevil, for misadvising the King; " " and they went to the Tower for it. " " Now, when there is such a downfal " " of the state, shall we hold our tongues? " " How shall we answer our duties to God " " and men? 7 H. IV. par Rot. No. 31, " " 32; and 11 Hen. IV. No. 13, there " " the council are complained of, and removed from the King. They mewed " " up the King, and dissuaded him from " " the common good. And why are we " " now retired from that way we were in? " " Why may we not name those that are " " the cause of all our evils? In 4 H. III. " " and 27 E. III. and 13 R. II. the parliament moderateth the King's prerogative; and nothing groweth to abuse " " but this House hath power to treat of " " it. What shall we do? Let us palliate " " no longer; if we do, God will not " " prosper us. *I think the Duke of Buckingham is the cause* of all our miseries, " " and till the King be informed thereof, " " we shall never go out with honour, or " " sit with honour here. That man is the " " *grievance of grievances.* Let us set " " down the causes of all our grievances, " " and all will reflect upon him."—— " Such was the bold and constitutional language held by Sir Edward Coke, the " greatest lawyer this country ever saw, at " a time, too, when the liberties of the people were unconfirmed. He had no hesitation in denouncing the authors of ill " advice, and showed that the House had a " right to name evil counsellors, even the " KING'S SON, and to moderate the prerogative even to the removal of the council or ministry that " dissuaded the King " from the common good."——And yet " such lawyers as Mr. Perceval say, that the " King's right to chuse his ministers is too " sacred for the House of Commons to offer " its advice upon.——But the management " yesterday far excels that of the unfortunate Charles. The Black Rod is planted " at the door to make it impossible to inform the King of those things, without " informing him of which, as Sir Edward " Coke says, "The House could neither go " out with honour nor sit with honour " there." Ministers yesterday did better " than the counsellors that brought the unfortunate Charles to ruin. They utterly " quashed all appeal to the King. *They* " *checked all denunciation of abuses*, and " took a desperate chance of *getting a parliament that will overlook these proceedings, that will screen delinquents, that will connive at peculation.* What can be " expected indeed from those who conducted the scene of yesterday? To what can " it be compared, and indeed their whole " conduct, but to the device of *a gang of* " *pickpockets*, who raise a false cry and get " together a mob on any clamour, *to enable* " *a detected accomplice to escape, and to facilitate new depredations?* Such is the cry " of the danger of the church, set up by " men who thus notoriously, and in the " most public manner, have *quashed the* " *denunciation of the most scandalous* " *abuses.*"——As to the instances of the reign of Charles I, Mr. Perry may be assured, that they will have very little terrors for those, whom he wishes to intimidate, and, who know full well, that, from a parliament, whenever it shall meet, composed for one half of placemen and pensioners, and for nearly the other half, of dealers in the funds, there is no patriotism to be dreaded. The new ministers, in whatever else they may be deficient, are not wanting in political cunning. They know that Charles's parliaments were made of stubborn stuff. They know, that he dissolved them over and over again; and, that, at every return, he found them more and more resolved to check the abuses of the times; and the new ministers also know, that exactly the contrary is always the effect of a dissolution now-a-days. The new ministers know that poor Charles's parliaments *refused him money*; and they know, that, in no case whatever, for these thirty years past, has any House of Commons refused to vote whatever money the minister of the day demanded, the only question, in any case, being, merely that of how the money shall be raised. The new ministers know exactly how many of the members of the last parliament will be turned out; and, the late ministers know it too, for they took care to have the managing of an election. The new ministers may not know the *causes* of this great change in the nature of the House of Commons since the reign of Charles the First; they, possibly, may never have reflected upon the effect of the funding and taxing system with respect to the constitution of the House of Com-

mons; they, possibly, may not have perceived, that, in establishing the national debt, the power of refusing money was, in fact, taken from that House; they, possibly, may not have had leisure to trace the pliancy of the House of Commons to its real cause; but, they are extremely well versed as to the effects; and Mr. Perry may quote and hint 'till he is tired about the "*ill-advised* and "*unfortunate* Charles," whose head, could he dig it up and restore it to the state in which it was immediately after amputation, would have no terrors for Mr. Perceval or Mr. Canning, unless Mr. Perry could, at the same time, prove to them, that there were a *Hampden* or two amongst their opponents, amongst those men, who doubled the income tax, who added a third to the pensions of the princes, while they exempted the funded property of the king from the income tax, at a time when they declared that, in imposing taxes, they were reduced to a choice of evils; those men, who, having discovered the famous loan of Pitt to Boyd and Benfield, moved for a bill of indemnity for his conduct; those men, who, amongst their very first acts, almost doubled the number of foreign troops in the kingdom; those men, who have declared, that Hanover ought to be as dear to us as Hampshire; those men, who, after having opposed Pitt for twenty years, after having, upon numerous occasions, represented him as the waster of our property, as the subverter of our liberty, and as the destroyer of the character and consequence of the country, voted for making us pay his debts, expressly upon the score of his *public merits* Unless Mr. Perry can make Mr. Perceval and Mr. Canning descry a Hampden or two amongst these men, he may be assured, that all his comparisons about the reign of the "*ill-advised* and unfortunate Charles" will be totally thrown away ——But, is it not truly shocking, Gentlemen, to perceive the rage, into which this dissolution has thrown Mr. Perry and his Whig patrons? They call their opponents "*swindlers*;" nothing less than swindlers; and, in another part of the same paper, they are called *miscreants*; "the miscreants, who are endeavouring to excite a popular clamour against popery." To be sure such an endeavour is rather in the miscreant way; but, it is painful to perceive Mr. Perry, who so lately deprecated "the immoderate licence of debate," falling into such "coarse language." Really I begin to think, that the old hacknied charge of *coarseness*, always preferred against me when I speak a home truth, will begin to attach to these wranglers for the public money, who have, until lately, always kept up a sort of decorum of phraseology towards one another, like lawyers at the bar, but who now appear to have lost all patience. Miscreants, indeed! This is a pretty term to use, as descriptive of statesmen and legislators, acting under "the best constitution in the world." Miscreants! Why, that is a name to be applied to men, who seek to live entirely upon the earnings of others, who, in *coarse* language, are denominated robbers, or thieves, and who, if not, by some means or other, protected, are frequently transported, or hanged. And, I ask Mr. Perry, if, in his cooler moments, he would have applied such a name to the persons, whom he evidently has in view? What a pity, how sincerely to be deplored, it is, that passion, arising from disappointment in the laudable desire to live upon the public, should so far get the better of the "*gentlemanly*" taste of Mr. Perry. But, really, the quarrel is so much like that between *Peachem* and *Lockit*, that the comparison strikes every one. Never, according to all account, was there such virulence before heard of amongst politicians. The reason, is, the contest is for place and profit. It is purely personal. There is nothing of a public nature that can be made to mix itself with it. Both sides are trying to make the world believe that they are, respectively, contending for principle. One side cries *toleration:* no, says the other, you only want power and profit; your measure was merely intended to nullify the king, and to render yourselves ministers for life. The other side cries *no popery:* you lie in your hearts, says the other, and all you want is to obtain a corrupt majority thereby to secure your power and your profits. Which are we to believe? For my own part, I have a great dislike to contradict people, and am, therefore, rather inclined to give credit to the assertions of both sides.——We must now hear what the partizans of the new ministers say as to the *real cause* of the dissolution; and, we will begin with a short extract from the Courier newspaper of the 28th of April, first observing, that this last-named paper is, to the new ministry, what the Morning Chronicle is to their predecessors, namely, an instrument of faction, the proprietors and editors respectively having in view no other object than their own gains. It will be observed, that the article I am now about to insert was written by way of comment upon the articles before quoted from the Morning Chronicle:——"We are not "surprised at the anxiety of all the partizans of the Papists to put the question on "other grounds; we are not surprised at

" their wishing to hear no more of the cry " of the church and state being in danger; " they would be glad to drown it, no doubt; " but this cry they shall not drown—the " people shall not fail to be told repeatedly, " that the change of the ministers, and the " necessity of a dissolution so soon after " that unnecessary and uncalled-for dissolu- " tion last autumn, have been produced by " these reformers, these " English Brissot- " ins," who conceived a measure contrary to " the fundamental laws of the land—a mea- " sure of such obscurity, and power of ex- " tension, that every one explained it his " own way—who, having obtained their " sovereign's consent to one measure, ex- " tended it to a compass and capacity which " never was in his contemplation—who " were guilty of the most petulant disre- " spect to the King's authority, in having " consented first to return to the original " measure, and afterwards having insulting- " ly retracted and refused to do any thing, " because they were not allowed to do all. " Happily, however, for the constitution, " and the prosperity of the country, these " " English Brissotins" had to deal with a " Sovereign very different from the one " which the " French Brissotins" had.—— " But there is no fear that the people will " be misled by the artifices of " all the " partisans of the Papists," or that they will " fail to see that the conduct of the late mi- " nisters has rendered the present dissolu- " tion necessary. But it was to prevent the " presentation of the report of the finance " committee we are told—and ministers " kept the Black Rod in waiting at the door " of the House of Commons to summon " the House the moment prayers were " over, because " *they dreaded a charge* " *that would have been made against a no-* " *torious peculator and defaulter.*" Here " again we must remind our readers, that " the person alluded to was an officer under " the administration of which Lord Gren- " ville, Mr. Windham, and Lord Spencer " were members. What reason, therefore, " had the present ministers to dread any " charge that could have been made against " the person in question? But we are re- " lieved from the necessity of saying more " upon this absurd and idle charge, that " parliament was dissolved to stifle the dis- " coveries made by the committee of fi- " nance, by the language held by the Ad- " dington party, who, alluding to this " charge, explicitly declare, that with re- " spect to the committee of finance, we " cannot suppose that any administration " would be weak enough to imagine that " public curiosity and enquiry are to be re- " pressed and stifled by such means. The " present ministers well know the men of " whom that committee was composed. " They know that they will do their duty; " and that, if they have detected any fla- " grant instances of malversation or embez- " zlements, the country will hear them. It " would be the idlest hope that ever was " entertained, to think that a British par- " liament, by a temporary suspension of its " faculties, is to be wholly diverted from " pursuing and hunting down those great " state delinquents, who " lover and de- " vour" the people. To obviate the im- " pression which such a statement is calcu- " lated to produce, the speech particularly " relies upon " the inquiries which have " been instituted into subjects connected " with the public economy," the prosecu- " tion of which is especially recommended " to " the early attention of the new par- " liament." Such is the language of the " Addingtons, and it renders it unnecessary " for us to dilate upon the subject."—— Yes, such may be " the language of the Addingtons," but, Gentlemen, it must be manifest to every one who is at all acquaint- ed with the subject, that the dissolution will also *dissolve the Committee of Finance*, set aside all their proceedings, afford *time*, which, in such cases, is a great point, and will enable the new ministers either to pre- vent another Committee of Finance from being appointed, or to select for that com- mittee whatever persons they may like best to have it composed of; and, in short, that, though it may not totally stifle the inquiry, it may go nearly that length.—The ob- servation of the Courier, that Lords Gren- ville and Spencer and Mr. Windham were in the cabinet, at the time when the pe- culation alluded to was committed, does not apply. Their being in the *cabinet* gave them no more opportunity of being acquaint- ed with this misapplication of the public money than it did of the misapplication of the 40 thousand pounds by Pitt. This wri- ter might almost as reasonably render us re- sponsible for it, because we were in the *country* at the time when it was committed. But, the Courier might have justly charged the late ministers of inconsistency in com- plaining of this act of peculation after all their praises of *Pitt*, who must have been acquainted with it, and whose debts they have made us pay, upon the score of his *public merits*. Here it is that they are as- sailable; but, here no hireling writer will ever assail them.——What I have further to offer upon this subject I shall defer, till I

have inserted the article from the Morning Post of the 28th instant, which is, indeed, an elaborate, and somewhat pathetic "address to the electors of the United Kingdom," the objects of which being, first, to justify the measure of dissolving the parliament at this time, and, second, to prevail upon those who have really any right of voting, to vote for *men who are opposed to the late ministers.*

"The parliament is prorogued, a dissolution is announced, and we hesitate not to applaud what every true lover of his country has anticipated and recommended. When the constitution is invaded, when the throne is attacked, there is only one true legitimate recourse, viz. an appeal to the sense and justice of the people. — His Majesty having found his prerogative and independency menaced and invaded by a cabinet junto, has been obliged to change his ministers. This cabinet junto has dared, as a measure of resentment or defiance, to accuse their Sovereign at the bar of the nation of unconstitutional conduct, and by false statements and unwarranted misrepresentations, to arraign his Majesty as a criminal before his people —They further brought forward in parliament a resolution directly tending to censure his Majesty, though that censure was disguised in general terms. They had not even the decency to suppose that his Majesty was acting by any responsible advisers, but contrary to every principle of the constitution; their measures were so managed as to point at his Majesty alone, as the only guilty and responsible individual, and personally to censure and condemn him. The parliament, however, could not be brought, under any artifice or promises, to support a proposition so dangerous and unconstitutional; yet so deeply connected together, and so widely extended were the adherents of the late cabinet, that 226 members of the House of Commons were induced to join in the censure of their Monarch.——After this unprecedented attempt, the King, with the most *perfect consciousness of his integrity and uprightness*, has appealed to the GREAT BODY of his subjects, in the firm confidence that they will confirm the decision of the House of Commons, approve the necessary change he has been forced to make of his ministry; and that they will give both him and them that countenance and support, which will on the one hand secure the constitutional independency of the crown; and on the other, enable his present servants to carry on the business of the nation *with ease and comfort*, unawed by any combination of parties, which might otherwise conspire to interrupt the ordinary proceedings of government.——We conceive that one of the great and fundamental principles of the British constitution, is this—that the House of Commons is to be considered as the organ of the people, the representative of their power, the interpreter of their will: and whenever the House of Commons speaks, it speaks, in legal and constitutional acceptation, the sense of all the Commons of the empire.——When, therefore, any great question arises affecting the rights of any branch of the legislature, or the interests of any great description of the people; which was not foreseen or in contemplation at the time the Commons were elected; which it was morally impossible for the electors to have foreseen, and which, consequently, they could not have referred to in the choice of their representatives; it is in strict conformity with the fundamental principles of the constitution, *that an opportunity should be given* TO THE PEOPLE *of expressing their collective sense on the subject, and making their elections conformably.* This doctrine is so evident as to need no proof however it may be illustrated by stating the converse of it. Let us suppose that the House of Commons, when once elected, has a right to sit for its legal period of seven years—it might, by its power over the purse of the nation, dictate both to the Lords and the King, and create a septennial despotism. ——We now, then, ask you, whether the late transactions which have taken place on the Catholic Question, were in your contemplation when you elected your late representatives, in October last?——1. Was it in your contemplation that a cabinet junto should, by every possible artifice, by alledged misconception, and by false misrepresentation, endeavour to deceive or to force his Majesty to a total repeal of the test laws, as far as the army and navy are concerned? We answer boldly for you, it was not.——2. Was it in your contemplation, that, if his Majesty should evince an unshaken firmness in support of his conscientious engagements to the state, that his ministers should be authorised to impose upon him conditions which should empower them to turn against him all his influence, power, and prerogative for controuling his opinions, forcing his conscience, and exposing his character to obloquy and re-

" proach? We again answer, in your name, " that it was not.——3. Was it in your " contemplation that, upon the tender of " such degrading conditions from his minis- " ters, his Majesty should surrender his " prerogatives, authority, and independen- " cy, into the hands of a cabinet junto? " Here, again, we answer for you in the " negative.——4. Was it in your contem- " plation, that if his Majesty, in endeavour- " ing to liberate himself from the attacks of " his ministers, should demand them to re- " tract the conditions they had imposed up- " on him, and to give him an assurance " that they would not bring forward again " measures connected with the repeal of " the test acts, as his ministers, he should " be held up to the public as a criminal, " should be accused of having violated the " constitution, and of having exacted an il- " legal pledge of his counsellors? We an- " swer again in your name, with confidence, " no.——All these circumstances, unpre- " cedented and preposterous, form such a " combination of measures, as you could " neither have foreseen nor conjectured: " and which, although they have taken " place, you can now hardly believe.—The " attack on the King's independency, the " efforts to carry a repeal of the test laws, " an act of supremacy in favour of Roman " Catholics, and of every other Dissenter " from the establishment, the attempt of " ministers to force the Sovereign to admit " the cabinet to act in defiance of his senti- " ments, and the accusing the Monarch " personally, as guilty of a criminal act, in " resisting this attempt, are all measures " novel and extraordinary, totally out of " the common course and current of affairs, " and which require a distinct proceeding, " conformable to their importance and no- " velty.——Under these impressions, there- " fore, the Monarch with *affectionate con- " fidence in the attachment of his people*, " and with the most *consciencious sense of " his* OWN SINCERITY, in endeavour- " ing to perform the duties, and maintain " the trusts committed to his charge, " makes a condescending appeal to your sen- " timents and impartiality.—1 He has re- " fused to give his ministers leave to carry " through parliament, with the colour of his " consent, a bill, which went to *repeal the " act of supremacy, and the test acts*, as " far as the army and navy are concerned, " and to give the capacity of holding the " highest naval and military commands to " *every species of dissenters* from the church " establishment, whatever sect they might " belong to, *christain or unchristain*, or " even if they were of *no religion whatever*. " —2. His ministers having demanded that " they shall, on abandoning their obnoxious " bill, give their sentiments in support of " it, and *also give their sentiments in favour " of the catholic petition when presented*; " and, 3dly, he allowed from time to " time, to bring forward, for his Majesty's " decision, such measures as they thought " proper respecting Ireland.—His Majesty " did, in answer, desire his ministers to " withdraw these commands; and did also " desire them to give assurances, that they " would not bring forward any measures " connected with the Catholic Question, as " upon that subject his sentiments could ne- " ver alter.—You have now, then, a plain " case before you to decide upon.—Is it " your wish to force the surrender of the " test laws, and to give *the whole power of " the sword into the hands of catholics*, and " of every dissenter from the church esta- " blishment? or do you wish to preserve " the existing system of general toleration, " but at the same time to maintain *the esta- " blished guards of the constitution of church " and state?*" ——We might here, at the very outset, ask that writer, who affects such anxious concern for the preservation of the constitution, how he thinks that constitution would, in *practice*, be rendered worse than it is now by the bill proposed to be passed. Does he conceive, that the passing of such a bill would add to the taxes? That it would lessen the value of our *election* rights? That it would make the house of commons more subservient to the minister of the day? That it would enable that minister to cause the Act of Habeas Corpus to be suspended for more than seven years at a time? That it would render the system of *influence* more extensive and efficient? That it would make boroughs more venal? That it would throw more of them into the hands of the peers? That it would add to the long list of placemen, pensioners and grantees of any description? That it would embolden ministers to add to the number of foreign troops in the kingdom? That it would increase the number of contractors, defaulters, and peculators? That it would add to the embarrassment, vexation, distress, poverty, misery, and degradation of character, which, owing to the all-pervading system of taxation, are now so general in this once free and happy country? These are the points, upon which we *feel*. These are the points, as to which we call for the " *established guards* of the constitution in church and state". And, if the bill in question affect us in none of these points, I trust, Gentlemen, none of you will

be such miserable fools as to be misled by the hypocritical declamation of writers such as that whom I have just quoted.——He tells us, that the late ministers would have "repealed the Act of Supremacy and the "Test Acts, as far as the army and navy "were concerned." Well, and what then! These are *now* of no avail whatever. They prevent the advancement of no man, in practice; and, even supposing the intended measure to have opened the door for promoting Roman Catholics, you must well know, that to promote any one, protestant or catholic, is the act of the king, and of *the king alone*; so that, all that this measure would have done, would be *to enable the king to promote Roman Catholics if he chose, leaving him at perfect liberty to follow his own inclination upon the subject*; in other words, it would have made that perfectly legal, which, in fact, *is now done* without the sanction of law, but with a general connivance. Whether this was attempting to "*force* the *conscience* of the king;" whether this was an attempt to subvert "our holy religion;" whether this would have placed the "church in danger;" you will easily decide.——But, this writer is alarmed, lest persons that are *not Christians* should, by the means of such a measure, get into offices in the army; nay, he fears, that it might open the doors to persons of *no religion at all*; just as if men who are not christians, or who have no religion at all, would be restrained from doing any thing by an oath taken upon the four books of the Gospel! What a miserable pretence! What shocking hypocrisy! The sincerity of this hireling writer is, indeed, rendered manifest enough by his stating, that by a dissolution of parliament, the king appeals to the *great body* of his subjects, just as if there were no such things as Treasury Boroughs; just as if there were no members sent into the Commons House through the influence of peers; just as if all was fair and free according to the spirit of the constitution and the letter of the law! What a villainous hypocrite! *Conscience*, indeed; and talk at this rate!——The Courier insists, however, that the cry of "*no popery*" shall be kept up; but, if the cry has no more success anv where else than it has in Westminster, it will, I should think, be of little avail. He tells us, that we ought now to be afraid of popery because our ancestors of a hundred years ago were justly afraid of it; but, he well knows, that the circumstances are totally changed; he well knows, that there is no more reason to be afraid of popery now than there is to be afraid of witchcraft, which was once a subject of legal provision and punishment. In fact, the cry of "no popery," and of "danger to the church", upon this occasion, is a mere trick to delude the people, and to turn their attention to the real cause of the struggle between the late and present ministry, as is also the cry of "toleration," on the other side. The former well knows, that popery is extinguished, and the latter knows, that, as to all practical purposes, toleration, with respect to the army and navy is already complete. The intended measure was merely to answer a party purpose, and the opponents of the late ministers seized hold of it as the lucky means of ousting them from their places. Both sides clamourously appeal to the *constitution*, that word of various interpretations; each accuses the other of a violation of the constitution; and the design of both, is, to draw the attention of the world from the selfish views, by which they are actuated.——The late ministers, however, finding that empty sounds are unavailing; finding that their cry is inferior in point of effect to that of their adversaries, betake themselves to something more likely to attract attention; and, accordingly their partizans assert in terms the most unqualified, that the real cause of the dissolution, at this time, is to be found in the documents which have been discovered by *the Committee of Finance*. No, says the Courier, "because the speech "of the Lords Commissioners says, that "the subjects before that committee will "be *taken up by the next parliament*." But, in the first place *time* will have been gained; secondly, *the documents will have been for some months in the hands of the new ministers*; thirdly, another committee, if appointed immediately upon the assembling of the new parliament, will not be able to make any considerable progress this year; fourthly, that committee will be composed of *such persons* as the *majority of the House* shall think proper; fifthly, I think, you will agree with me, that the majority of the House will be very like to *agree with the new ministry*; and sixthly, the natural conclusion, is, that the committee will be differently composed, and that its reports will breathe quite a different language and different sentiments.——The Morning Post says, that the parliament is dissolved, in order that the new ministry may be relieved from the embarrasing power of the opposition, and that they may "carry on the affairs of the nation "with *ease* and *comfort* to themselves." This is fine talk! Yet, this is, in truth, the object of the dissolution; and, Gentlemen, only think of the state to which we must be re-

duced, when such a reason is publicly given in justification of a dissolution of parliament! Just as if the increase, thereby, of the minister's majority was *certain!* Plainly telling us, that it is for the sake of having a parliament devoted to their will; and, at the same time, us, that an appeal is made "to the sense "of the people." Never was there, in the whole world, a people so grossly insulted, and, I must say it, never was there, generally speaking, a people, whose apathy, whose torpor, whose willing degradation, so richly deserved it ——But, to enable the new ministers to carry on the affairs of the nation "with *ease* and *comfort* to them-"selves," what need was there of a dissolution of parliament, seeing, that, in the space of ten days only, the new ministers, who before they were in place, could obtain only about seventy votes, had obtained much more than one half of the votes of the whole house, having a majority of *forty six*. This fact, which cannot be denied, would lead one to conclude, that there must have been some other reason for the dissolution than merely that of obtaining a secure majority. Yet do the partizans of the Whig ministry stoutly deny, that the real object was the one alledged by the Morning Chronicle, who has been answered by his rival, the Courier, in an article which I shall insert, not only as it contains the justification of the measure, but as it contains also what there is to be urged in justification of Mr. Rose, and of the *supposed defaulter* ——"Whenever a faction cry out against "any particular measure, we may take it "for granted they do not so much feel or "fear that it will be detrimental to the "country, as that it will be destructive of "their own factious views. Such is the "feeling of "all the talents" with respect "to the dissolution of parliament; they "know that this appeal to the people cannot "possibly be of the slightest injury to the "rights and liberties of the people, but they "know that it will be in the highest degree "injurious to their own prospects and pro-"jects—they feel that the voice of the peo-"ple is every where against them, and they "dread looking their constituents in the "face—they are trying, therefore, by every "artifice to mislead the public mind; and "though the people have been solemnly as-"sured from the throne, that "his Majesty "is anxious to recur to the sense of his "people while the events which have re-"cently taken place are yet fresh in their "recollection," they are attempting to per-"suade them that his Majesty feels no such "anxiety, but that parliament was dissolved "to protect peculators and defaulters. Upon "this subject we have some facts to state.— "And first we must notice the following "paragraph, contained in an article in the "Morning Chronicle.——"We are happy "" however in being able to relate, in ad-"" dition to the above circumstances, (the "" truth of which we challenge any man to "" deny) that the report of the committee "" of finance states in substance that a "" sum of £19,800 had been applied by a "" late paymaster of the forces to his own "" use; and that this fact came to the "" knowledge of his colleague, the right "" honourable George Rose, who did not "" give any directions to the clerks on the "" subject."——A respectable morning "paper commenting on the above paragraph "says, "This charge is of too serious a "nature to permit the gentleman, whose "character is thus aspersed, to be satisfied "with a refutation in a newspaper: we are "authorized to assert, that it will be made "a matter of legal investigation, if it shall "be found to be cognizable in a court of "law. In the mean time, it is thought "right to state, that the facts, as applicable "to Mr. Rose, are utterly false. Mr Rose "was never the colleague of the paymaster "of the forces alluded to in that situation. "The transaction in question he never heard "a syllable about till after he had retired "from the duties of that office; when "(after reproving the clerk whose duty it "was to have made the communication "while he was in office) he gave the advice "that appeared to him to be proper on the "occasion. These circumstances will be "found in the minutes of the committee; "how far they agree with what it is alledged "is in the report of the committee, may "hereafter be a subject of enquiry."—— "Upon Mr. Pitt's return to the administra-"tion in 1804, the person alluded to was "removed from the Pay-Office, and Mr. "Rose was appointed to succeed him— "during the whole time he was there he "had no intercourse whatever with the per-"son, on account of the coldness naturally "arising from the separation of Mr Pitt "(to whom Mr. Rose continued attached) "from Mr. Addington—but Mr. Rose never "heard a syllable on the subject alluded to "till he had actually retired from the Pay-"Office.——Even then, when the commu-"nication was made to him, after he had "so withdrawn, no *criminality* appeared in "the transaction, though it was apparent "there was great *irregularity* in it. If it "be *now* known that the money was re-"ceived for *private purposes*, that discovery

" must have been made by recent investi-
" gation. When the communication was
" made to Mr. Rose he gave the best advice
" he could.——Orders he could not give—
" which advice was to the proper officer to
" call on the person in question for an ex-
" planation of the matter, and to that per-
" son to make an immediate communication
" of the whole transaction to Lord Gren-
" ville and the then Paymaster General.——
" The transaction *was officially known to*
" *the late Treasury*, and was repeatedly
" under their consideration. They gave
" directions for the repayment of the money
" at certain periods, *without imputing any*
" *offence to the person concerned—no cen-*
" *sure was expressed—no application to*
" *Parliament was made—no inquiry of any*
" *sort instituted on the subject*, TILL THE
" LATE MINISTERS WERE OUT OF
" OFFICE. And then an attempt is made
" to criminate a gentleman who never heard
" the remotest allusion to the subject while
" he was in office.——Such is the case, the
" truth of which we challenge any man to
" deny—and such are the particulars as they
" appear in the minutes of the committee.
" ——If there be any other improper trans-
" actions discovered, can they be suppressed
" by the dissolution of parliament? Will
" they not be produced upon the assembling
" of the new one with redoubled force
" and effect? The discovery now alluded
" to, was *not made by the Committee*—the
" transaction had, as we have already shewn,
" been the subject of proceedings in the
" Treasury—the minutes of which board on
" the subject it is hoped will be called for,
" and the whole matter fully investigated
" when parliament meets. We shall then
" see, *when* the honest indignation of the
" late ministers was first excited respecting
" it, and whether there was the same anxi-
" ety and eagerness to inform the country
" about it *while they were in office*, as when
" parliament was about to be dissolved."
——Aye, that is the rub. It was not until they were out of office; it was not until this engine was wanted for party purposes, that is to say, purposes connected with place and profit, that the Whigs thought of saying a word about the matter in public. We now find, that they had been long acquainted with the facts; that they had had the matter officially before them; and, so close did they keep it, so anxious were they to prevent its reaching the ears of the profane vulgar, that, not even a rumour of it found its way to the world, *until they were out of place*. Whether the fact was known to Mr. Rose when he was Paymaster, or not until after he quitted the office; whether it be at all probable that he could be in the office for a year and a half without becoming acquainted with it: how it came to pass, that he should be informed of it after he was out of office; why, *as a member of parliament*, as one of the *guardians of the public purse*, he did not happen to make it the subject of inquiry in the House; and, what were the motives whence the exposure was reserved for this late hour: these are questions, which it might take some little consideration to answer; but, this we know, that, on the one side, it is asserted, that a sum of *ninteen thousand pounds* of the public money has been embezzled by a paymaster of the forces; that it is, on both sides, agreed, that this fact has been well known, for a considerable time, to several members of parliament; and we also know, that, until a great and mortal conflict of party arose, not one of those members, not one, no, not one of " the guardians of our purse," said publicly a word upon the subject. With their quarrels we have little to do. With the means that they employ to assail one another, or to shield themselves, or their adherents, we need not much trouble ourselves; but, amongst them, the fact was well known, and, amongst them it was kept closely disguised, until it was brought forth by *a contest for place and profit*. ——Here it is; in this fact, and in facts resembling it is, that consists the strength of the new ministry, as opposed to the Whigs. There was a time, when a cry about Jacobinism, or danger to the church, would have had great weight. But those cries have seen their day pass, every man's attention being now turned *to the abuses in the expenditure of the public money*; and, when he takes time to reflect, he finds that the Whigs, *while in office*, did really nothing at all in the way of correcting those enormous abuses. To this simple view men confine their attentions. In vain would Mr. Whitbread, whose address to his late constituents I shall take care to insert, endeavour to excite a friendly feeling towards the late ministry by dwelling, with weighty emphasis, upon the *Scotch Judicature Bill* and the *abolition of the slave trade* and the *new plan of finance*. The latter now appears to be a mere bubble, and, as to the former two, there is not a reflecting man in the kingdom that cares one straw about them. To his statement respecting the Report of the Committee of Finance, which was, as he tells us, just about to be made, when the tap at the door put an end

to all further deliberation, we should have listened with great attention; but, the moment we hear of the circumstance of the report being suppressed by the dissolution, we ask, "why was it not presented before?" To which question it is impossible for him to give a plain and honest answer, without stating for motive that which would instantly draw from us an expression of total indifference as to which party shall obtain the preponderance. Had the late ministers, I mean the Whigs, acted up to those professions, by which they gained your confidence; had they not appointed boards upon boards of Commissioners, at an enormous expence to the country, but brought subjects of peculation and default at once before that House which ought to be the real guardians of the public money; had they even encouraged others so to; and had they proceeded to *punish* peculators and defaulters; then, indeed, would they have had the people with them. Then might they have laughed at the base hypocrisy of those, who are now running them down with a cry of *no popery*; and, indeed, that hypocritical trick never would have been thought of. But, the reverse they chose for a line of conduct. Under a shew of investigation, they were sedulously employed in forming schemes for the effectual protection of peculators; and, as in the case of Mr. Paull and Mr. Robson, the whole force of their influence was employed to prevent others from doing, that which they themselves were resolved not to do. Many are the peculators that have been talked of; but, where have we an account of any one sum that the Whigs caused to be *refunded?* Where is the single delinquent, whom they caused to be pillored or imprisoned? These are the questions that men ask of the Whigs, and these questions they cannot truly answer without depriving themselves of all ground whereon to claim a preference before their rivals, who, if they do no more than their predecessors, in the way of reformation, can, assuredly, not do less. And this, I repeat it, is the sole point, upon which men's attention is now earnestly fixed. Of the affairs of the continent; of conquests in South America, and of means of defence at home, they have not leisure to think. The reading of tax-papers, and the providing for the incessant demands of the tax-gatherer, take up all their time. Their present grievous burdens is the only subject upon which they can be expected to think; and, while they feel these burdens, they know that enormous peculations remain unpunished; they see no hope of preventing them for the future; and they feel as men must feel under such circumstances. The last three years have brought to light most important truths relating to the public expenditure and to the representation in parliament. These truths must, and will, have their effect in due time; but, until then, it is perfectly useless to endeavour to fix the general attention upon any other object.—— Now, Gentlemen, let us hear Mr. Whitbread, our old friend at Westminster. His address to the electors of the borough of Bedford contains some useful matter. It is good to hear it from him, and quite proper, that we should remember it.——"The "King's ministers have rashly advised his "Majesty to dissolve the Parliament which "was first assembled for the dispatch of busi-"ness on the 15th of December last; its du-"ration has been short, but its career has been "memorable.—The assiduity with which all "public business has been dispatched is with-"out precedent. The works which it has "performed, and those in which it was en-"gaged at the moment of its dissolution, will "be recorded to its honour. In consequence "of judicious arrangements, the election peti-"tions, which have usually occupied the time "and attention of the House of Commons "during two or three years, would all have "been decided in the course of one session. "After wars so protracted and expensive, as "you know, those in which we are unhappily "engaged to have been, a Plan of Finance was "devised and adopted, notwithstanding the "opposition of the persons now in power, "adequate to the exigencies of the state, with-"out imposing any fresh burthens upon the "people. A committee was appointed to con-"troul and reduce the public expenditure, and "to diminish the amount of salaries. A bill "was brought in under the sanction of that "committee for prohibiting the grant of places "in reversion. A plan for the reformation "and bettering the condition of the labouring "class of society was under consideration. "Measures for the improvement of the courts "of justice in Scotland were in progress "through the House of Lords. The slave "trade, after a struggle of 20 hours, was abo-"lished.—*At the moment the Commons were "precipitately summoned to attend his Majes-"ty's commission for the prorogation of the "Parliament, preparatory to its dissolution, "there was actually at their bar a special re-"port from the committee above-mentioned, "stating the discovery of some gross abuses in "the department of the paymaster-general, "which was thereby stopped.* The bill to pro-"hibit the grant of places in reversion is lost. "More than 100 private bills carried to ad-

"vanced stages, at great expence to the parties "in them drop, and the improvement of the "country is impeded. At the same moment "the Scotch judges were in attendance in the "House of Lords, with their answers to cer- "tain questions relative to the administration "of justice in Scotland, for which purpose "they had been expressly called to London, "to the interruption of the ordinary duties of "their important offices. The usual act of "appropriation of the funds voted by Parlia- "ment has not been passed.—Under these "circumstances the King has been advised to "dissolve the Parliament, and in the speech "delivered by the Lord Chancellor in his Ma- "jesty's name, the assertion is made, that no "material interruption in the public business "will take place. In that speech satisfaction "is expressed at the adoption of those finan- "cial measures, which exempt the people "from the burthen of additional taxes, but "which the King's present ministers would "have persuaded the House of Commons to "reject, and the completion of which is pre- "vented by their conduct. It is professed to "inculcate a spirit of union, harmony, and "good will amongst all classes and descrip- "tions of the people, when at the same time "the only appearances of discord have been "excited, by the attempt of one of his Ma- "jesty's ministers to sow the seeds of religious "animosity in the neighbouring county of "Northampton, upon a ground which his col- "leagues have not avowed, and against his "principles, in that particular, many of them "have been heretofore solemnly pledged. In a "situation so alarming, and when the councils of "the King are guided by such persons, I have "thought it necessary to make this exposition "to you, my earliest, best, and constant friends; "I have treated with freedom the acts of "government and the speech delivered by the "Lord Chancellor in the king's name, be- "cause I abhor and deny the position lately "urged in parliament, and to which (as it "appears to me) countenance is given in the "terms of that speech, that the king can "ever act without an adviser; if that position "be admitted, the people may be without "redress, or the sovereign without security— "by the constitution both are impossible.—— "Of my own conduct during the important "interval which has elapsed since I last ad- "dressed you, I say nothing, because it has "been so public that it cannot have escaped "your notice. I court your enquiry, and if "you are satisfied in the result of it, I hope "for your votes at the present election. If "you do me the honour again to return me, "I shall indeed be proud of it, and I will "again endeavour to do my duty.—I have the "honor to be, gentlemen, with every senti- "ment of attachment and respect, your "grateful and obedient servant, SAMUEL "WHITBREAD." ——Yes, this may have been as foul play as Mr. Whitbread pleases; there may have been manœuvring and jocky- ing enough. All may have been as he would wish us to perceive it; but, I defy him to show, that he and his party have been so foully dealt by *as he and his party have dealt by you and Mr. Paull*; and, if I had been at his elbow, when he was setting down the deeds of the short parliament, I should certainly have requested him not to omit the *unanimous vote for reprimanding Mr. Paull*, whose only crime was, that of denying a charge falsely, and to his face, al- ledged against him. I rejoice that that par- liament is dissolved. That act alone de- served a death somewhat more than political. One of the members of it rises and charges a person, who stood as a petitioner at the bar, with having repeatedly gone out to commu- nicate with and prompt the witnesses; the petitioner, who had never stirred from the bar, feeling as any man of truth and of spirit must feel, speaks in his own defence and de- nies the charge. Upon this, Lord Howick, the minister, moves that he be punished by a reprimand, and some of the members even propose that he shall be sent to prison. One member, however, Mr. Whitbread himself, asserts that the petitioner, on whom he has had his eye constantly fixed, has never moved from the bar, therein flatly contra- dicting the assertion of the accusing member, Sir Watkin Wynne. "That is no matter," says Lord Howick, "I still say reprimand "him, reprimand him," after the manner of the Jews, when they importuned Pontius Pilate; and reprimanded he was. Such a proceeding would have become an assembly of Bashaws. I rejoice that it no longer exists. I rejoice that I have an opportunity of speaking my mind of it. "But, its *suc- cessor* . . . . . ." No matter. I care not for that. It is a satisfaction to me to see my oppressors humbled; and, in every human breast, this is a feeling perfect- ly natural and justifiable.——There is, too, gentlemen, another consideration, and that is, that the Whigs were only *beginning*. My Lord Howick was merely making a com- mencement in his career of authority; and, with a parliament ready to support him; or, rather, ready to let him do what he pleased, in a case like that above referred to, would he not have been, if possible, ten thousand times more arrogant than Pitt, whose character and conduct he so often eulogized, and whose example he so strictly

followed? One of the first acts of the Whigs was to prevent the trial of Lord Melville to be published in the newspapers, or in any shape except in one monopolized book, by which means the *public* have never been made acquainted with the evidence given. And now they complain, that Lord Melville has supplanted them. How justly are they punished! This act was also a beginning with the press. What they would have done, if they had subdued the king, we may easily guess; and, in short, when we consider what they did, and what they left undone, it is impossible not to rejoice, that both they and their parliament are politically dead ——Mr. Whitbread, Gentlemen, talks about "the *constitution*," and, it would be strange indeed if he did not, for when have you heard a stickler for party who had not the word everlastingly in his mouth? But, though Mr. Whitbread can complain of the Speech as unconstitutional; though he can see something very dangerous to the constitution in the king's *changing his ministers* without a responsible adviser; though he can see this, which I cannot see, he thought it, I suppose, perfectly constitutional to set on foot that famous Subscription, which was raised for the purposes of depriving you of the use of your elective franchise; and when Mr. Whitbread again complains of the *hypocrisy* of his opponents, remind him, I pray you, of his speech at the last of Mr. Sheridan's election dinners, where he congratulated the company on their triumph, which, he said, was so much the more agreeable to him that it had been achieved *without any undue influence;* when, at the same time, he had been the great author of that Subscription, which has been brought to light by the Committee, and to which subscription alone, and the nefarious means that it enabled our enemies to resort to, the *triumph* of Mr. Sheridan was to be ascribed. Mr. Whitbread well knew, that, if your free voices had been heard, Mr Paull would have been the member. This he knew. This he cannot deny; and, he cannot deny, that *he* had the principal hand in stifling that voice. Let him now himself complain of foul play, till his lungs are exhausted. Let him now cry out against unconstitutional dealing, till he be weary. What care you or I for his complaints? Us, and all the people, who are not subservient to his views, he would deprive of every benefit of the constitution. Except as the tools of himself and his party, he would not, if he could have his will, suffer us to exist. Let him complain to those who received his subscription money. Let those degraded wretches condole with him. From us he merits, on this occasion, nothing but contempt.——Another reason, too, for my rejoicing at the death of the late parliament, is, that it affords those electors who have yet any part of their franchise remaining, and especially *you*, an opportunity of choosing men in whom you ought to confide, and that one of those men ought to be Mr. Paull the whole nation is convinced. Much had he done when you before gave him your votes; but, what he has since done entitles him to your gratitude in a degree not to be expressed. You would have had, on the last occasion, no election, had it not been for him; and, had it not been for his exertions, for his unparalleled exertions and sacrifices since, you never would have had another. His firmness and perseverance, his devotion to the public cause, have prevented your city from becoming a close borough. It is from pure fear of him that those who before attempted to monopolize you have decamped. That you have, practically speaking, any voice at all, to give, you owe solely to him, and, therefore, not to support him, upon the present occasion, would argue a degree of depravity, which I should be loth to ascribe to any part of my countrymen, and particularly to you. With catholic bills, or ministerial pledges, or royal consciences, you have nothing to do You want, in the House of Commons, a member, who, in spite of seduction and of threats, will set about the pursuit of public robbers, and who will never desist, until he has brought them to punishment. This is the man you want, and this man you have in Mr. Paull. Of the several millions of men, of whom this nation consists, there is, perhaps, scarcely one other, who, under all the embarrassments and dangers that he has had to encounter, would have done what Mr Paull has done for the maintaining of his rights, and your rights still more than his own It is not so rare to find persons of talent as of firmness, industry, and perseverance; and all these great public virtues are possessed by Mr. Paull in the highest degree. Two such men might do a great deal, even in the House of Commons; but, one man, if you cannot obtain two, may do much, particularly in the way of bringing to light useful facts, such facts as must, in time, produce their due effect. But, I freely confess to you, that, if, upon this great occasion, you fail in the performance of your duty, all your complaints, like those of Mr. Whitbread, will be a subject of ridicule rather than of compassion. You should remember, that the question with you now is, not whether you shall have a real representative in the next parliament; but, whether

you shall ever have another real representative as long as the present mode of choosing members of parliament shall exist. It is a contest for your franchises; and, if you neglect to exert yourselves, of those franchises you ought to be deprived. These are not times for flattery. In the series of letters, which I have done myself the honour to address to you, I have, first or last, though in a manner somewhat irregular, laid before you the whole of the state of the country, in a way not easily misunderstood. You must see what is the cause of all our calamities; you must perceive, that it is in your power to aid in removing that cause; and, if you fail to afford that aid, you may still complain, but you will find no one to pity. In the anxious hope, that you will not be found wanting upon this great and trying occasion, I remain, with those sentiments of respect and admiration, which your conduct at the last election were so well calculated to inspire,

Your faithful friend,
And obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 30th April, 1807.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

CITY ADDRESS ON THE CHANGE OF MINISTERS.——April 22. This day the deputation of the corporation of London, consisting of the lord mayor, twelve aldermen, the recorder, sheriffs, and twelve commoners, presented the following Address to his Majesty at the Queen's House,

"To the King's most excellent Majesty. The humble and dutiful address of the lord mayor, aldermen and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled.

"Most gracious Sovereign, ——We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, approach the Throne with our warmest and most unfeigned gratitude for the dignified and decided support and protection recently given by your Majesty to the Protestant reformed religion, as by law established, and for the firm and constitutional exercise of your royal prerogative to preserve the independence of the crown.——Deeply sensible as your Majesty's faithful citizens of London at all times are, of the great and substantial blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's paternal government, we should justly incur the imputation of criminal indifference as the first municipal body in your Majesty's dominions, were we lightly to consider the scrupulous regard and fervent zeal which have invariably guided your Majesty for the preservation of our religion, laws and liberties, more particularly at this interesting conjuncture; or silently to withhold our loyal acknowledgments, due to the best of Kings, for his wise and steady resolution to secure inviolate our glorious constitution in church and state.—We contemplate, Sire, with the warmest affection and most profound veneration, the exercise of those unextinguishable principles in the Royal breast, which protect in every situation, the religious interests of your people, and provide for the happiness and freedom of posterity, by guarding the Protestant succession in your Majesty's Royal House on the Throne of the United Kingdom.—Your Majesty's faithful citizens of London feel it no less their pride and exultation, than their bounden and indispensible duty, to express the sentiments of satisfaction which animates their hearts, at the wise and dignified measures pursued by your Majesty, securing the glorious independence of the crown as one of the three estates of our well tempered and invaluable constitution.—That your Majesty may be long spared to us by an overruling Providence, and that the people of this land may be long sensible of the blessings of your Majesty's most auspicious government in the protection of every thing dear to them, is the ardent prayer of your Majesty's loyal citizens of London.—— Signed by order of court.—HENRY WOODTHORPE."

To which address his Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:——

"I receive with the greatest satisfaction the assurances you give me of your concurrence in those principles which have governed my conduct on the late important occasion. It has ever been my object to secure to all descriptions of my subjects the benefits of religious toleration; and it affords me particular gratification to reflect, that during my reign these advantages have been more generally and extensively enjoyed than at any former period. But, at the same time, I never can forget what is due to the security of the ecclesiastical establishment of my dominions, connected as it is with our civil constitution, and with all those blessings which, by the favour of Providence, have hitherto so eminently distinguished us amongst the nations of the world."

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. XI. No. 19.] LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 9, 1807. [PRICE 10d.

"A BOROUGH.—A Gentleman of *fortune* and respectability will hear of one, by immediately applying to "Mr. Prince, Bookseller, Old North-street, Red Lion-square."——MORNING POST, 1st. May, 1807.

"SEAT IN A CERTAIN ASSEMBLY.—Any Gentleman having the *Disposal* of a *Close One*, may apply to "Mr. Francis, Stationer Cross-street, Hatton-garden."——MORNING POST, 2d May, 1807.

"PATRONAGE.—Wanted, by a Gentleman of *high honour and character*, a respectable *Official Situation*, "in England (either a Sinecure, or one which does not require constant attendance), for which *an adequate* "*compensation will be given*, according to the annual produce. The most satisfactory reference will be given "and required, previous to any treaty being entered into. Apply by letter (post paid) to A. B. at Mr. O. "Turner's, law stationer, Chancery-lane."——MORNING CHRONICLE, 30th April, 1807.

"Wanted to *Purchase, the next Presentation to a Living* from 300l. to 500l. per annum, with the prospect "of an early vacancy. Address, post-paid, to A. B. Strawbridge and Tyler's, 78, Warren-street, Fitzroy-"square."——MORNING CHRONICLE, 30th April, 1807.

TO THE

FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XV.

GENTLEMEN,

I have long been afraid of wearying you with my unasked-for observations and advice; but, though I do not see, that, under the present circumstances, any thing that I can say is at all likely to produce any immediate effect upon your conduct, or, at least, any effect that can be of conspicuous utility to the public cause, I cannot refrain from addressing to you this one letter, first upon a topic or two of a more general nature, connected with the elections now going forward, and next upon the subject of your own election.

One of those topics is the recent exposure with regard to a great defalcation in the Army-Pay-Office, to prevent the publication of the report relating to which the partisans of the late ministry represent as one of the principal causes of the dissolution of parliament. Indeed, those ministers themselves so represent it; for we find the representation distinctly made in the address of Lord Howick to his constituents, the freeholders of Northumberland. Mr. Whitbread says the same in his address, and so does Mr. Herbert. In my last letter some observations were made upon this subject; but, since the publication of that letter, an elaborate defence of Mr. Rose, as having been made acquainted with the defalcation, has appeared in the Courier news-paper, which defence is, apparently, written either by Mr. Rose himself, or by some person nearly as much interested in the matter as he is, and on which, after inserting it, as I now am about to do, I shall have to beseech your attention to a few short remarks.——

"The facts stated to the Committee of Finance by Mr. Rose, were, *that on the 10th of February*, 1806, (some days after he had actually retired from the Pay-Office), three of the senior clerks called upon him at his house, respecting some matters that had passed in the office in his time, and to thank him for marks of attention, &c; and that on their going out of the room, one of them (not the accountant, whose duty it was to have made the disclosure) turned about, and said that a circumstance of an extraordinary nature had occurred in the time of his predecessors; that MR. STEELE *had in* 1798, *and* 1800, *applied two sums amounting to* 19,000*l. or thereabouts, out of the cash in the hands of the Pay-Master-General, on giving his own receipt for the same, without any authority from the Treasury or the War Office*; at which statement Mr. Rose expressed great surprise, and, to the accountant, some resentment at the communication having been delayed till he was out of office, *when he could apply no possible remedy*; observing, that the transaction was upon the face of it, at least, a most *irregular* one; but that from his long knowledge of Mr. Steele, he was persuaded that he would be able to explain it, so as to acquit himself of having done any thing more than taking upon himself *a serious responsibility*; that he probably had vouchers in his possession; but that in any event it had been his (the accountant's) duty to remind Mr. Steele of the transaction on his quitting office in 1804, in order that, if it had not been satisfactorily explained, he might often have stated it to Mr. Rose and his colleague, on

" their appointment; to which the ac-
" countant answered, he had called two or
" three times at Mr. Steele's door, without
" finding him: which conduct appeared to
" render the conduct of the accountant less
" excusable, because if he thought it ne-
" cessary to see Mr. Steele on the subject,
" he certainly should have apprized him of
" his wish to do so to ensure his meeting
" with him. Mr. Rose therefore desired
" him to write to Mr. Steele to render his
" seeing him certain, and to let Mr. Rose
" know on his return from Buckden, whe-
" ther any interposition of his with Mr.
" Steele would be necessary.——Lord Tem-
" ple has stated that Mr. Rose declined even
" to give advice to the accountant on the
" subject. On the 11th of February Mr.
" Rose went to Buckden, and returned the
" 19th; on the 20th the accountant called
" on him and told him he had seen Mr.
" Steele, who said generally that the sums
" before mentioned were received by him
" for army services of a secret nature. The
" accountant's statement of his interview
" with Mr. Steele was so little satisfactory
" to Mr. Rose, that the latter went to Mr.
" Steele on the morning of the 21st, from
" whom he could obtain no clear explana-
" tion of the business: Mr. Steele said Mr.
" Rose must excuse his entering into parti-
" culars at present, as he did not feel him-
" self at liberty to do so; *that the advances*
" *were made to a person or persons for ser-*
" *vices of a secret nature*; that the whole
" would be repaid, but that he could not
" at the moment fix the precise time, ac-
" knowledging *that he had no warrant or*
" *other authority whatever for the issue.*
" Mr. Rose then observed to him, that
" under such circumstances he (Mr. Steele)
" should see Lord Grenville or the present
" Paymaster-General, and explain so
" much of the transaction as should satisfy
" them; the whole of it certainly if they
" should think it necessary; adding that it
" was beyond all comparison better he should
" do that in the first instance, as from him-
" self, than wait to give an explanation
" when he should be called upon to do so;
" stating too, that as the matter had been
" spoken of publicly in the office, *it would*
" *soon become a topic in a wide circle*;—
" that this appeared to be the more impor-
" tant, as the precedent would shew to
" future paymasters general the possibility
" of their taking money placed in the Bank
" on the account of the public for their own
" private accommodation at any time, when
" they should find themselves under a press-
" ing urgency to do so, *which was plainly*
" *against the spirit of the Pay Office Act*.
" ——Instead, therefore, of the indif-
" ference imputed to Mr. Rose on the sub-
" ject, the whole of this communication
" with the Accountant and Mr. Steele,
" shews his anxiety about it. But *he could*
" *not reconcile to himself to become* AN IN-
" FORMER, *out of office*, against a man
" *universally beloved*, with whom he *had no*
" *private intercouse whatever from political*
" *differences*.——Not content with this
" verbal communication with Mr. Steele,
" Mr. Rose in the afternoon of the same
" day, wrote to Mr. Steele, repeating what
" he had urged to him in the morning; and
" added, that *however he might be justified*
" *in taking such responsibility upon him-*
" *self by the exigency of the case*, it was
" not desirable that a paymaster-general
" should have the power of applying mo-
" ney in his hands, at his own will, with-
" out any authority whatever, &c. &c.
" &c.; and then went on to say that his
" (Mr. Steele's) making the communica-
" tion he recommended, would remove the
" difficulty he (Mr. Rose) was under, of
" giving the accountant advice out of office:
" which he (the accountant) ought not to
" have called upon him (Mr. Rose) to do
" then, never having even alluded to the
" matter till after his retirement from it.
" ——To which letter, on the 23d, Mr.
" Steele answered, he would certainly follow
" the advice given, and take an early op-
" portunity of communicating to Lord
" Grenville the circumstances which related
" to the issue of the two sums in question;
" and that Mr. Rose might therefore, if he
" thought proper, apprise the accountant
" of that intention.——On the 14th of
" February, Mr. Rose wrote two letters
" from Buckden, to the accountant, on the
" subject. And after his return to town,
" he wrote to the accountant on the 24th,
" to acquaint him with the assurance he
" had from Mr. Steele of his intended
" communication with Lord Grenville, and
" concluded with telling him, that *as no*
" communication whatever was made to
" him (Mr. Rose) while he was in of-
" fice, *he did not think he could then*
" *with propriety give any further advice*
" *on the subject*; and Mr. Rose *hearing at*
" *the time no further mention of it from*
" *any quarter, FELT A CONVICTION,*
" *that a SATISFACTORY explanation had*
" *been given by Mr. Steele to Lord Gren-*
" *ville, relative to the services for which*
" *the sums were received by him*; and the
" matter was completely discharged from his
" mind, till on the 9th of last February he

" received an official letter from Lord Temple dated the 7th, stating he had discovered " the two issues having been made without any authority, and that as he found " the circumstance was communicated to " him some days before Mr. Rose resigned " the paymastership, *desired he would refer him to the documents in the office, in* " *which he might find any minute or memorandum of it.* It now appears by the " Treasury minutes, that Lord Temple made " the disclosure to that board the 31st of January: this attempt to implicate Mr. " Rose must therefore have been an after-" thought. To which Mr. Rose instantly " answered, that the circumstance alluded " to was *not communicated to him till after* " *he had quitted the Pay-Office; he could* " *therefore make no minute*, nor give any " direction upon it; about which, as there " were three gentlemen present at the time " when the communication was made, any " possibility of a mistake was precluded.— " It now appears that so early as on the 31st " of January last, and the 4th and 6th " of February, Lord Temple acquainted " Lord Grenville with the discovery " made to him of the issue of the two " sums and that in consequence thereof, a " minute of the treasury board was made on " the 10th, calling upon Mr. Steele to pay " the said sum, the first having been previously paid; and that other minutes were " made on the 26th of February and 19th of " March on the same business, in no one " of which does there appear to be the " slightest imputation of any thing tending " to criminality in the transaction, no censure, no rebuke, nothing but directions " about the repayment. The lords of the " treasury, therefore, tacitly sanctioned what " had been done by Mr. Steele, so far, at " least, as not blaming his conduct. And " yet a charge is attempted to be sustained " against Mr. Rose, for not informing of it " when out of office, *by endeavouring to* " *prove he was informed of it when in the* " *public service.* He had however positively " retired from his employment several days " before the 10th of February, 1806, and " went on the 11th to Buckden for a week. " The King's appointment of his successors " *(it is found on inquiry) was not signed* " *till the 13th, but of that he knew nothing* " *till within the last fortnight*; and the " time when the cash at the bank was transferred to his successor, he was ignorant " of till he saw it in the Morning Chronicle " last week. It was therein stated not to " have taken place till the 24th of February; it might not have been done till the " 1st of May, for any thing Mr. Rose knew; " he was not a party to it.——These are " the circumstances of the case as it affects " Mr. Rose. If he had at the time foreseen " the attempt that would be made to implicate " him in the transaction, he could hardly " have acted with more caution and circumspection on a disclosure of a business " which, as stated by the Accountant of the " Pay Office (when reproved by Mr. Rose) " had nothing criminal in it: M. Steele's " statement to led to a belief, *that he had* " *taken on himself a most severe responsibility, but to no suspicion of any thing* " *beyond that.* The charge against government for dissolving parliament to prevent " the investigation of the whole matter by " the committee of finance, hardly deserves " serious refutation. What particular inducement had the present ministers to " protect Mr. Steele? When the occurrence took place, Lord Grenville, Lord " Spencer, and Mr. Windham were in the " cabinet; few of the present ministers " were. Mr. Steele adhered to Mr. Addington after his separation from Mr. Pitt; " and the latter, when he returned to the " administration, removed Mr Steele from " his office. How then, it may be asked, " *does any thing done by Mr. Steele affect* " *the present Ministers?* The entire separation of Mr. Rose from him would have " made it a very painful task for Mr. Rose " to have become AN INFORMER against " him when he no longer had a duty imposed on him 'to put himself in that situation.'" —Now, Gentlemen, stripping this statement of all its quibbling and shuffling, the facts, as acknowledged by this defender of Mr. Rose, are these: 1st, that Mr. Rose was, on the 10th of February, 1806, he being still paymaster-general, made officially acquainted with an embezzlement of his predecessor, Mr. Steele (Pitt's favourite, " *Tommy Steele*"), to the amount of 19,000 pounds of the public money; 2nd, that Mr. Rose, then, and all the while since a member of the House of Commons, did not make any report of such embezzlement to the succeeding paymaster, nor any minute of it in the records of the office, nor any motion respecting it in the House of Commons; 3rd, that the embezzlement was discovered by Lord Temple, one of the succeeding paymasters-general, in January last; and, 4th, that the facts, having been communicated by Lord Temple to a committee of the late House of Commons, that committee was about to present a report upon the subject, when the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, the moment the

reading of prayers was over, and before the House could possibly proceed to business, brought a summons for the House to proceed to the House of Peers, where they heard a speech, which, at once, put an end to the report, the committee and the parliament.——In Mr. Rose's defence, it is, by the above writer, alledged, that he was *out of office* at the time when he received information upon the subject. This allegation, however, he is obliged to retract, for, it appears, that the new paymaster was not appointed, that is to say, did not enter upon the exercise of his functions, until the 24th of February, whereas it is expressly acknowledged, that the information was given to Mr. Rose on the 10th of that month. "Yes," says this defender, "but Mr. Rose did *not know* that. He "*looked upon himself* as being out of office on the 10th," and as a proof of this, he states that Mr. Rose "went off to Buckden on "the 11th."——Gentlemen, what a sorry shuffle is this? *Not know* that his official duties had not expired! *Not know* the time, *not know* the day and the hour, when duties expired, for the performance of which duties he received, out of our hard strained purses, 4,000 pounds a year! This fact, if true, would tend to shew us, with what degree of care and diligence such offices are executed. He "went off to Buckden." But, *why* did he go off to Buckden, and that, too, observe, the very next day? Why did he run out of the way the moment he had heard of so important a matter? He *thought* he was *out of office*, though he has received the salary for that office up to the 24th of the month, I dare engage. Yes, he might *possibly* think so: but, in such a case, it appears to me, that any man, worthy of such a place of trust, and so situated, would have wished to be able to probe the matter to the bottom, and to expose the embezzlement; and, that wish would naturally have led to an *inquiry* as to his official power of acting. Such a man would have said "let me see: my power as paymaster still "remains; no successor has been actually "appointed; I am yet able to bring this "embezzler forth before I leave the office, "or, at least, to put the facts upon record, "so that my successor may be enabled to "proceed upon the business, and to cause "justice to be done to the public without "delay." What man, worthy of high public trust, would not thus have thought, and have acted accordingly? When we complain of the enormous salaries that we are compelled to pay to men in such offices, and allodge, that their labours are nothing at all, we are reminded of the great *responsibility*, the dreadful load of *care*, which, for our good, they take upon themselves; but, how has this been proved in the instance before us? Mr. Rose makes no discovery of the embezzlement, though he is two years in the office, and receives 8,000 pounds from us; and, when the discovery is made to him, he does not take the pains to ascertain whether he be still paymaster, or not, but goes off to the country as fast as post-horses can get along.—Nor, were we to admit of this miserable shuffle, that he did *not know* that he was still in office, would that admission at all diminish the blame imputable to him, if the facts, above stated by his defender, be correct; for, in the first place, it was his duty, his bounden duty, to have gone immediately to his successor, instead of going to Buckden, and to inform him of the facts, which had come to his knowledge. "My "power, as pay-master," he would have said, "has expired; I am unable, officially, to make any record of this embezzlement; but, I am come to enable you to "obtain, without delay, justice for that injured people, from whom I and my family have received so much money, that "it would be ingratitude black as hell in "me, were I, for one moment, to wink "at any frauds committed upon them, burdened and oppressed as they already are." But, in lieu of this, which, I trust, would have been the conduct of either of you, Gentlemen, had you been in Mr. Rose's place, what does he do? He sets off instantly for Buckden, whence, however, he *writes* upon the subject; but, not to his successor in office, not to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; no, nor to any person or persons having power to obtain justice for the public, but to *Mr. Tommy Steele himself!* To *this person* alone he confines his communications upon the subject; and, upon Steele's telling him, that he would *explain* the matter to Lord Grenville, he, we are told, becomes, "*without hearing any thing more of the matter*," CONVINCED that a *satisfactory* explanation "has been "given to Lord Grenville!" A *satisfactory* explanation of the withdrawing of 19,000 pounds of the public money from the service of the public, in direct violation of the law! God Almighty! Was there ever a nation so pillaged and so insulted as this! And is it, indeed, for the honor of fattening, with the sweat of our brow and the straining of our sinews, Tommy Steele and his like, that we are to, "spend our last shil-"ling, and shed the last drop of our "blood?"——Supposing, merely for the ar-

gument's sake, that the being out of the office, or, rather, the mere thinking that he was out of the office, and supposing, to strain the hypothesis to the utmost, that such was the real thought of Mr. Rose; supposing all this, what sort of apology would the like of this be, if viewed in a moral or even legal light, and compared with the maxims and practice of men in the common concerns of life? If I know that my *neighbour's* servant has purloined his cash or his plate, and do not make the fact known to my neighbour, I am manifestly chargeable with moral guilt; and, if my connivance be discovered and proved, the law deems me an accessary after the fact, and justly punishes me accordingly. And, if this be so in the case of an embezzlement, committed upon my neighbour, what is the judgment that ought to be awarded against me, if I am guilty of similar connivance, in the case of an embezzlement of the property of *my master*; my generous and confiding master, from whose means I have grown rich, and whose purse is to me still a source of riches? Nay, further, if I am, too, still one of "*the Guardians of this master's purse*," and have solemnly pledged myself to execute that trust with fidelity and diligence? Could either of you, Gentlemen, had you been a member of the House of Commons, have remained in that post from the 10th of February 1806, until the end of April, 1807, without making any motion relative to the transaction in question, had it come to your knowledge? I trust not; and, had there been upon Mr. Rose no other responsibility than merely that of a member of parliament, that alone demanded, on his part, an immediate exposure of the transaction.—— By way of palliation, as to *motive*, it is stated, by the defender of Mr. Rose, that he was, at the time when the discovery was made to him, not in habits of intimacy with Steele, and that they had been *separated* by the separation of Mr. Addington from Mr. Pitt, to the former of whom Steele adhered, while Mr. Rose remained in adherence to Mr. Pitt. But, Gentleman, a very slight effort of the memory will enable us to set a proper value upon this statement. Mr. Rose was not so separated from the friends of Mr. Addington as to be prevented from joining with them and with Mr. Addington himself, in December 1804, after the first separation took place; nor has his attachment to Mr. Pitt prevented him from now embracing the Duke of Portland, who remained, like Steele, separated from Pitt, till the day of the death of the latter. *Separated!* No, Gentlemen, such men are never separated as far as concerns transactions like that of which we are speaking. They may find it convenient, now-and-then, to affect being separated, and, sometimes, they may have their quarrels for place and emolument; but, as towards us, they are always firmly united, and are always found ready to stand by each other.——Denying that the dissolution of parliament had, for one of its objects, the protection of Steele, the writer, above-quoted, asks, "what particular inducement had the "present ministers to protect Mr. Steele?" No *particular* inducement, perhaps, but, I can easily suppose a *general* inducement, and that it was powerful with them I have no doubt. As to the circumstance of Lords Grenville and Spencer and Mr. Windham being *in the cabinet*, at the time when the embezzlement took place, namely, in 1798 and 1800, that is a most foul insinuation against those gentlemen, because it is well known, that the two former were in offices not at all connected with the disbursement of the public money, and, it is, by this writer, declared, that the 19,000 pounds were withdrawn *without the knowledge of the secretary at war*, and Mr. Windham was that secretary at war. They were all, indeed, *in the cabinet*, but, we have seen that Pitt, being first Lord of the Treasury, could lend, of the public money, without interest, 40,000 pounds to Boyd and Benfield, two of his then majority in parliament, *without consulting the cabinet*, without ever making the fact known to any member thereof, without making any minute of it; and, has any body ever dreamed of making the cabinet responsible for that violation of the law? But, Gentlemen, though it is pretty certain, that Lords Grenville and Spencer and Mr. Windham were not privy to the embezzlement, it is by no means certain that some other persons, and those, perhaps, *now in place*, were *not privy to it*; this is by no means certain; and, therefore, it is not at all difficult to conceive a powerful motive for endeavouring to stifle the inquiry, which, as in the case of Lord Melville, would, in all likelihood, have led to further exposure, and would have implicated many persons, who naturally enough prefer the signal of "No Popery" to "No Peculation." Whether, however, the stifling of this inquiry was, or was not, a principal motive for dissolving the parliament, will soon become evident, when the new parliament has met. If the committee of finance be renewed, and *composed of the same persons as nearly as possible* as the last committee was composed of, then

I shall be ready to allow, that the stifling of the inquiry was *not* a principal object of the dissolution; but, if the committee be not renewed, or, being renewed, be not so composed, I shall be convinced that to stifle the inquiry *was* a principal object in making what Mr. Canning calls "an appeal to the people."——Our writer again reminds the public, that the late ministers had been in possession of the facts relating to Steele's embezzlement for several months previous to the time when they were bringing those facts out to light, and he infers, that they would never have brought them out, *had they remained in place*. This I believe; and this, Gentlemen, conveys a strong censure on the late ministers; but, it does not alter the case with respect to Mr. Rose or any of his party. It implicates two ministries instead of one in the charge of connivance; but, it lessens the blame due to neither, while it aggravates the grievance of the suffering people.——Were I to judge from the language of the defender of Mr. Rose, I should certainly anticipate a resolute endeavour, on the part of the new ministry, to stifle the inquiry in question. He calls the act of Steele an *irregularity*; he says that Mr. Rose saw nothing *criminal* in it; he talks of his being *justified* in taking so serious a *responsibility* upon himself; he talks of his having done *nothing more* than taking upon himself *a responsibility*; and he calls him a gentleman *universally beloved!* This is pretty language; pretty cant! The robber upon the highway *only* takes upon himself a severe responsibility. The murderer does no more. But, they are both hanged, if caught. Let us hope, at any rate, that we shall be favoured with the *name* of "the *person* to whom the "money was given for *secret services*." Let us hope, too (though that, perhaps, is too much to hope) that we shall know the *nature* of the *services*. But, Gentlemen, how infamously impudent it is to talk of *services* in such a case! What services could *possibly* be furthered by the misapplication of this money? What else than an injury to the country could possibly be effected by the employment of 19,000 pounds of its money for purposes that *dared not be avowed*, and that have been kept secret from 1798 to the present day?——When we see such things brought to light, what must we think of the magnitude of the peculations that remain hidden? Oh, that the day were arrived, when the whole mystery of iniquity shall be developed! In that day, when it comes, and come it will; in that day, when, to use the words of Sir Francis Burdett, "corruption shall "have destroyed corruption," we shall clearly see how we have been beggared, what has produced the income-tax, and what all the enormous burdens we bear; but, until that day comes, expect no good, I pray you, except in the way of *exposure*, from any human being, and much less from the apostate Whigs, who, while the prospect of long enjoyment of place lay before them, extolled the character and conduct of Pitt, and walked in all his footsteps, but particularly in those which tended to the screening of peculators, many of whom they saw clearly detected, but not one of whom did they punish, or cause to disgorge his plunder.

Another topic, which I wish to address you upon, is the election in general, of which, however, after your reading of the advertisements, which I have taken for my motto, it will be useless to say much. And *this*, Gentlemen, is what they call "an "appeal to the *people!*" This is the mighty blessing, which, we are told, the world envy us! From one corner of the kingdom to the other corruption extends his baleful, his serpent hatching wings. Can this last? Ought it to last? Of what avail is it that the miscreants engaged in this infamous traffic call us jacobins and levellers? Will any one of them say, that this ought to be? Has any one of them the ingenuity to find out any thing, even in imagination, worse than this? Politicians may endeavour to alarm us with cries of revolution, and divines may preach to us about hell; but, if the one can find any thing more disgraceful, or the other any thing more damnable, than what is described in these advertisements, I beseech them speedily to exhibit it to our view. *Fifty-seven* of these advertisements have I read in the London daily papers; and, I defy any man living to produce me, in the history of the whole world, any thing so completely descriptive of national degradation. Well may Mr. Fawkes say, in his addres to his late constituents of the county of York, that a seat in parliament, which he once regarded as the height of laudable ambition, he now views in quite a different light; and, the only wonder is, that he should have been till now in the dark upon the subject. Again I call upon our accusers, upon those, who, for hire, denominate us jacobins and levellers, and who cry aloud for the preservation of the constitution, to say, whether the constitution sanctions these things. If it does, what an infamous imposture it is! and, if it does not, it is we, and not our revilers, who are endeavouring to support the constitution of

England. Aye, it is we who would restore and support the constitution; the real constitution; that constitution which so strictly forbids the buying or the selling of a single vote, much more a seat in parliament; that constitution which inhibits peers from any sort of interference in elections, and that supposes it impossible that any peer should, in any way, send a member to the Commons' House; that constitution, in short, which forbids, in the strongest terms, and under severe penalties, every one of the abuses, of which we complain; and, yet have the hireling revilers the audacity to reproach us with *a wish to overturn the constitution!* In such a state the country cannot long remain. No country has ever long remained in such a state. Those who have an evident interest in perpetuating abuses of all sorts, may endeavour to terrify the people with the consequences of what is called a revolution; and, from a revolution, in the usual sense of the word, as applied to politics, God preserve us! but a *change*, and a great change too, must come, and come it will, in one way or another, and that at no distant day.

I should here make some remarks upon the baseness of those, who have, at a time like this, set up a cry of "*No Popery.*" Mr. Perceval, *may* be, and for the honour of human nature, I hope he is, sincere in his alarms upon this score; but, as to the rest of the ministry, if they have had any hand in setting up this cry, while, at the same time, it is well known that they approved of the measures contemplated by Pitt, they must be the very basest of all mankind. I am inclined to expect, or to hope, little good from them; but, really, to impute such baseness to them, without positive proof, I cannot. Of all sins that of political hypocrisy excites the greatest degree of public hatred; and, if it should appear, that it is they who, while they have not dared to avow it openly, have thus set to work the mercenaries of the press and the pulpit, they will see the day when a terrible vengeance will fall upon their heads. On this subject, I beg leave to refer you to the excellent Letter of Lord Grenville, contained in the present sheet, reserving my remarks upon it for another opportunity, but availing myself of this opportunity just to remind his Lordship, that there are other Societies besides *Corresponding Societies* capable of carrying on the work of "sedition," and that, the trick of "*no popery*," in 1807, is very little, if any, worse, or more base, than the trick of "*chartered rights*," in 1784. His Lordship seems to have been paid off in his own coin, or, perhaps, in the coin of his admired Pitt; but, the unhappy Whigs, have, owing to their own cupidity in the last instance, been over-reached in both cases.

Now, as to your *own election*, Gentlemen, it will, perhaps, be too late to offer you any thing in the way of advice; but, I cannot refrain from thus publickly expressing my deep regret, that Mr. Paull is no longer in a state to be thought of as your representative, and more particularly that the cause of his incapacity should also have endangered his life; a life, which, from the time that I had the honour first to know him, I knew to have been ardently and disinterestedly devoted to the public. His conduct, in some instances, may have been precipitate, rash, violent; but, these are faults not of the worst stamp, and they are greatly overbalanced by his public virtues. Of those virtues, the exercise of which I have witnessed, I am sorry the country will now be deprived; but, in the consciousness of possessing them, he will, I hope, find more than a sufficient consolation for any disappointment that he may, at present, have experienced. Mr. Paull was first known to me through the means of Mr. Windham, in June, 1805. From that time to the close of the last Westminster election, I was privy to all his public proceedings, and, I think to all his motives; and, I am convinced, that all those proceedings flowed from a desire to render good to his country. He withstood temptations such as no other man, that I know of, ever withstood. There is nothing, in reason, that he might not have possessed, in the way of what is called honour, and what really is profit, if he would have desisted from the performance of what he regarded as his public duty. This I know; for this I honour him; for this I shall always rejoice at his good fortune, and mourn whatever of bad shall befal him.——Sir Francis Burdett I have, from the time of the second Middlesex election, regarded as the fittest man to represent you, an opinion to which Mr. Paull is no stranger, and, I am persuaded, that the latter would, at any time, have resigned all pretensions in favour of the former. That you will, at this late hour, succeed in electing Sir Francis Burdett, he being absent too, I can hardly expect, though I most anxiously hope it; for, until his principles, which are the real principles of the constitution, prevail, neither happiness nor liberty, nor one moment's safety from without, will this our harrassed and distracted country enjoy.——With respect to Lord Cochrane, excepting solely his being an officer appointed by, and liable, at any hour, to be promoted or cashiered by the king or,

rather, his ministers, to him I have no objection; but, on the contrary, I have the highest opinion both of his head and his heart. He has a solid understanding, has much of the right sort of study, reflects deeply, is sober, industrious, politically brave, is proof against the blandishments of courts and of factions, hates sycophants, place-hunters, peculators, and oppressors of every description; and, if he should be elected, by you especially, I venture to predict that he will zealously discharge his trust. That your choice may fall upon him and Sir Francis Burdett is my anxious wish, and, let what will be the result of your present arduous endeavours, be assured, that for all and for every man of you a sincere respect will ever be entertained by

Your faithful friend,
And obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 7th May, 1807.

LORD GRENVILLE'S LETTER, *to the Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Dated 2d May, 1807.*

SIR,—The society for promoting Christian Knowledge, of which I am a member, has thought fit to publish, during a general election, a resolution, declaratory of its opinion respecting a political measure recently submitted to parliament.—That measure, brought forward for purposes of peace, union, and public security, by men who yield to none of their fellow-subjects in loyalty to their sovereign, and attachment to the civil and religious constitution of their country, is there stigmatised as hostile to the established church and ecclesiastical constitution of the realm, and as subversive of those principles which placed his Majesty's family on the British throne.—It is natural for those whose characters are thus aspersed, to inquire, by what right any persons have taken upon themselves, in the name of such a society, to give countenance and currency to an injurious and groundless calumny, calculated for the watch-word of a party, and calculated only to excite and to uphold popular clamour?—The society was instituted, as its annual publications declare, for the increase of the knowledge and practice of our holy religion, by the support of charity schools, and by the distribution of bibles, prayer-books, and other religious tracts. Those who have directed the present proceeding can best explain in what manner Christian knowledge, or Christian practice, will be increased by promoting religious animosities and civil discord: by stirring up the blind prejudices and ungovernable passions of the ignorant: and by circulating among our fellow-subjects, instead of the Word of truth and charity, the libellous and inflammatory calumnies of electioneering contests, and party violence.—As a member of the society, solicitous for the promotion of its genuine objects, I desire to enter my dissent to a resolution, purporting to express its unanimous opinion. I object to the propriety of its taking part at all in the political divisions of the country: I object to its labouring to extend and to prolong those divisions, with respect to a measure publickly withdrawn, and of which there is consequently no longer any question: But, most of all, I object to the truth, and, I may add, to the decency of a censure, which, if it were founded either in justice or in reason, would apply equally to almost every description of public men, and would even implicate all those authorities which are the most entitled to our respect and reverence.—If to permit the King's subjects of all persuasions, to serve him in his army, be "an unconstitutional innovation," with whom, and when did it originate? It was first made the law in Ireland fourteen years ago, at the express recommendation of the crown, delivered from the throne by one of his Majesty's present ministers, then Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom.—If the adoption of a similar law in Great Britain would be "an act of hostility to the established church," to whom shall that hostility be ascribed? To those who now proposed, or to those who long ago engaged for that concession? To the framers of Lord Howick's bill, or to those members and supporters of the present government, who in the year 1793, gave and authorised that promsse to the Catholics of Ireland?—If the employment of catholic officers and catholic soldiers in the general service of the empire; if the permitting them to hold and exercise, at his majesty's discretion, all military commissions, the rank and station of a general not excepted; if the relieving them in this respect from all penalties and disabilities on account of their religious persuasion; — if these things be matter of just alarm "to the ecclesiastical constitution of this country," when was the moment of alarm? In the year 1804, all this, and more than this, was done in an act proposed by Mr. Pitt, with the concurrence of his colleages now in administration, passed by the British parliament, and sanctioned by his Majesty's royal assent.—That act legalised a long list of military commissions, antecedently granted by his Majesty with the advice of the same ministers; and it enabled his Majesty prospectively to grant,

at his discretion, all military commissions whatever to Catholics—not indeed to British or Irish Catholics, but to foreign Catholics—to men who owe his Majesty no allegiance, and who are not even required to disclaim those tenets which all our fellow subjects of that persuasion have solemnly abjured! —What ground of difference will then remain to justify these outrageous calumnies against the late proposal? Is it that men were permitted to aspire to the rewards and honours of a profession, to the toils and dangers of which the legislature of their country had long since invited them?—Is it that the same indulgences which had been promised and granted to Catholics by others, were not withheld by us from Protestant dissenters? — Or is it, lastly, that we judged our own countrymen and fellow-subjects entitled, under his Majesty's discretion, to the same confidence and favour which parliament had so recently extended to foreigners of all nations and all descriptions?—And let me further ask, if these concessions, all, or any of them, are subversive of the principles "which placed his Majesty's illustrious house upon the throne," what is to be said of the far more extensive indulgences proposed in 1801, by that great minister, now no more, whose name I have already mentioned?—Were his principles also subversive of the established church, and of the civil constitution of the monarchy?—And if he too must be involved in this undiscriminating and injurious censure, what condemnation will not those men deserve, who, in the very moment of pretended danger, have advised his Majesty to call to his present councils, the authors, the partisans, and the supporters of Mr. Pitt's plan; a plan including all that has been now proposed, and extending very far beyond our measure?—On the expediency of these measures, statesmen may differ. To stigmatize them as hostile to our establishments, or dangerous to our constitution, is to libel both the throne and the parliament—to calumniate the existing laws—and to impute to the most considerable public characters of our age, both the living and the dead, principles and purposes disclaimed by themselves, and contradicted by the whole tenor of their lives. It is for the society to consider whether such a conduct be consonant to the character which it befits them to maintain, or in any manner conductive to the objects of a charitable and religious institution.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

GRENVILLE.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S ADDRESS

To the Electors of Boston.

GENTLEMEN,——As you are now again about to exercise the high public trust reposed in your hands—that of electing a part of the legislature of your country; and as I have once more tendered you my services to represent you in parliament, it is my desire, at this eventful crisis of England, to address to you my sentiments on public affairs.—No member of the present House of Commons —Members of which have been alert enough in obtaining good things for themselves—having attempted to obtain for the people either of those securities, against foreign conquest, or domestic oppression, which were noticed in my addresses to you of November last, namely, a restoration of the military branch of the constitution, and a reformed representation of the people in parliament, my motives for desiring a seat in that House have acquired additional force.—This restoration and this reform are, on the part of the people of England, birthright claims. To the violation of these essential rights, ought chiefly, if not wholly, to be ascribed, both the late and the present war, together with all the grievous burthens they have brought upon us, and the unexampled dangers of our present situation; and without the recovery of these rights—Rights of which political salvation are the direct objects—it requires but a moderate share of information to know, that, in the day of trial, no human genius, no human efforts, will be found equal to the task of saving the state: for who can produce an effect, without the necessary means as a cause?—How distant that day of trial may be, we know not: but another carnage in Poland—an event that will probably take place as soon as artillery can act with full effect—may, and I incline to believe will, bring it very near indeed. With such an alternative hanging on the trembling balance of war, while our rulers are engaged in the miserable warfare of party and private ambition, for the parliament and the ministers of this country to suffer it to remain comparatively defenceless as it is: as well as to neglect those reforms, military and civil, which are wanting for inspiring the people with confidence, as well as with a rational, heart-felt, ardent attachment to the government, on account of its truly constitutional character, its known respect for our liberties, and its vigilant protection of our properties against unnecessary taxation, and the rapacity of sordid men; appears to me, I confess, nothing short of that species of infatuation, which is ever observed to dark-

en the understanding, and to palsy the energies, of a state, on the eve of its destruction: but sincerity requires I should add, that the people have a part to act, and a duty to perform; and when they fail in their own fidelity to their country, it is with an ill grace they murmur at the misdoings of others; or complain that taxgatherers swarm like locusts, with devouring exactions and irritating vexations in their train. In proportion as parliaments, or as ministers, at any time depart from the straight line of the constitution, or assume improper powers, the exertions of the people, in their own self defence, become necessary for correcting the error, and restoring the balance.—According to my plain view of things, the more our country, by the purity, the excellence, and the beneficence of its government, shall be rendered worth defending, the better it will be defended; and the more the sword shall be in the hand of an English people, the more secure will be an English throne, from the fate which has attended the thrones of Sardinia and Naples, of Austria and Prussia; whose several despotic possessors had not only disarmed their people, but had likewise beggared them for the maintenance of standing armies to keep them in a state of abject slavery. The effects of this abominable policy we have witnessed; for we have seen that, in the hour of necessity, those standing armies could not protect either the people who paid them, or the tyrants who employed them. This fatal policy of standing armies,—wicked in the extreme in respect of our liberties, and stupid in the extreme in respect to our defence—a policy in which all modern ministers, and for reasons which are but too obvious, have rivalled each other to establish and to perfect—I, as a private individual have, I trust, exposed to the contempt and just detestation of the reflecting and the virtuous.—On facts, and on reasoning which no soldier, no seaman, no statesman, has yet attempted to refute, but in which some of high name have agreed with me, I gave proof, as I conceive, that England, notwithstanding her navy, may, in her present ill preparedness by land, be invaded; and that in the event of the enemy landing in force, the mischief and calamity of having our country the seat of war, would be certain; while we, after our recent experience on the continent, should have but too much cause to contemplate even the possibility of a conquest. This, Gentlemen, is not an impeachment of English courage: but it is, and I mean it to be, an impeachment of the conduct of those who, on a continental, tyrannical policy, abhorrent to the character and temper of our free government, designedly crippled that courage, or, to speak without a figure, withheld from it the means of conferring on our country an assured protection, and the blessings of a peace which not even a Buonaparté would have dared to disturb. Such a protection, and such a peace, will still result from the reforms for which I contend, if they be not too long deferred.——Should the tyrannical policy, to which I allude, bring into the bowels of our country the pest of war, with all its scorpion plagues, what punishment could be sufficiently great, for those whose counsels should have been the cause! But, should England be conquered, you ought to be aware, that her slavery would be made more degrading, and her misery more extreme, exceeding all comparison, beyond what French insolence and pillage have inflicted on any other fallen people. To the conquest of Italians and Germans, a mere ambition unmixed with national enmity was a sufficient motive; but the stimulus to the conquest of Englishmen, to say nothing of the greater glory from the greatness of the enterprize, is the maddening remembrance of centuries of our superiority over Frenchmen in arms, causing a deep rooted and deadly revenge on the part of that nation, besides a hatred in the breast of its ruler, which nought but our subjugation, can appease.—Should the genius of this man prevail in Poland,—and I see nothing to forbid the expectation—who can calculate the change it may effect in our northern alliances? Who, in such an event, can say, that the Czar of Muscovy may not, by temptations of aggrandizement in the East, become the active ally of the Corsican, and his co-partner in the spoil of nations? Who can assure us, that the rich provinces of devoted Turkey,—a prey for which her northern neighbour has long manifested the keenest appetite—together with a division of booty, on a joint expedition to the golden regions beyond the Indus; may not purchase a quarrel with England, and a hearty co-operation with France, in her long-meditated and favourite project of invasion? And who does not see that, in such a case, every state upon the continent must join the confederacy, with all the forces the two presiding emperors should please to command; whereby a million of soldiers at least might be brought against us, by enemies in possession of every thing maritime, throughout the whole of continental Europe; to which the Turkish navy might at their pleasure be added? These, Gentlemen, are considerations, on which you may do well to reflect; as from your local situation, yours it is likely to be, to have the first taste of formidable invasion; for which, you

but too well know, that your coast has not the shadow of a preparation. Since the time when, to this particular circumstance the attention of government was, at my suggestion in 1803, particularly called, four successive administrations have been responsible for the nation's defence; and how they have acquitted themselves of that duty, you may judge by what you see with your own eyes. —Considering, Gentlemen, both the good that is necessary to be done, and the ill that requires to be undone, I am very far indeed from pretending, or presuming, that, by sending me to parliament, your condition, or that of your country, would be improved: but, when the state is in danger, I hold it to be the duty of every man, feeble as he may be, to do his best for its preservation; and this I can undertake, that, should I become your representative, your country's condition, together with those reforms which are its proper remedies, should unquestionable be brought under parliamentary consideration. You would then at least have—what I do not at present see—a chance of redress; and the possibility of a government in future, in conformity with the principles and the wisdom of the constitution; instead of seeing your abused country for ever at the mercy of this party, or of that party, composed of combining great men with their patronized adventurers at their heels, as, in the strife of ambition and avarice, they successively rise to power; governing but too uniformly, by their own capricious discretion, instead of constitutional law, by a presumptious expediency instead of political principle; or by a time-serving sycophancy, instead of the loftiness of thought, and the independency of action, becoming the responsible statesmen of a great and free nation. How all alike strive to strengthen their cabals, by aggrandizing their own families, by rewarding their personal adherents, by pensioning their own servants, and by discharging, in short, all obligations, of a personal nature, and all the debts of private gratitude, at the public expence, that is, at our cost who pay the taxes, I need not point out to you. If, Gentlemen, you wanted representatives who should be strictly devoted to, and implicitly governed by, the opinions of any political leaders, I certainly should not be fit for your service; for I ever have reprobated, and ever shall, any such subserviency; and have ever been in the habit of expostulating even with the statesmen I most respected, whenever I have seen them swerving from the straight line of constitutional duty. Wishing to strike off from my country the galling shackles of party, I have always thought it did not become me to wear them. —As oft as the case of the people's liberties can be fairly brought before parliament, which is a solemn, and the most effectual mode of bringing it before the nation, ground must always be gained. It is a question which must acquire strength by discussion, and thrive in the light. It cannot be discussed too often, or too much. It is sound to the heart, and will bear handling. It can only sicken when kept in the dark, while the attention of the people is artfully diverted to the wranglings of faction, on objects which, in truth, little concern them, until they shall have recovered their own proper weight in the government.——Have we not recently seen, what has been done by perseverance in the cause of the friendless Africans, nations of another colour and another zone, naked and helpless, and in the most wretched of human conditions,—nations which had not in the English parliament a single representative? But truth, and justice, and the fear of God were on their side, and they have prevailed. Mighty were their oppressors; and interests, and combinations the most powerful, long continued their oppressions; but they found persevering advocates, and the consciousness of parliament finally crowned those advocates with an easy victory. How much more, then, must that consciousness avail, when the cause of the people of England shall be perseveringly pleaded in the ear of parliament? Of that people, whom this parliament—I am speaking of the House of Commons—knows that it ought to represent; that for the service of that people it was created; that to do their work, and for no other cause, it wholly exists; and on whose public opinion, whenever it shall be steadily fixed on its object, it knows it must defend!—Be, therefore, of good cheer, in the hope of better days. We should be a nation of idiots, should not the unexampled and unheard-of pressure of English taxation induce serious reflection—should not the impossibility of stemming the tide of corruption by any weaker barrier than a reformed House of Commons, become the general conviction—should not the continually growing greatness of that gigantic power which still meditates invasion sink deep into our thoughts—should not the calamitous prospect of events to result from the war finding its way into the bowels of our country, arouze all our anxieties for prevention—and should we not see, and feel, and understand the necessity of arming our population according to the constitution, if we mean not to become slaves to the armed nation of France. On these points, our destiny hangs. On these points, a public opinion is daily and hourly growing up, and not slowly

advancing to maturity. What member of either House of Parliament can close his own mind against its entrance? can divest himself of its influence? or can arrest its course? Or what individual of those bodies, when the question, under the awful sanction of public opinion, shall come home to his bosom, shall be capable of opposing to the salvation of his country, his own little sordid, contemptible interests? No—Gentlemen, in the last crisis of a nation demanding freedom and defence, this could not be done. Here shall we see the first revisiting beam of genuine representation; for the consciousness of parliament will truly represent public opinion.—As a nation, our affairs have nearly run to the worst that can be, short of ruin and extinction: but having at the critical juncture cast from us that national wickedness and reproach, the slave trade, let us hope, if we persevere in rectitude, and pursue reform according to the principles of our constitution, which accord with the laws of nature and of God, that by his providence we and our cause shall not be cast off; but that our affairs taking a happy turn, our liberties and our happiness may be replaced on their proper basis.—To be an humble instrument for such ends is all my ambition. Weak instruments, in designs supported by public opinion and the favour of Providence may be employed with success in breaking down the loftiest barriers of wrong, and in building up the strongest bulwarks of right.—Although, Gentlemen, I cannot insult you, nor dishonour myself by unworthy acts or arts for securing an election, I have thought it right to canvas; because it is fit the electors should have an oppoftunity of taking pledges of candidates, for a faithful performance of duty, in case of becoming representatives.—On the nature of a canvas you already know my sentiments. I shall not therefore feel myself intitled to any vote unless at the time of polling, the party can then give it with a perfect consciousness of fulfilling to his country the sacred duty of an elector, in the choice of those who are to be law makers and guardians of the liberties of the nation.—The witty Doctor South, being of opinion that in covetousnes there is as much folly as there is sin, tells the miser in one of his sermons, that 'tis bad economy to be damned to save charges. Now it is to be observed, that the money for which the miser runs his risk, he really gets; whereas I have heard of electors who, ever risking all the consequences of doing wrong are not likely to get the promised reward.—That you, on whomsoever your choice of representatives may at any time fall, may on all occasions secure to yourselves, by your conduct, not only the inward satisfaction, but the praise of both integrity and wisdom, is the sincere prayer of, Gentlemen, your friend and well-wisher, JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

Tuesday, 28th April, 1807.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

Address to the Inhabitants of Southampton.

"Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri."

FELLOW CITIZENS,——We are invited by the Corporation of Southampton to join with them at this particular juncture in an Address to His Majesty, expressive of our "*grateful sense of the manifold blessings enjoyed under his auspicious government;*" which they have "*resolved*" to present, whether we join in those expressions or not. Now, fellow citizens, although the Mayor and Corporation be, as certainly they are, the fittest persons in this kingdom, perhaps in the world, to govern us, we may respectfully entertain a doubt whether they are equally fit to think for us, and to compose for us. Had the vessel of congratulation to His Majesty sailed only in ballast, or had she contained a cargo which a privileged bottom would justly neutralize, I for one would have suffered her to pass unmolested under the flag of loyalty, and would even have aided her course; but as her lading consists of an assortment of articles, fairly subjecting her to a scrutiny, and a demurrage, we will exercise the right of search, in a hasty page, before we suffer her to proceed on her voyage.——I need scarcely premise, that in presenting an address at THIS JUNCTURE, we authenticate our unqualified approbation of three great public measures,—that of the rejection of the petitions of the Catholics, that of the dismissal of the late Ministers, and the appointment of the present as their successors.—On the first: the policy of dissatisfying the catholics is, at least, extremely equivocal, and the event may prove it very fatal. The wisdom of a proceeding of government may well be questioned, which, as it affects a large body of the people, diminishes their attachment to it, and extinguishes HOPE,—that PROPERTY which Providence has beneficently bestowed upon those of his creatures who have no other, and which is a substitute for all.—It might possibly not have been prudent to grant in toto the prayer of the Catholics of Ireland, or even to grant at present any part of it; but it is clearly imprudent to declare to a great mass of the nation labouring under disabilities, that the very question of removing them, however their loyalty may deserve it, SHALL NEVER BE AGAIN DISCUSSED!! Such an annunciation appears the more injurious, as the pretext for issuing it

was of no manner of importance. We all know that one part of the withdrawn measure was to grant to the Catholics in this country, where, from their comparative fewness, they never can be dangerous, a security against penalties and prosecutions, from which they are exempted by law in Ireland, wherein from their great comparative preponderance they might, if evil-disposed, be extremely dangerous. The other object of the measure was potent to do good, was calculated to animate honourable ambition and so confirm loyalty; but was absolutely impotent of any possible mischief: I mean the empowering officers to hold the situation of general on the staff, &c. with some other civil distinctions. But the former being of the most importance, and most anticipated danger, I will alone consider it. On this subject, fellow citizens, it will be sufficient to observe, that a general officer, however distinguished for courage, talents, and PROTESTANTISM, although he may have been fifty years a general, can alone be put on the staff by the special appointment of His Majesty, and who can, without assigning any reason, the next moment dismiss him from it. He can never attain it by merit, or seniority, or by any other means, but the King's appointment: by which sole authority, persons, incredible as it may appear to us in this benign one, have been known in former reigns to be employed as generals on the staff, whose Christianity, courage, and talents, were never discerned but by the gracious mind which appointed them. As officers then of a LOYAL army, they never could be dangerous to the government, without the consent of the Crown, and it is obvious that a REBEL Irish army would not look to a British act of parliament for the qualifications of its commanders. I can therefore see no predicament, whether loyal or rebellious, wherein the measure in question would have made the Catholics more dangerous than they are already. I discard this point with one question,—who are the persons whom we dismiss to secret and eternal discontent? are they three or four millions of our bravest population,—composing a vast proportion of the defenders of our country ACTUALLY IN ARMS!!!—With regard to any real apprehension of danger to our religion on the part of the clergy, one cannot believe that they feel it; I mean the sensible part of them. The rage of catholic or protestant proselytism is, in this part of Europe at least, exploded; and as I am myself a sincere well-wisher to the established reformed church, I should be sorry to see the misplaced zeal of the clergy imputed by enemies to apprehensions of danger to their endowments rather than to their doctrine.—The next topic is the dismissed ministry. We, many of us, fellow citizens, congratulated the country on their accession to power, because we regarded them as men pledged to capital measures of public freedom and utility. We must with proportionate sorrow have seen them abandon many of those measures; and public favour could not in any degree have left them, if they had not left their principles. In bringing forward the catholic claims, however, they brought forward a vitally important measure in redemption of one of their own solemn pledges: but this measure, thus brought forward, we had the regret to see them withdraw, out of an alledged but false delicacy to the prejudices and scruples of the Sovereign. Whereas we expected that men of a high sense of public honour would not have withdrawn their measure, but would have withdrawn themselves!—— Yet it is singular, or ought to be so, and is certainly mortifying, to perceive, that the late ministry having flourished in the favour of the Crown, under many turns of tergiversation, should have been ostensibly dismissed for an attempt to maintain their consistency and their honour in the only grand *political* instance in which they appear to have recollected either. It is then on this account, that, though we may feel no high regret at their dismissal, we must regret, that this dismissal has been the consequence of an honourable and meritorious part of their conduct (whether wise or otherwise), and with this natural sentiment on seeing an act of honour and principle converted into an instrument for the punishment of its authors, we cannot creditably congratulate his Majesty upon it.——Lastly, fellow citizens, there can be no question of the right of the King to change his ministers as often as his shirt, or his residence.—It is perhaps the only irresponsible (AND NECESSARILY IRRESPONSIBLE) political act, he can exercise; I say NECESSARILY, because, it is an act, he can only exercise himself. And the attempt to bring his CONSTITUTIONAL PERSONAL EXERCISE of this right within the limits of an *advised* measure, is a pure factious sophism. It is the clear doctrine of the constitution, that the responsible adviser of the Crown must be an official one; and what official adviser can the King have to dismiss his ministers, unless his very ministers themselves? for no body else can give him responsible advice, until these are actually dismissed, and their successors are appointed; who consequently become his subsequent, but not his precedent advisers.—But however disgusted we may be with these factious contentions, in which our, the people's,

interests are never once thought of, we ought to consider, that the disapproving of the selfishness of one set of men is a very different matter from our congratulating His Majesty on the choice he has made of another. Had our worthy Corporation met to congratulate each other on this change of the *depositaries of Power*, there would have been something very pleasant, and very natural in it. But when the respectable inhabitants of this considerable Town give their sanction and name to an act of the Corporation, an address so conjointly voted, carries with it an imposing importance, influential upon other places, liable to be converted, as it will be, into an instrument of ministerial support, and which misleading his Majesty as to the opinions which his people have actually formed of his recent measures, cannot but tend to derange his government. —Thinking then as independent men must think, of many of the measures of the late ministry, we may be assured, when we have read their names, that the present will not be more pure, more disinterested, or more patriotic; and looking with a natural anxiety on the prospects of the empire; on the energies which menace, and on those which are to defend us, we can see nothing in the present juncture, on which we can congratulate his Majesty or the Country.——I am aware, it will be observed, that I do no good in finding fault; that I object to the two actual *Contractors and Bidders* for the loan of power and office; but do not point out a third, who will offer better terms for the Public. But fellow citizens what would be the epithets we should deserve for the presumption of attempting to point out an administration! All we can do, and what we have a right to do, is to refuse the sanction of our concurrence to a measure, which we may think does not deserve it.—I conclude in the words of a great foreign philosopher "Il est beau d'ecrire ce qu'on pense, c'est le privilege de l'homme."——J. C. Worthington.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

Sir,——As the Catholic question has again become the topic of discussion in your valuable Register, I must beg to intrude upon you a few lines, as it seems the duty of every Protestant who feels anxious for the support of "regular government, social or-"der, and our holy religion," (do not suspect me, Mr. Cobbett, to be a relative of John Bowles) to lend what assistance he may be able in preventing the encroachments of a religious persuasion which he apprehends will certainly tend to undermine so valuable a fabric; and, it is, therefore, with singular pleasure that I observe with what ardour the Protestants of this country (with the exception of a very few, whose motives and interests we may not be able to probe, and of whom we ought to be extremely wary, circumspect, and jealous) step forward to support the conscientious and paternal care of the Sovereign from preventing that ruin to our religious establishment, as well as that imminent peril in which the constitution would be placed, by allowing to Catholics the liberty of legislating, a measure which would by necessary consequence lead to the introduction of all the errors, all the absurdities, and intolerant principles of Catholicism, with its farcical, but dangerous and crafty attendants transubstantiation, auricular confession, and the infallibility of the successors of Saint Peter; priests who have excited every rational man's indignation for their wantonness of conduct while filling the papal chair in the plenitude of their power, and when in their decline, for the slavish subserviency which they have manifested in becoming the mere spiritual aid-de-camps of an usurper, travelling at his command o'er Alpine snows to fill the despicable characters of a religious mountebank, whenever the crafty policy of the tyrant has deemed it necessary to beguile an enslaved people with some pompous procession. With respect, Sir, to the religion itself, can there be any thing more revolting to the understanding, than the assertion that a class of men are peculiarly under the guidance of our Saviour, are blessed with the inspiration of that grace which renders them infallible, when we observe them at one period of history adopting a line of conduct more consonant with the inveterate sinner than the Christian; and at another, stooping to a voluntary debasement of soul which would meet with scorn and indignation from an English shopkeeper —Sir, your correspondent Simplicius, has my thanks for a very excellent and instructive letter, in which he has unfolded some of the principle tenets of the Catholic faith, and though he has roused the virulence of the orthodox Catholic of Hampstead, who requests Simplicius to shake off the dust of Aberdeen, that he may acquire (I presume) the Catholic polish, I trust that Simplicius possesses more nerve than to be intimidated with the irony or overweening impertinence of any Catholic writer, and that undismayed he will continue to point out the fallacies of the Romish religion, by which will be discerned how inimical its principles are to any rational civil government, and still more to a limited monarchy like our own; a task which Simplicius seems so well able to perform! A. B. who has analized the letter of

Simplicius, and reiterated such parts of it as he found most convenient to combat, omitted however to repeat the oath which Simplicius informed us is taken by a Catholic bishop at his consecration; and which, as it seems to me so unequivocally to describe the gloomy, the insidious, the persecuting cruelty of the Catholic professors of the gospel, I must request your indulgence to state it again; "the bishop swears in the most "solemn manner possible, that he will from "that hour forward, be faithful and obe-"dient to Saint Peter and to the Holy "Church of Rome, and to his *Lord the* "*Pope*, and his successors canonically en-"tering: that the papacy of Rome, the "rules of the holy fathers, and the *regalities* "of Saint Peter, he will keep, maintain, "and defend against all men: that the "rights, privileges, and authorities of the "Roman church, and of the Pope, and of "his successors, he will cause to be con-"served, defended, augmented, and pro-"moted, and that *heretics, schismatics,* and "*rebels* to the *Holy Father, and his succes-"sors he will resist, and to his power* PER-"SECUTE." Sir, A. B. informs us that he has not inquired into the correctness of the statement of the oath, and begs from his silence it may not be concluded to be authentic; but can it be for a moment credited, that A. B. who has laboured with such assiduity to combat all the other parts of Simplicius's statement, should not have ascertained whether so momentous a passage as that which contains the oath in question, was or was not accurately given; but, when we look back to the former letters of A. B., and perceive him so initiated into the very *minutiæ* of the Romish Arcana, that it raises more than a doubt, whether he be not himself a functionary of the Catholic church; we cannot so far indulge him, as to give the least credence to his pretended want of information; and Simplicius's statement of the oath must be taken at present as irrefragably true: but I cannot pass over without a few words the mode in which A. B. attempts to parry the blow which Simplicius has given with this oath to the Catholic claims, and which to the merit of the charitable and humane, must, I imagine, effect their quietus. He says, he intends to compare the oath as stated by Simplicius, with that required from graduates in the English Universities, and which A. B. states will be found equally "pregnant with the utmost possible illiberality, absurdity, and cruelty." (and here, by the bye, let me ask, whether it has the least shade of probability, that A. B. who avows himself a Catholic, should be better acquainted with the oath required from a graduate in an English University, than that required from a bishop in his own church. I notice this to give a slight idea of Catholic *professions, protestations,* and *assurances.*) But, what if the English graduate's oath should be illiberal, absurd, and cruel; is that an argument that we should add to it, more illiberality, more absurdity, and more cruelty: it might be a very fair argument to shew that there ought to be some reformation in a graduates oath, but that such a reformation can be brought about by adding error to error, and absurdity to absurdity; will require more than Catholic ingenuity to establish. Now, Sir, let me ask whether in the face of such an oath as Simplicius has stated, we can listen without indignation at Catholic professions; at assurances that they have renounced the doctrine of paramount power in the Pope, and the *persecution* of heretics; could we permit ourselves, credulous as we are even to a proverb, to be imposed upon with such assurances (under like circumstances) from any men, more peculiarly from those who have the *advantage of indulgence for dissimulation;* and when those professions not only contradict their oaths, but the concurrent practice and habits of the Catholics for ages. Sir, as a right understanding of every subject is essentially necessary to the fair discussion of it; and as the Catholic question is of all others the most important for an Englishman's consideration, and therefore, the more necessary to be well understood; and as it is not improbable that when the subject is considered in its true light, there will be found no disinterested Protestant proclaiming himself its supporter, it will be requisite clearly to comprehend the object of the Catholics. Sir, the Catholics have brought forward their claims under most artful disguises; sometimes they are debated under the head of Catholic Toleration; sometimes, as A. B. has spoken of them in his last letter, under the appellation of *Liberal Toleration of the Catholics;* and at other times we have our attention called to the propriety of Catholic Emancipation; now, Sir, these various titles and appellations, are all artificial disguises adopted to mislead the Protestant into a belief, that what the Catholics desire it is next to inhumanity to refuse: but they do not in truth convey to the understanding the smallest idea of what the Catholics really aim at; as we shall immediately perceive; when we consider the nature of the Catholic claims as they must be understood from the different appellations that have been given them.—To tolerate the Catholic religion, can be in fair construction, nothing more than to permit the exercise of it; and a liberal toleration, if it mean any thing, can mean no more than

that the Catholic should be permitted to follow his religion without any interposition from the state—but that toleration they enjoy already to the fullest extent—no pains, no penalties, no restrictive laws, forbid the catholic to worship his Maker in such manner as the holy forms of his religion, or the philosophy of his own mind may dictate; and that too with all the enlightened concomtiant excellencies, of lighted candles, masses, holy water, groans, absolution, and auricular confessions; so far then as religion requires, the catholic is tolerated, and liberally tolerated; but when he insists on the temporal power of the pope; when he requires our civil magistrates to listen to any interference of such a nature, that is certainly a toleration (if it can be distorted into such a term) to which a British protestant can, I apprehend, never yield while one ray of wisdom is left him. He revolts, and rationally so, at the idea of the rich murtherer resisting the just visitation of the laws, by appearing clothed in the *holy* vestment of a dispensation, which his wealth has enabled him to purchase from some venal successor of Saint Peter.—As to catholic emancipation—that implies a release from the chains of slavery; but is the catholic in bondage? How deceptious then is such a term! that the catholic is liberally tolerated no man can contradict; that he is permitted even to exert a criminal zeal for conversion with impunity, it has been, and probably for some time may be, the misfortune of many families to testify. Instances are not unfrequent where English humanity has received into its family some catholic tutor, whose urgent solicitations have gained him the office, and whose only gratitude for years of kindness and benevolence, has been the surreptitious conversion of the children of his benefactors from the protestant to the catholic faith. This ingratitude, this dishonourable return for accumulated acts of kindness, (much to be lamented) is permitted with impunity; and the catholic ingrate, having thus disturbed the peace of one family, is allowed to act his insidious deceptions in that of another. But what, let me ask, is the condition of a protestant in a catholic country; what was his condition when the Romish power was at its zenith, and catholic incense visited the heavens from the altars of almost every civilized country in Europe? Why, the poor protestant who ventured even in silent seclusion to adore his Creator with humility, was ferreted out by those miscreants called the inquisitors of the holy faith, and roasted probably at an auto-de-fé, to the great *amusement of some thousand orthodox professors of the* MERCIES of *our Redeemer.* But, Mr. Cobbett, it is time we should remove these disguises, and tell our protestant countrymen that the catholic aim is to become legislators; to become our lawgivers; and, if that were to be allowed, what would be the more than probable consequence; would it not be more than probable that the catholic lawgiver, rooted in all the prejudices of his religion, should endeavour to introduce its *attendant excellencies* and *embellishments?* Is it not natural that he should endeavour to pass a law, authorizing English catholic bishops (for those we shall certainly have) to fulminate bulls ex cathedra; to give us an act of parliament enacting the exercise of auricular confession in the *cabinet* of the monarch; and possibly another appropriating inclusively Salisbury-plain, and Smithfield-market for that delicious repast, an auto-de-fé; and that all the liberal policy of our revered Queen Mary would again be revived to our great satisfaction and quiet. If there be any so disgusted with our constitution, and religion, as established at the revolution, that the introduction of catholic power is to them a thing desirable; if they wish to make catholics legislators, catholics the king's advisers, catholics commanders of our army and navy, let me ask the men who so think and feel upon what principle the catholics should be excluded from the throne? Sir, the supporters of the catholic measures, conscious that the wantonly hazarding the peace of the country, and the safety of the constitution, would meet with repulse from the least sagacious amongst us, have artfully introduced the plea of necessity; and we are asked, whether, in the present situation of affairs, it is not important that four millions of his majesty's subjects should be united with the rest in defence of the country; Sir, in answer to this, I would demand, *whether the freedom of religion, of trade, life, property, wife, and children,* have not been ever held as stimuli—in the breast of a christian, powerful enough to induce him, with hand and heart, to resist the encroachments of an invader. If there be any persons, Sir, whom these things cannot rouse in defence of their country, can we be so credulous as to believe that the mere possibility of four persons, in the class of four millions to which the catholic belongs, becoming members of parliament, or officers of the staff, is likely to produce any better effect on constitutions so phlegmatic. We have only to mention the proposition to shew its fallacy, and to be aware of the latter, to avoid the delusion it is intended to produce.—ANTI-CALHOLICUS.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 20.] LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 16, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

"That elections of members to serve in parliament ought to be free."——BILL OF RIGHTS.

TO THE

RT. HON. SPENCER PERCEVAL.

LETTER I.

Upon the "Appeal to the People," the "obligations under which the Crown is held," and upon the "Danger to the Church."

SIR,——As the series of letters, of which this is the first, may, probably, extend to a considerable length, I think it right to say, by way of preface, a few words, as to the light, in which I view the person, to whom they are, or will be, addressed.——As far as relates to private character, which always ought to be duly considered when we are estimating the worth of public men, I can, of course, possess no other knowledge of you than that which has reached me from mere report; but, it is generally believed, that, as to all the concerns and relationships of private life, it would be difficult to find a better man than yourself; and, in this belief, I sincerely join. As to public concerns, as there requires but very little more, in a minister, (for you are now *the minister*) of this country, than strict honesty, a clear understanding, common powers of convincing others, industry such as is necessary in common life, love of country, and resolution to do that which the constitution demands, I should have no doubt of your being fit for the situation, were I not afraid, that the lures of ambition and your want of intrinsic political weight, may possibly drag you along, step by step, in the paths wherein your predecessors, for twenty-three years past, have invariably trodden. That you would not voluntarily join in those deeds of corruption, which are such a disgrace to the government and the country, and which have, at last, brought the latter to the brink of ruin, political as well as pecuniary, I believe; but, when a man has once staked his fortune upon the maintenance of any principle or any party, and particularly if he has persuaded himself that to maintain the same is for the public good, he is very apt to yield to the solicitations of those by whom he is surrounded, and, when the necessity occurs, to regard the end as sanctifying the means. I do not believe, that, for the love of the thing, you would wish to see your country bent down under an inexorable tyranny; but, I may think, and I do think, that you are too much of the opinion, that fear, and not love, is the principle by which we are to be governed, and, of course, that your reliance, for the maintenance of the governing powers, is much more upon coercive than persuasive means. I believe, that (self-interest out of the question), you are extremely anxious for the preservation of the independence of your country; but I may fear, and I do fear, that, in the struggle for preserving your power, the means of effecting this greatest of all public objects will be frequently overlooked, or neglected. Having thus, Sir, frankly stated my sincere opinion of you, give me leave to add, that, as to myself, however erroneous any of my notions may be, there is not, in the whole kingdom, a man who would go farther than I would go to aid in the preservation of the throne, as established by the constitution of our country; that I wish for no *innovation*, and that I hold in abhorrence every species of popular outrage; but that, at the same time, it is with a heart-burning hardly to be described, that I see myself, or any of my countrymen, deprived, no matter how, of any of those liberties, which our forefathers enjoyed. To me it appears evident, that a dreadful storm is gathering over our country. The elements, which have been for years collecting, seem now to be upon the eve of producing their combined effect. Of precisely what nature this effect may be, no man can tell; who amongst us may survive it, it would be presumptuous even to guess; and, therefore, I am anxious, that, when the war of faction shall have been drowned in the terrific contests of which it is the mere forerunner, it shall, by some one or other, be said of me, that if my voice had been heard in time, the calamities of England would have been prevented.

With this motive, principally, it is, that I now address you upon two or three important subjects connected with the dissolution of parliament; and first upon the "*appeal*," which is said to have now been made to the

people.——The Lords Commissioners, in the speech, which they recently delivered to both Houses in the king's name, and by his express command, state, "that his Majesty "is anxious to recur to *the sense of the* "*people*, while the events, which have re- "cently taken place, are yet *fresh in their* "*recollection*;" and, that "his Majesty "feels, that, in resorting to this measure, "he, at once *demonstrates* in the most "unequivocal manner, his own conscien- "tious persuasion of the rectitude of those "motives, upon which he has acted; and "affords to his *people* the best opportunity "of testifying their determination to sup- "port him in every exercise of the prero- "gatives of his crown, which is conforma- "ble to the sacred obligations under which "they are held, and conducive to the wel- "fare of the kingdom, and to the security "of the constitution."——Here, Sir, are two positions clearly implied; first, that the wishes of *the people* are, or ought to be, consulted in the passing of laws; and, second, that there are certain obligations, or conditions, under which the prerogatives of the crown are held. Of the latter I shall speak hereafter, when I have inquired how far the measure here spoken of can, with truth, be called "a recurrence," or appeal, "*to the sense of the people*."

It will not be denied, that, in this way, at least, the sense of the people can be expressed only in their free and unbiassed votes for members to serve in the next parliament; for, as to any mere popular cry, that never can be considered as a mark of their opinion, and, indeed, it is well known, that no appeal of that sort can be, in such a manner made. In order, therefore, to form an accurate opinion upon the point, whether to dissolve the parliament, and to call a new one, be, in *reality*, to appeal to the sense of the people, we must endeavour to ascertain what number of the new members will be, or, indeed, can be, returned by the unfettered will, the unbiassed votes, of *the people*, or more properly speaking, of that now small proportion of the people, who have nominally the right of voting at elections for members of parliament. Mr. Pitt, in a speech, made on the 7th of May, 1782, in the House of Commons, in support of a motion, made by himself for reforming that House, gave the following description of the then state of the representation.——"It is "perfectly understood, that there are some "boroughs absolutely governed by the "Treasury, and others totally possessed by "them. It requires no experience to say, "that such boroughs have no one quality of "representation in them; they have no "share nor substance in the general interests "of the country; and they have in fact no "stake for which to appoint their guardians "in the popular assembly. The influence "of the Treasury in some boroughs is con- "tested, not by the electors of those bo- "roughs, but by some one or other power- "ful man, who assumes or pretends to an "hereditary property of what ought only "to be the rights and privileges of the "electors. There are hardly any men in "the borough who have a right to vote, "and they are the subjects and slaves of the "person who claims the property of the "borough, and who, in fact, makes the "return. Another set of boroughs and "towns, in the lofty possession of English "freedom, claims to themselves the right "of bringing their votes to market. They "have no other market, no other property, "and no other stake in the country, than "the price which they procure for their "votes."——Was this a true description, Sir, or was it a false one? And when, in the same speech, Mr. Pitt represented the House of Commons as "the mere tool of "the ministers of the day," was he guilty of factious falsehood; or, did he utter the sentiments of a man, as yet uncorrupted, as yet feeling for the liberties and honour of the country, as yet unaccustomed to disguise the truth? If, however, he did, upon this occasion, speak the truth, how can a dissolution of the parliament be, with sincerity, called an appeal to *the sense of the people*?

I shall be told, perhaps, that Mr. Pitt afterwards changed his opinion. With regard to the subject of his motion, with regard to *the necessity of a reform*, he might change his opinion; but, with regard to the state of the representation, the nullity of the people's voice; upon that we can admit of no change, without throwing upon him a charge of wilful falsehood. He spoke of facts, upon which he had full information, and, either he asserted what was false, or the state of the representation was what he described it; and this, indeed, he never did, as far as I recollect, ever attempt to deny. When steps were taken, at a subsequent period, by other persons, some in parliament and some out of parliament, to effect the object of his motion of 1782, he did, indeed, revile the movers as Jacobins, Levellers, and Traitors; he asserted, that the *time* was unfit for a reform; and he had recourse to all his means of terrifying the nation with the prospect of a bloody revolution; but, though backed as he was, he

never did, that I could discover, make any recantation as to the *facts*, which he had stated at the before-mentioned period, when he used his exertions *out* of parliament, as well as in parliament for effecting a reform, upon which subject I must beg your permission to enlarge a little; for it is quite proper, that the people of England should remember the deeds of a man, whose debts they have been obliged to pay, and for the rearing of a monument to the memory of whom they are now to be taxed.——It will not soon be forgotten, that, in 1794, a state prosecution, Mr. Pitt being then minister, was carried on by the then attorney-general, who is now lord chancellor, against Mr. Horne Tooke and others, who belonged to what was called the London Corresponding Society. The charge was that of *high-treason*, death was, of course, the meditated punishment. Yet, Sir, it clearly appeared, that the acts, and the views as far as could be proved, of this society, were exactly similar to those of a society formed in 1782, to which society Mr. Pitt himself belonged, and in which society he co-operated with this very Mr. Horne Tooke. When, upon this memorable trial for high treason, Mr. Pitt was called upon to say what passed in 1782, his recollection, as in the case of the money lent to Boyd and Benfield, appeared to be remarkably imperfect. He did, however, not deny his own hand-writing when it was shown to him; and, when the fact had been proved by others, he did acknowledge, that, at the period referred to, he joined in recommending, that an appeal should be made to the people, and their sense collected, *by parishes, or smaller districts*, with a view of effecting a reform in the House of Commons. The attorney-general, by a cross-examination, gave Mr. Pitt an opportunity of saying, that he never had approved of any "*affiliated* societies;" but, that there was no essential difference between the proceedings of the Corresponding Society and those without which the sense of the people in their parishes, or smaller districts, was to be collected, must, I think, appear evident to every unprejudiced mind. All the difference that could possibly be discovered was in the *times*; and this must have been matter of *opinion*. Mr. Pitt *might* think, that what was "absolutely necessary to the safety of the nation," when he was out of office, in 1782, would have been dangerous to the nation, when he was in office in 1794; but, Mr. Tooke and his associates might think the contrary; they might still retain their former opinions upon the subject; and, surely, to endeavour to give effect to those opinions was not, by any body, and least of all by Mr. Pitt, to be imputed to them as a crime worthy of death? To the length of this digression I will only add a remark, that Mr. Wilberforce, was, in 1782, and about that time, one of the most zealous amongst those who sought a reform in the representation, as will appear more fully, when, upon a future occasion, I shall take an opportunity of referring to the papers of Mr. Wyvill and others, who united their exertions to those of Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Pitt.

The political party opposed to Mr. Pitt, and, as we have seen, opposed to him merely as the possessor of that power and those emoluments which they wished to possess, have, at various times, given us their opinion upon the state of the representation, a reform in which they have constantly represented as a measure, without the adoption of which, no combination of talents, or events, could possibly produce any real and permanent benefit to the country. Of their abandonment of their principles; of their remaining a year in power without any attempt to effect this great purpose; of their language, which all along implied, that no reform, of the sort we are speaking of, was necessary; of the doctrine of their avowed advocates, who have asserted, that, for the House of Commons to be really independent of the crown is *mere theory*, and not at all conformable to the *practice of the constitution* in its *healthful* state; of their proceedings, during the election of 1806, specimens of which have been brought to light in the cases of Westminster and Hampshire: of these it is quite unnecessary for me to say any thing more than merely what is sufficient to call them to mind. Nor will I make a particular reference to any of their *opinions* relative to the necessity of a reform in the House of Commons. I will confine myself to the statement of facts, upon which they grounded their motions for a reform, which statement was, it was understood, drawn up by Mr. Erskine and Mr. Grey, which they offered to prove at the bar of the House, and which was expressed in the following words: "That seventy-one peers and the treasury "*nominated* seventy members of the House "of Commons and *procured* the return of "seventy-seven; that ninety-one commoners nominated eighty-two, and procured the "return of fifty-seven: so that, together, "one hundred and sixty-two persons returned three hundred and six of the members. "Besides which, twenty-eight members "were returned by compromises, and seventeen boroughs, not containing one hundred

" and fifty voters each, returned twenty-one " members; those members together ma- " king a majority of one hundred and ninety- " seven votes in the House."

Now, Sir, whether the introduction of a hundred *Irish* members, the *patronage* of many of the boroughs they are returned for having been actually *purchased* by law, and with taxes raised upon the people; whether this alteration has produced an improvement in the state of the representation; whether an improvement has been produced by any other means; whether the open and public conversation about the proprietorship of boroughs; whether the numerous advertisements, for the sale and purchase of seats, which we daily read in the public prints, and for the publishing of which no man is ever called in question by the House of Commons, or by any body else; whether any or all of these amount to a sign of *improvement* in the representation, since the time, that Mr. Pitt and Lord Howick gave the descriptions that I have above faithfully quoted; and, indeed, whether their descriptions were true, or false: these are questions which I leave you, in your conscience, to answer. But, if those descriptions were true, and if no improvement in the state of the representation has taken place since those descriptions were given, I put it to your sincerity to say, whether, by dissolving a House of Commons and calling a new one, an appeal is really made " *to the sense* " *of the people.*" I put it to your justice, whether men ought to be reviled, and punished, as traitors, or seditious libellers because they are discontented, under such a state of things: because they wish for, and seek, an improvement in the representation; because, in short, adhering to the principles of that constitution, for the sake of which they are called upon to shed their blood, they desire that a dissolution of the parliament should, to use the words of the Speech, be a " recurrence *to the sense of* " *the people?*" And, I put it to your reason, whether the upholding of such a state of things, and whether such revilings and punishings, be the likely means of calling forth the zeal of the people, if need shall be, in defence of the government?

I am aware, that there are those, who hold the opinion, that the less weight the people have, the better it is; but, Sir, this is a question, which is totally set aside by the speech, which you and your colleagues have advised the king to order to be made upon this occasion; for, in that speech, as was before observed, you declare, in as clear a manner as possible, that " the *sense of the* " *people*" ought not only to have some weight in the passing of laws, but in regulating the conduct of the king and his servants; you challenge, therefore, an inquiry, as to whether the dissolution of the House of Commons and the calling of a new one, be really an appeal to the free and unbiassed voice of the people; and, if the result of that inquiry be a decided and incontrovertible negative to the proposition, it will remain for you, in some still moment of your life, to ask yourself how we ought to qualify the *professions* contained in the Speech.

The second topic upon which I think it useful, at this time, to address you, is suggested by that part of the Speech, wherein the king, by the advice, of course, of you and your colleagues, speaks of the " *obliga-* " *tions* under which the prerogatives of the " crown are held;" that is to say, under which the crown itself is held; for, take away the prerogatives, and the crown is a thing to be estimated by the physical weight, and the nature, of the materials, of which it is composed. And here, Sir, believe me, when I say, that I am one of those, who would by no means wish to see diminished any of the justly exercised prerogatives of the king. Bolingbroke observes, and with great truth, that the real liberty of the people is in as much less danger from *prerogative* than from *influence*, as an open assailant is less dangerous than a secret assassin. When the kings of England exerted frequently, and boldly, their different prerogatives, we see that they were sometimes guilty of acts of injustice, and even of tyranny; but, we see also, that they had to deal with a *boldly resisting House of Commons*, and the final consequence invariably was, the asserting and establishing of the rights of the people. The Whigs, after they obtained a complete mastery over the king and the kingdom, introduced a new system, of which system, alas! we now feel the effects.

Of the *obligations*, under which the crown is held, we have, in varying phraseology, heard much, from different descriptions of men, since the agitation of the question respecting the catholics. The course of reasoning with all of them is this: " That the placing " of the crown upon the heads of His Ma- " jesty's illustrious family was, at the time, " and has been and will be, in its conse- " quences, the greatest of national blessings; " that the only principles which produced " that inestimable blessing were, the main- " tenance of the predominance of the " Church of England, as by law established

" and the preventing of every thing tending " to re-exalt the Roman Catholic Church; " that Lord Howick's bill would have tend- " ed to re-exalt the Roman Catholic Church, " and would thereby have sapped the pre- " dominance of the Church of England; " and, therefore, that Lord Howick's bill " was contrary to the principles, which " placed the crown upon the heads of His " Majesty's illustrious family;" a conclusion perfectly correct, and indeed self evident, if we admit the premises; but, except as far as is contained in the first proposition, (with which I presume not to meddle) all those premises I think that even I am able to disprove. But, before I proceed farther, let me put in my protest against the imputation of having, now that the ministers are out of place, become a supporter of them, and that, too, as some persons might say, merely because they are opposed to the servants of the King, who, in the modern style, are called *the government*. I am not, and never shall be, a supporter either of them or their bill. To support the one, indeed, is to attack the other; for, they *withdrew the bill*, and therein pronounced a condemnation, either of the bill or of themselves. I have, for the reasons which I have more than once stated, always regarded the bill as likely to produce, neither immediately nor remotely, any harm or any good. I rejoice, for the reasons that I have before stated, that your predecessors were turned out of office; but, it by no means follows, that I am to join in a cry, which, apparently, for no other purpose than that of public delusion, has been set up against the measure which was the cause, or pretended cause, of their dismission. Them I accused (the *Whigs*, I mean) of public delusion; and, from whatever quarter it may come, my hatred of the thing is always the same.

Coming now to the proposed discussion, who that was a stranger to our laws and history, would not, upon hearing the language of the Speech, and of the divers addresses to the King, recently delivered, imagine, that, when the crown of this kingdom was transferred from the Stuarts to the Guelphs, the sole condition with the latter was, *that they should suffer no relaxation in the then existing laws relating to the Roman Catholics?* To hear these addresses, and, indeed, to hear the language of all those that opposed the late ministry, or that intend to support the present ministry, who would not suppose, that the revolution in the reign of James II., was produced by a dispute about religion solely; and, that the crown was transferred to the present family merely for the sake of preventing the return of papal power or influence? Yet, Sir, nothing can be further from the truth. Popish bigotry was only a part, and a very small part, of the objections which the people of England had to that king, who was a wilful, obstinate tyrant, without the cunning, which some tyrants, of more inveterate baseness, have, to disguise their rapacity and their cruelty. That he was a real bigot, and no *hypocrite*, there can be little doubt; and, the nation would have done well in getting rid of him, if he had had no other fault; for he was beginning to crowd his court and the country with greedy foreigners, under the name of priests, and, under whatever name they might come, they were, and in all cases must be, a grievous curse to any nation. But, that his crimes were not confined to tyranny in religious matters, will manifestly appear from the following list of them as recorded in that famous act of parliament, which was passed in the first year of the reign of William and Mary, and which is commonly called the *Bill of Rights*.

" Whereas the late King James the Se- " cond, by the Assistance of divers evil " Counsellors, Judges, and Ministers em- " ployed by him, did endeavour to subvert " and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and " the *Laws* and *Liberties* of this Kingdom.

" I. By assuming and exercising a Power " *of dispensing with* and *suspending of* " *Laws*, and the Execution of Laws, with- " out Consent of Parliament.

" II. By committing and prosecuting " divers worthy Prelates, for humbly pe- " titioning to be excused from concurring " to the said assumed Power.

" III. By issuing and causing to be executed " a Commission under the Great Seal for " erecting a Court, called, the Court of " Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.

" IV. By *Levying Money* for and to the " Use of the Crown, by Pretence of Prero- " gative, *for other Time and in other Man- " ner, than the same was granted by Par- " liament.*

" V. By raising and keeping a Standing " Army within this Kingdom in Time of " Peace, without Consent of Parliament, " and quartering Soldiers contrary to Law.

" VI. By causing several good Subjects, " being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the " same time when Papists were both armed " and employed contrary to Law.

" VII. BY VIOLATING THE FREE- " DOM OF ELECTION OF MEMBERS " TO SERVE IN PARLIAMENT.

" VIII. By Prosecutions in the Court of " King's Bench, for Matters and Causes

" cognizable only in Parliament; and by " divers other arbitrary and illegal Courses.

" IX. And whereas of late years, *par-* " *tial, corrupt*, and unqualified persons, " have been *returned and served on Juries* " *and Trials*, and *particularly divers Jurors* " *in Trials for High Treason*, which were " not Freeholders.

" X. And excessive Bail hath been re- " quired of Persons committed in criminal " cases, *to elude the Benefit of the Laws* " *made for the Liberty of the Subjects.*

" XI. And excessive fines have been im- " posed; and illegal and cruel punishments " have been inflicted.

" XII. And several *Grants and Promises* " *made of Fines and Forfeitures, before* " *any Conviction or Judgment against the* " *Persons, upon whom the same were to be* " *levied.*

" All which are utterly and directly con- " trary to the known Laws and Statutes, " and Freedom of this Realm."

Such, Sir, were the crimes of James II. Whether, in any other reign, laws have been dispensed with, or suspended; whether, in any other reign, money have been levied, or expended (which is exactly the same thing) for other purposes than those for which it was granted; whether the freedom of elections of members to serve in parliament has, no matter how, been violated; whether there have been any packed juries, especially for the trial of those who were charged with crimes connected with politics; whether the laws for the protection of personal liberty have been eluded, and men kept in prison for years without any trial, from first to last; whether fines and forfeitures have been held out as inducements to every man to betray and to swear against his neighbour; whether these things have taken place in any other reign, I must leave you, who are, of course, better acquainted with such matters than I am, to say; but, I think, it must be allowed, that, when we see that they existed in the reign of James II., we need seek for no other cause of his being driven from his throne. That he was a bigot, and that the church, so soon after the days of popery, were justly alarmed, is true; but, that his other crimes were of a much greater magnitude, we need only read the list of them to be satisfied. And, as to the *declaration of rights*, which follow the above list of crimes, not a single word do they contain upon the subject of religion.

" I. That the pretended Power of sus- " pending of Laws, or the Execution of " Laws, by regal Authority, without con- " sent of Parliament, is illegal.

" II. That the pretended Power of dis- " pensing with Laws, or the Execution of " Laws, by regal Authority; as it hath been " assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

" III. That the Commission for erecting " the late Court of Commissioners for Ec- " clesiastical Causes, and all other Commis- " sions and Courts of like Nature, are illegal " and pernicious.

" IV. That levying Money for or to the " Use of the Crown, by Pretence of Prero- " gative, without Grant of Parliament, for " longer Time, or in other Manner than " the same is or shall be granted, is il- " legal.

" V. That it is the Right of the Sub- " jects to petition the King, and all Com- " mitments and Prosecutions for such peti- " tioning are illegal.

" VI. That the raising or keeping a " Standing Army within the Kingdom in " time of Peace, unless it be with consent of " Parliament is against law.

" VII. That the Subjects which are " Protestants, may have Arms for their " Defence suitable to their Conditions, and " as allowed by Law.

" VIII. That Elections of Members of " Parliament ought to be free.

" IX. That the Freedom of Speech, and " Debates or Proceedings in Parliament, " ought not to be impeached or questioned " in any Court or Place out of Parliament.

" X. That excessive bail ought not to " be required, nor excessive Fines imposed; " nor cruel and unusual Punishments in- " flicted.

" XI. That Jurors ought to be duly im- " panelled and returned, and Jurors which " pass sentence upon Men in Trials for " High Treason ought to be Freeholders.

" XII. That all Grants and Promises of " Fines and Forfeitures of particular Persons " before Conviction are illegal and void.

" XIII. And that for Redress of all " Grievances, and for amending, strength- " ening, and preserving of the Laws, " Parliaments ought to be held frequently."

These, Sir, were the principles, which produced the revolution of 1688; and, though the maintenance of the protestant established church makes a part of them, it is, as I said before, a very inconsiderable part. The people of England saw, that, unless they overset the power of James II, they must become slaves, and, therefore, they drove him, and most justly, from the throne. Whether they acted wisely as to the appointing of his successor, is a question which I pretend not to discuss.

Out of these principles grew the *Act of Settlement*, as it is usually called, which

was passed in the second year of the reign of William and Mary, and which was occasioned by the prospect of a total want of heirs to the crown from either Queen Mary or the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen Anne. By this act, which is entitled an act for *limiting* the crown, it was placed upon the heads of his Majesty's family; and, let us see, therefore, what were the principles by which it was so placed, and what were the conditions, and "obligations," to use the word of the Speech, under which it was to be held. Let us see if there was any obligation, either expressed or implied, that no relaxation should, thereafter, take place, under any circumstances whatever, in the laws and regulations relative to the Roman Catholics; but first, let us fix well in our memory, that the act we are about to quote was, "an act for the further *limita-*
"*tion of the crown*, and *better securing the*
"*rights and liberties of the subject*," saying, in its title at least, not a single word about either the protestant or the popish religion. This act, after providing, that the king, or queen, in future, should take the coronation oath, as prescribed by a former act of parliament, of which oath I shall speak by-and-by, it proceeds to make the following further provisions for "securing the religion,
"laws, and liberties of the kingdom."

"That whosoever shall hereafter come
"to the Possession of this Crown, shall
"join in Communion with the Church of
"England, as by Law established

"That in case the Crown and Imperial
"Dignity of this Realm shall hereafter
"come to any Person, not being a Native
"of this Kingdom of England, *this Nation*
"*be not obliged to engage in any War for*
"*the Defence of any Dominions or Territo-*
"*ries which do not belong to the Crown of*
"*England, without the consent of Parlia-*
"*ment.*

"That after the said Limitation shall take
"effect as aforesaid, *no Person born out of*
"*the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, or*
"*Ireland, or the Dominions thereunto be-*
"*longing (although he be naturalized or*
"*made a Denizen, except such as are born*
"*of English Parents) shall be capable to be*
"*of the Privy Council, or a Member of*
"*either House of Parliament, or to enjoy*
"ANY OFFICE OR PLACE OF TRUST,
"EITHER CIVIL OR MILITARY, *or*
"*to have any Grant of Lands Tenements*
"*or Hereditaments from the Crown, to him-*
"*self or to any other or others in Trust for*
"*him.*

"THAT NO PERSON WHO HAS
"AN OFFICE OR PLACE OF PROFIT
"UNDER THE KING, OR RECEIVES
"A PENSION FROM THE CROWN,
"SHALL BE CAPABLE OF SERVING
"AS A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF
"COMMONS.

"And whereas the Laws of England are
"*the Birthright* of the People thereof, all
"the Kings and Queens, who shall ascend
"the Throne of this Realm, ought to ad-
"minister the Government of the same ac-
"cording to the said Laws, and all their
"Officers and Ministers ought to serve
"them respectively according to the same."

These, Sir, were the principles which placed the crown upon the heads of his Majesty's family; and here, and no where else, are we to look for the "*obligations*," under which, as it is said in the speech, the crown is held. It is true, that one of these obligations is, that *the king* shall join in communion with the church of England; but no obligation is there expressed; no obligation is there implied, that the king shall refuse his assent to any law for bettering the condition of his Roman Catholic subjects ——You will see, Sir, that I have distinguished certain parts of this quotation by italic characters; and I ask you, *whether this nation has not been obliged to engage in wars for the defence of dominions which do not belong to the crown of England*, without the *previous* consent (for any other *consent* is absurd) of even modern parliaments? I ask you, *whether foreigners have not been suffered to fill offices of trust, and of emolument, civil and military?* I ask you, *whether no person who has an office or place of profit under the king, or receives a pension from the crown, is capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons?* I shall be told, that this *latter* part of the provisions above quoted has been *repealed* by a subsequent act of parliament; but this only shews, that, unless the repeal was a most daring violation of the rights of the people, the repeal of no law relative to the Roman Catholics can be held as any very daring violation. If this, the far most important, in my opinion, of all the "obligations," under which the crown was held, could be done away by an act of parliament, why could not any other of the obligations be done away by the same authority? There is, neither in the act of settlement, nor in any act of parliament now in existence, or that ever was in existence, no prohibition, no restriction whatever, with respect to a relaxation of the laws relative to Roman Catholics. Upon what ground, then, is it pretended, Sir, that the enabling of the king legally to promote Roman Catholics to certain

ranks in the army and navy, would have been contrary to the "obligations," under which his crown is held?

Thus, Sir, by doing little more than merely quoting from the great constitutional laws of the kingdom, I have, I think, clearly shewn, that the principles, "which "placed the crown upon the heads of his "Majesty's illustrious family," were not, as is assumed by the clerical and other addressors, solely those "of maintaining the "predominance of the Church of England, "and the preventing of every thing tending "to re-exalt the Roman Catholic Church." In my next, I shall endeavour to shew, that Lord Howick's bill would have had no such tendency as that which has been attributed to it, and which I have expressed in the succeeding proposition. This I should do now; but, the language and conduct of the Universities, and of some other bodies of the clergy in particular, together with what has been called, and, I must say, not improperly, "the *miscreant* cry of NO POPERY," demand a more full exposure than, at present, I have room for.

I am, Sir,
Yours, &c. &c.
WM COBBETT.

Botley, 14th May, 1806.

TO THE

FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XVI.

GENTLEMEN,

In my last letter I took leave of you, thinking that it was not likely that any thing I could say further would tend to the promoting of your views for the good of your country; but, the turn things have taken, induces me once more to address you. ——The excellent stand which you are making for the rights and liberties of Englishmen is absolutely without example in the annals even of this, once so famed land of freedom. If you succeed in causing Sir Francis Burdett to be returned to parliament, you will have done more for the country, in the space of fourteen days, than has been done for it, during the last hundred years. It will, as Mr. Jennings has so well stated it at the hustings, convince those who have so long set the voice of the people at defiance, that there is "still *a Public* in England" And, as to the object of your choice, who will, be assured, soon possess the confidence of every *good* man that is now prejudiced against him, he, too, will now be convinced, that the people, the real people of England, whose voice you speak, are still worthy of his best exertions in their behalf; which exertions he will not, if he has life and health, fail to make.——It is, and long has been, my settled opinion, that he was not only the fittest person to represent you; but that, without him in parliament, there was to be reasonably expected no good whatever from any other man; and this opinion I have expressed to *all* the persons, without a single exception, with whom I have communicated upon the subject, and to those of them, who have thought that I might be of some service in London at this time, I have uniformly declared, that, unless *he* was to be chosen, all efforts at the election would be useless to the country.——Judge then, Gentlemen, of the pleasure that I derive from seeing him at the head of the poll; and especially when I consider the manner, in which he has there been placed. Judge, too, of the anxiety which I feel upon the subject, and the dread I have, lest the floods of corruption, ready to be poured forth upon every emergency, may yet overwhelm you. ——To him, to his talents, to his political courage, to his justice, to his wisdom, to his merciful turn of mind, and to the influence which he has over the minds of all those who come near him, I look, not only for a reform of abuses, but for the safety of persons and of property, if a time of trouble should arise. His enemies persist, notwithstanding the numerous proofs to the contrary, that he wishes to overturn the constitution of England; but, be you assured, that, if you return him to parliament, the whole nation will be convinced, that his object is to *restore* and *re-establish* every good thing that has been lost or laid prostrate, and to destroy nothing but that which no man, however corrupt he may be, will dare *openly to defend.* The venal prints, and especially the Morning Chronicle, continue to accuse him of being a *mere instrument in the hands of others.* This, were it true, would be of little consequence. But, the contrary has been proved in so many ways, and so clearly proved, that to persevere in the accusation is peculiarly malignant. This malice, however, will no longer answer its end; nor do I believe, that if the gentleman, who is represented as having such absolute power over Sir Francis Burdett, were once more to stand forward in public life, he would, in a short time hence, meet with any of the prejudices, which have heretofore existed against him.——I am delighted beyond mea-

sure at perceiving, that the cry of "No Po-"PERY;" that delusive and serpent-like cry, has had no effect upon your minds. You have been deluded by neither party. You have seen the thing in its true light. You have perceived it to be a mere contest for who shall most largely and securely prey upon the public. This contest has opened the way for you, and you have manfully resolved to enter it if possible.——The public spirit, the *real* loyalty, the industry, the zeal, the intelligence and perseverance of the gentlemen, who compose the committee for conducting the election of Sir Francis Burdett, I was well acquainted with during the last struggle; but, *of the whole* of their conduct upon this occasion it is impossible to speak in terms adequate to its merit.——I lament most deeply that any thing should have happened to embitter these moments of the brigthest hope; I lament still more, that any of those, who at any time co-operated with me, should have been led, by private pique, to endeavour to thwart the great purpose you have in view, and thereby to have given me reason to fear, that, while *country* was upon their lips, *self* was at the bottom of their hearts. Let us hope, however, that they will *now* desist from their efforts; efforts which will not even produce the mischief they appear to intend; efforts which will not even prevent the good which they appear to grudge their country; efforts which cannot possibly have any other effect than that of adding to their own disgrace. At any rate, whatever may be their conduct, let them be assured, that their *complimenting me*, and particularly at the expense of Sir Francis Burdett, will receive, as it merits, nothing more than my contempt. Let them recollect, that my constant precept has been, *to sacrifice every private feeling and every private interest to the public good.* How many times, and how earnestly, have I repeated this precept! a precept which I have, I trust, enforced by my example. What ground, then, can there be for expecting me to approve of, or not openly to censure a line of conduct, in which the public good is manifestly sacrificed to private, yea, and to most unjust revenge? More particularly, at this time, I shall not speak upon this subject; and, my sincere and anxious wish, is, that I may never find it necessary to speak upon the subject again.——To the *subscription*, which the committee have set on foot, I shall contribute according to my very moderate means, and, Gentlemen, it requires nothing more than a very moderate contribution from *every* man of us, in order to answer all the legal purposes even of a contest such as you are now supporting. But, *every* man must contribute. The necessary expenses of printing alone are considerable, and without printing intelligence cannot be communicated. Were it merely for the honour of Sir Francis Burdett, surely he who has suffered so much for the people of England, would have some claim upon their pecuniary exertions now. But, it is for our own honour, for the liberties and the independence of England, that these exertions are demanded; and, how base must that man be, who, for these objects would not sacrifice a part, at least, of his personal gratifications?——Upon your efforts depend, as I have before said, the political destinies of our country, and that these efforts may be completely successful is the anxious prayer of

Your faithful friend,
And obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 14th May, 1807.

PUBLIC MEN.

CIVIS'S *1st Letter.*

SIR,——It is no less the reproach of our public men, than the misfortune of the state, that their conduct, whether in or out of office, is almost universally dictated, rather by motives of individual advancement and party views, than by a sincere, disinterested ambition to promote the general interests of the empire. To obtain the possession of power, and to maintain themselves therein, when acquired, are the grand objects of their desire and exertions. Each party professes to pursue the course that would best insure the national welfare; but all parties are faithful to that course, by which their own views, and those of their party may be most likely to be promoted. In the contest for places and the good things of office, a decided opposition of principles, as well as measures, is necessary, if not natural. What at first may have been, but the arbitrary means of annoying an adversary, must, in the progress of a political contention, become the peremptory creed of the state litigant. Self occupies so large a portion of a modern statesman's consideration, that he will not hesitate to sacrifice the public interests to his individual consistency. Hence the extraordinary and alarming fluctuation in the principles of government and the character of public measures, within a very few years. The present is the fifth administration, in succession, in the short interval, that has elapsed, since the union with Ireland. No two have agreed, either in principles or

practice. Each succeeded to power hampered with their declarations in opposition, and consequently, each, with the exception of Lord Sidmouth's first year's essay, proceeded upon different principles of policy. Whether any one of these evanescent administrations composed a wise or efficient government, it is not for me to determine; but I have no hesitation to say, that they could not all have been right in the adoption of such opposite and contradictory measures. They have been the pageants of their day; the Ogre and Little Thumb succeeds Mother Goose; the unthinking herd is amused by the novelty; but to reflecting minds the instability of government and public measures presents an alarming symptom of debility, and an unhappy presage of what the country has to look forward to, unless some appearance of vigour at length be manifested to counteract such evidence of decay. It is not to be denied, that each party, on its accession to power, has shewn a most consistent attention to party objects. Their own interests and the promotion of their connections have been, uniformly, the first objects of their care, and the constant aim of their anxious solicitude. Political integrity, like the magnet, is invariable in its direction, unless diverted from the line of attraction, by the influence of some adventitious cause. Considerations of individual or capricious consistency, and party views, like the nail that draws the needle from its proper direction, divert the attention of the statesman from the only legitimate object of his care, the public good. But it is not the apostacy or perverse consistency of public men, that is to be considered most alarming, in the events that have lately taken place, it is the inconsistency of parliament. We have seen the same parliament supporting two successive administrations, formed upon different principles, and professing opposite notions of policy and government. Either may be right or wrong, but parliament cannot be consistent in supporting both. If the representatives of the people are to go over to every administration that may be formed, *en masse*, the right of election is nugatory. The crown, in effect, would, in such a situation of things, absorb the functions of the commons branch of the legislature. The only difference that would then exist between this important member of the legislature of a free country, and the French senate, the abject instrument of the will of a despot, would be, that the people would be insulted by the mockery of choosing representatives, who were not to declare their voice, but to submit to the mandates of the minister of the day. A parliament, capable of such pliability, well deserved the reproach contained in the arrogant insinuation of Lord Castlereagh, in the debate of Wednesday last, that, out of the pale of the late and of the present government, there was no third class of men from which an administration could be formed. The modesty of this observation is truly unique and unparalleled. The late administration were said by their partisans to comprehend all the talents of the country; a silly boast, which the members of that administration ever disclaimed, whatever may have been their other demerits. No person was more forward in reprobating the insolent vanity of such a pretension, than Lord Castlereagh. But was his lordship's indignation the result of any generous feeling, for the character of an enlightened nation, insulted by such a presumptuous assertion? No! no! In his lordship's bosom there is no place for these unparty-like sentiments. Conscious of his own abilities, and of the great, though unobtrusive, merits of those with whom he acted, he felt a personal and a party vindication at the sentence of exclusion against them. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* But no sooner is his lordship restored to office, than he asserts his claim to a pre-eminence of talents. It was said of the late ministers, that they comprehended all the talents of the country. This Lord Castlereagh denied, and the late ministers disclaimed. Yet before his lordship feels warm on the Treasury Bench, he modestly proclaims to the parliament and the country, that there are no talents in either, out of the circles of the late and present administration. The Greeks called all nations barbarous but their own: the Romans adopted the sweeping exclusion, excepting only the Greeks; but both the Greeks and the Romans were ignorant of the existence of the great Empire of China, more populous than both, and as highly civilised as either. Do then the present or the late ministers flatter themselves that either, or both include all the talents of the country? Can they suppose, that, because they comprehend all the brawling scramblers for places and preferment, they contain all the enlightened intellect, all the profound political wisdom of the nation or the parliament? The opinion is too extravagant even for the vanity of egotism to entertain, or the credulity of an heedless public to subscribe to. There are and must be many sets of men in this nation, as capable of conducting its affairs, as either the present or the late men. It is no frothy declamation, or contentious power of debating, that constitute a sound

politician or the able statesman. That comprehensive acquaintance with the states of Europe, that clear perception of the positive and relative interests of this country, those enlightened principles of government, that harmonise the rights of the people and the prerogatives of the crown, and the enlarged and luminous views upon all the varied relations of a great empire which are the only solid foundation of political wisdom, are to be found eminently united in numberless persons, who have never engaged in the scandalous contest for promoting private objects by the attainment of power. The public has seen administration succeed administration, in more rapid succession, and with less interest or concern, in the last seven years, than at any former period of our history. Whence this apathy? Is it, that the crisis is less difficult, or the duties of legislation and government less embarrassing, than on those past occasions, when the inhabitants of this country were tenderly alive to every variation of policy in their rulers? Are the fears of the people lulled by their consciousness of security, or does the nation shut its eyes to its danger from an implicit and just confidence in the abilities and integrity of its governors? Far from it. The crisis of the times has never been so momentous, but unfortunately the rapid revolutions of administrations and measures has fatigued the solicitude of the public, and neutralised those truly British feelings, that gave every inhabitant of this land of freedom a warm interest in the administration of public affairs. The profligate selfishness of public men, and the unexampled instability of government have destroyed every source of just confidence. We cannot trust to those, who commence their administration by taking care of their own interests, and whose probable duration in office may not afford them any opportunity of doing any thing effectually for the public interest. When this preposterous course of preferring private objects to public duty is uniformly pursued by each successive administration, when at a time of great difficulty and danger, requiring all the extraordinary resources of the state to be brought into activity, the public is scandalised and disgusted at the mercenary and griping conduct of public men; when even their measures are framed, as much with a view to their selfish objects, as to the interest of the state, it is absolutely impossible, that the nation should be duped into a surrender of its confidence to hollow professions of integrity, against such conclusive evidence of political profligacy. The measure for admitting dissenters of every description to all ranks in the army and navy was brought forward by one set of men, to strengthen themselves in office, and opposed by another with a view to the attainment of power. If the late administration had acted solely upon public grounds, the country would have the benefit of the measure, to which the King had given his assent; if the present ministers had acted from a sense of duty only, the public would not now have to despair of the accomplishment of a measure, which so far as it went, would have proved highly beneficial to the nation. The selfish objects of both parties have defeated the interests of the public, and sown the seeds of internal discord, at a time when universal union is so essential, by the revival of the acrimonious discussion of questions, which have ever hitherto turned upon an appeal from reason, humanity, and common sense, to prejudice and the worst of passions of the human breast. The extent of the mischief is not easily to be calculated; but one thing is certain, that, whilst, in the extensive sphere of our military operations in all quarters of the world, we have to contend with numerous and obstinate enemies, with elements, climates, and perhaps pestilential maladies, any policy must be ruinous, that would shut out one of the most abundant sources of supply to keep up the numbers of our army. But, I have been led too far by the warmth of my feelings. I had intended, when I began, to devote the greatest part of this letter to an impartial consideration of that measure, and the objections urged against it, in order to shew, that it was rather to be considered a great public than a limited Catholic measure. What I had to state upon that head shall be the subject of a future communication, if you should deem this deserving a place in your Register, and followed up in succession with statements respecting the actual state of Ireland, the causes of the frequent interruptions of its tranquillity, and the means of securing its internal quiet, the only possible mode of consolidating its union with this country.—CIVIS.—*London, April 20, 1807.*

POOR LAWS.

Containing Observations on A. O.'s first Letter.

Sir;——As the revision of the poor laws is a subject at present under parliamentary review, and as it yields to no other in point of real importance, it would be natural that any letter appearing upon the subject in your Register should engage the attention of your readers; but when such a letter, Sir is fostered under your protecting genius and

stands recommended by a discriminating mind like yours, as a production replete with information, the public attention must be additionally excited: such had your recommendation upon me, Mr. Cobbett, but I am sorry it should fall to my lot to prove ungrateful for your kindness, and that I should be induced to say, what I do most unequivocally, that I have seldom seen a letter on a *grave* subject, in which the poverty of conviction and the abuse of words have been more evidently marked than in that of your correspondent A. O.—The attempt or rather the inclination of A. O., as I collect from the introductory part of his letter, is to *decry* the system of Mr. Malthus;—a system built upon propositions, none of which are distinctly stated, and none, consequently, distinctly refuted. I did feel the hope, Mr. Cobbett, from the late discussion, and from your sentiments upon the "learned languages," that we had seen the vanity, the folly of idle declamation and unmeaning verbiage, and that we had learnt to appreciate language only in proportion as it conveyed manly argument and distinct clear ideas: but how much, Sir, of this sterling sense has the letter of A. O.? What principle of Mr. Malthus's does he investigate, which he takes the liberty of condemning? Really, Mr. Cobbett, but from your *known inflexible integrity*, I should be led to conjecture, that the champions for the "learned languages" had bribed you into an eulogium of a letter, that so evidently owes its birth to the clouded system of their education.—Sir, the condition of the poor has, for a series of years, occupied the attention of many men, whose minds have been both capacious and benevolent. It is the highest branch of political philosophy; and yet a subject of such peculiar delicacy, from the prejudice that pervades the minds of the millions who are interested in its developement, that very few have been found with courage and manliness enough to treat it with genuine impartiality, because they were aware, Sir, that the truth, by pressing on the claims of the many, who would thereby feel aggrieved, would give to the crafty sycophant, who is grovelling his way to power by the delusion of the multitude, an opportunity of raising himself in public estimation by a seeming benevolence, which could be only justly attributed to the man whose fame he would be enabled to ruin by insidious detraction. For this manliness alone, Sir, I say, whatever may be the result or the rectitude of the system of Mr. Malthus, he has a claim to our best thanks. You know, Mr. Cobbett, (no man better) that the greater part of the errors of the world are only to be corrected by manly energy, unawed by popular indignation: such a censor has Mr. Malthus evinced himself; he has dared to give to the world what he has considered wholesome truths, though he saw the formidable host of gentle, compassionate, and sympathising souls, the members of Lloyd's Fund, together with the melting guardians of the Vice Society, all prepared with their weapons for his immediate destruction: but little did I think that you, Mr. Cobbett, would have joined in the cry of "hard-hearted doctrine." What are the principles, Sir, on which this hard-hearted doctrine is founded? Let us hear them first *stated* and *refuted*, and then deal your epithets of proscription as fluently as you please. Let this treasurer of Lloyd's Fund, this city saint, (for such I cannot help thinking A. O. must be from his letter) state the basis upon which Mr. Malthus's system is built, and let him canvass the positions fairly and dispassionately, before he talks of "metaphysical "distinctions," and the cobwebs of philoso-"phy;" before he ushers into the world a declaration, that "Mr. Malthus has admi-"rably reconciled the old quarrel between "speculation and practice, by shewing that "our *duties and our vices both lean the same* "*way, and that the ends of public virtue* "*and benevolence are best answered by the* "*meanness, pride, extravagance, and in-*"*sensibility of individuals.*" Is this the language, Sir, let me ask, adapted to the great purpose of an inquiry after truth? Is this the manner in which A. O. imagines a work which has cost the experienced and penetrative compiler many an anxious hour, is to be refuted? Sir, I challenge A. O. to produce any one position, put by Mr. Malthus, in which virtue is not endeavoured to be promoted, and vice diminished; in which the interests and welfare of the community are not anxiously endeavoured to be upheld, and the happiness and harmony of society to be advanced. I should not, Sir have lavished so much in generals, and which you probably may think I have done unnecessarily, but that I have a very different feeling from that with which you seem to be impressed, in respect of the *intention* of your correspondent A. O. You imagine, that when he mentions, at the end of his letter, his inclination of giving, in another letter, the *proof* of his assertions, that he is *ingenuous* in making that declaration.—On the contrary, Sir, I firmly believe, that A. O. has no such inclination; that he never means to enter into an investigation of the reasoning of Mr. Malthus, but that his other letter, if another should appear, will be found, like

the present, to contain general assertions, copious detraction, and no one attempt to inquire into or canvass the principles laid down by the "check-population philoso-"pher," as you have designated Mr. Malthus. But, Sir, that your corrospondent may be driven from an ungenerous attempt of being opprobrious without argument, if he entertains such a wish, which I am prone to believe he does, I call upon him in his next letter to fulfil his promise, and fairly and openly to discuss the principles laid down by Mr. Malthus; and, Sir, that no misrepresentation of that gentleman's principles may take place, I will take the liberty of stating what I understand them to be. The important position I conceive to be laid down, and on which Mr. Malthus's system is chiefly founded, is that, by the immutable law of nature, the procreative power of man is greater than the productive power of food; or, in other words, that there is a constant disposition in the human species to increase beyond the means of subsistence. This is a position therefore, Sir, that I call upon A. O. in the first instance to controvert; for, if it be irrefragable, then it must follow, *ex necessitate*, that unless this tendency to increase be by some means or other prevented or checked, that at some period or other the means of subsistence must be deficient; and that that deficiency will be in proportion to the increased population: and as scarcity increases, and poverty makes its appearance, its attendants, misery and vice, must be proportionally multiplied. Now, Sir, if the acuteness and discernment of your correspondent A. O. should be incapable of exploding these propositions, and which, I presume, you will think in candour he ought to do, before he enlarges the bounty of his censuring epithets, the only subject left for consideration, will be, in what way the evil can be best remedied. Mr. Malthus has ventured to say, that poverty is an evil: will the rich philanthropists at Lloyd's say it is not? But if poverty arises from a scarcity of provisions, it does not seem indicative of extraordinary humanity to wish to increase the number of those who will be craving for food, while, at the same time, the quantity of food is to remain stationary:—— those *tender-hearted* creatures, those men of melting charity, will hardly advance that as a philanthropic measure. But then, perhaps, we shall be told, that the cause of this increase of population is implanted on man by an ordinance of the Diety, and that as all things ordained by God have their utility, the passion for affording an increase of the species ought not to be stinted; but, Mr. Cobbett, will not the same argument apply to every other passion, and will the same reasoners enforce the propriety of indulging to the fullest extent all our other passions? If they do, what becomes of that master-spring of man, his reason; of what utility will that be stated to be, if we are to suffer the instinctive parts of man to rove ad libitum. Our reason informs us that to destroy a human being is an offence of considerable magnitude towards the author of nature; will not however the same chain of reasoning equally inform us, that the bringing into the world a progeny without any means of support, is a murder of greater iniquity than any other, in proportion as it is more deliberate, and as famine is the most acute and dreadful of all species of mortality. In fact, Sir, in what way can an evil be better prevented than by removing the cause? Will that not more become the wisdom of man, than, by suffering the cause to remain unrestrained, to make it necessary for such occasional dreadful visitations of Providence, as famine and pestilence to clear away the superfluous population? But I shall proceed no farther upon this topic for the present.—I have only been anxious in this letter to stem the delusive effects, which an indiscriminate profusion of tender and sympathising expressions are apt to have upon the judgment of man, by calling his passions to its aid; and which must have the necessary effect of producing a prejudice, that once raised, few men will be found disposed to attack; and I most sincerely hope that such of your readers, Sir, who have not perused Mr. Malthus's work attentively, will wait for a dispassionate and impartial investigation of the principles he has laid down, before they join in reprobating him as a hard-hearted misanthropist. However, to shew those who have not perused Mr. Malthus, that he has some traits of benevolence in his character, I will just quote a passage from his work, which will, I am satisfied, prove to any unprejudiced enquirer, that Mr. Malthus possesses the true and genuine spirit of philanthropy and benevolence; virtues which are so frequently bruited, yet so little known by that part of society who are so clamourous in their behalf. "We are "not," says Mr. Malthus, "in any case, "to lose a present opportunity of doing "good, from the mere supposition that we "may possibly meet with a worthier object. "In all doubtful cases, it may be safely "laid down as our duty to follow the natu-"ral impulse of our benevolence; but "when in fulfilling our obligation as rea-

" sonable beings to attend to the *consequences* of our actions, we have, from our " own experience and that of others, " drawn the conclusion, that the exercise " of our benevolence in one mode, is prejudicial in its effects, we are certainly " bound, as moral agents, to check our " natural propensities in the one direction, " and to encourage them and acquire the " habits of exercising them in the other," I should think after a due consideration of this passage, it will be difficult to attach to the author of it, the character of hard-hearted; and still less that of misanthropist. I had almost omitted to mention, that education, by which is not to be understood the knowledge of the "Learned Languages," but the cultivation of the human mind, by enabling it to form a just conception of men and things, is thought by Mr. Malthus, and I believe by most thinking men, as the best if not the only effectual mode of improving the morals, and consequently the happiness of society; but such a scheme is reprobated by A. O. for a very curious reason as it appears to me; he says, " is knowledge in " itself a principle of such universal and in- " disputable excellence that it can never be " misapplied, that it can never be made the " instrument and incentive to mischief, or " that it can never be mixed and contami- " nated with baser matter?" I would ask you, Mr. Cobbett, whether this kind of argument does not recal to your memory the solid reason a father gave for not permitting his child to learn to read or write, namely, that he had thereby effectually prevented him from being punished for a forgery. If the possibility of converting or straining a virtue into vice, be an allowable argument against the encouragement of virtue, then is A. O.'s an argument against the propagation of learning.—But to the present *verbum sat;* I shall postpone my further remarks until after the promised letter of A. O. shall make its appearance. W. F. S.

Lincoln's Inn.

POOR LAWS.

Being the second Letter of A. O.

SIR,——The English have been called a nation of philosophers; as I conceive on very slender foundations. They are, indeed, a grave people, somewhat slow and dull, and would be wise, if they could. They are of a melancholy turn, and extremely anxious about what does not concern them. They are fond of deep questions, without understanding them; and have that perplexed and plodding kind of intellect, which takes delight in difficulties and contradictions, without ever coming to a conclusion. What is incomprehensible and extravagant, they take to be profound: whatever is remote, obscure, and uncertain, they think must be of great weight and importance. They are always in want of some new and mighty project in science, in politics, or in morals; for the morbid sensibility of their minds to brood over, and feed upon; and, by the time they are tired of puzzling themselves to no purpose about, one absurdity, another is generally ready to start up and take its place. Thus there is a perpetual, restless succession of philosophers, and systems of philosophy; and the proof they give you of their wisdom to day, is by shewing you what fools they were ten years before. Their pretensions to solidity of understanding rest on the admission of their own shallowness; and their gravest demonstrations rise out of the ruins of others. Mr. Malthus has been for some time past lord of the ascendant, the very polar star of philosophy. But, I will venture to predict, that his reign will not be of much longer duration. His time is come; and this mighty luminary, like many others, that " lately scorched us in the meridian, " will sink temperately to the west, and be " hardly felt as he descends." It is not difficult to account for the favourable hearing Mr. Malthus's work has received from certain classes of the community. It must be a source of daily complacency and inward exultation to their minds, and a great relief from the troublesome importunity of certain silly prejudices. But I can only account for the attention it has excited among thinking men from a habit of extreme abstraction and over-refined speculation, unsupported by practical reasoning and observation, in consequence of which the mind is dazzled and confounded by any striking fact, which thwarts its previous conclusions. Besides, there is a mixture of meanness and malignity in the human mind, which is glad of the first opportunity to escape from the contemplation of magnificent scenes and visionary improvement, to find once more its own level, and lug itself in that low indifference and apathy which Mr. M.'s work is calculated to encourage. It was a nice *let-down* from the overstrained enthusiasm, and too sanguine hopes which preceded it. Else, how a work of so base a tendency, and so weakly executed, that strikes at the root of every humane principle, and cants about sensibility and morality, in which the little, low, rankling malice of a parish beadle or the overseer of a workhouse is disguised in the garb of philosophy, and proposed as a dress for every English gentleman to wear, where false lo-

gic is buried under a heap of garbled calculations, such as a bad player would make at cribbage, to puzzle those who understood less of the game than himself, where every argument is a *felo de se*, and detects its own imposture, containing "its bane and antidote within itself," how otherwise such a miserable, reptile performance should ever have crawled to that height of reputation which it has reached, I do not understand.—But it seems Mr. Malthus's principle was a *discovery*. There are those, who place him by the side of Sir Isaac Newton, as both equally great, the one in natural, the other in political philosophy. But waving this comparison, I must confess, Sir, that if I were convinced that Mr. Malthus had made any discovery at all, there is so little originality in the world, and so much illiberality and ill nature, that I should be disposed to overlook the large share of the latter which Mr. M. has in common with others, which may probably be owing to a bad digestion, ill health, or some former distaste conceived against poverty, and to consider him merely in the light of a man of genius. *Multum alludit imago.* Indeed, I do not much see what there is to discover, after reading the genealogy of Noah's descendants, and knowing that the world is round. But, even supposing that there was some deep veil of mystery thrown over the subject, which entirely concealed or involved it in obscurity, Mr. M. was not the first person who penetrated into the secret. Whatever some of his ignorant admirers may pretend, Mr. Malthus will not say that this was the case. He has himself given us a list of authors, some of which he had read before, and some since the publication of his Essay*, by whom this principle was well understood and distinctly stated long ago. Among these Wallace is the chief: he not only stated the principle itself with the utmost force and clearness, shewing the necessary disproportion between the ratios of the increase of population, and the increase of the produce of the earth, after a certain period, (and till a certain period, I must contend in opposition to Mr. Malthus that the disproportion is not necessary, but casual or voluntary,) but what is most remarkable, he has brought this principle as an answer to the very same schemes of Utopian perfection, and to the same arguments in favour of the progressive improvement, virtue, happiness, and liberty of mankind, which Mr. Malthus first applied it to overturn. For, it is to be recollected, that the use which Mr. M. has since made of this principle to *snub* the poor, to keep down their wages, to shut up the workhouse, to deny them relief, and finally, to preach lectures to them on the dreadful sin of matrimony, was an afterthought. His first, his great, his most memorable effort was directed against the modern philosophy. It was the service which his borrowed weapons did in that cause, which sanctified them to all other purposes. I shall soon have occasion to examine the force of the argument as thus applied; at present I shall only inquire into the originality of the idea. I might here refer your readers to the book itself, or, I might say, that after indulging in all the romantic scenes of visionary happiness which have been so often held out to the expectation of man, he has written a distinct essay for the express purpose of shewing that these scenes could never be realised, or could never be lasting, from the sole principle of Mr. Malthus's Essay; or, as he expresses it, from these "primary determinations in nature, a limited earth, a limited degree of fertility, and the continual increase of mankind." But people do not like to take these things upon trust, or general representation; and, it is probable, that few of your readers have the book within their reach. I must, therefore, beg room for a few extracts from his "Prospects of Mankind," &c. and, though they will run to some length, yet, as you, Sir, seem with me to think the sources of Mr. Malthus's reputation a matter of no mean interest, you will not, I hope, think your pages misemployed in dissipating the illusion†. As for Mr. Malthus himself, he ought to be satisfied with this acknowledgment of his importance.——"But without "entering further into these abstracted and "uncertain speculations, it deserves our "particular attention, that as no govern-"ment which hath hitherto been establish-"ed is free from all seeds of corruption, or "can be expected to be eternal; so if we "suppose a government to be perfect in its "original frame, and to be administered in "the most perfect manner, after whatever

* Among the former are Hume, Wallace, Smith, and Price: among the latter are the French economists, Montesquieu, Franklin, Steuart, Arthur Young, Mr. Townshend, Plato and Aristotle.

† See some Essays on this subject in the Monthly Magazine, by an ingenious and well-informed writer, who possessed too much sense and firmness to be carried away by the clamours of upstart ignorance. After the publication of these Essays, some notice was taken of the name of Wallace in the Essay on Population.

" model we suppose it to have been framed, " such a perfect form would be so far from " lasting for ever, that it must come to an " end so much the sooner, on account of its " perfection. For, though happily such go- " vernment should be firmly established, " though they should be found consistent " with the reigning passions of human na- " ture, though they should spread far and " wide, nay, though they should prevail " universally, they must at last involve " mankind in the deepest perplexity, and " in universal confusion. For how ex- " cellent soever they may be in their own " nature, they are altogether inconsistent " with the present frame of nature, and with " a limited extent of earth.—Under a per- " fect government the inconvenience of " having a family would be so entirely re- " moved, children would be so well taken " care of, and every thing become so fa- " vourable to populousness, that, though " some sickly seasons or dreadful plagues in " particular climates, might cut off multi- " tudes, yet in general, mankind would in- " crease so prodigiously, that the earth " would at last be overstocked, and become " unable to support its numerous inhabi- " tants.—How long the earth with the best " culture of which it is capable from human " genius and industry, might be able to nou- " rish its perpetually increasing inhabitants, " is as impossible as it is unnecessary to be " determined. It is not probable that it " could have supported them during so long " a period as since the creation of Adam. " But, whatever may be supposed of the " length of this period, of necessity it must " be granted that the earth could not nou- " rish them for ever, unless either its ferti- " lity could be continually augmented, or " by some secret in nature, like what cer- " tain enthusiasts have expected from the " Philosopher's Stone, some wise adept in " the occult sciences should invent a me- " thod of supporting mankind quite differ- " ent from any thing known at present. " Nay, though some extraordinary method " of supporting them might possibly be " found out, yet, if there was no bound to " the increase of mankind which would be " the case under a perfect government, " there would not even be sufficient room " for containing their bodies upon the sur- " face of the earth, or upon any limited sur- " face whatsoever. It would be necessary, " therefore, in order to find room for such " multitudes of men, that the earth should " be continually enlarging in bulk as an " animal or vegetable body.——Now, since " philosophers may as soon attempt to make " mankind immortal, as to support the ani- " mal frame without food, it is equally cer- " tain that limits are set to the fertility of the " earth, and that its bulk so far as is hitherto " known hath continued always the same. " It would be impossible, therefore, to sup- " port the great numbers of men who would " be raised up under a perfect government, " the earth would be overstocked at last, " and the greatest admirers of such fanciful " schemes must foresee the fatal period " when they would come to an end, as they " are altogether inconsistent with the limits " of that earth in which they must exist.— " What a miserable catastrophe of the most " generous of all human systems of govern- " ment! How dreadfully would the magis- " trates of such commonwealths find them- " selves disconcerted at that fatal period " when there was no longer any room for " new colonies, and when the earth could " produce no further supplies! During all " the preceding ages, while there was room " for increase, mankind must have been " happy, the earth must have been a paradise " in the literal sense, as the greatest part of it " must have been turned into delightful and " fruitful gardens But when the dreadful " time should at last come, when our globe " by the most diligent culture could not " produce what was sufficient to nourish its " numerous inhabitants, what happy expe- " dient could then be found out to remedy " so great an evil?——In such a cruel ne- " cessity, must there be a law to restrain " marriage? Must multitudes of women be " shut up in cloisters like the ancient vestals " or modern nuns? To keep a balance be- " tween the two sexes must a proportionate " number of men be debarred from mar- " riage? Shall the Utopians, following the " wicked policy of superstition, forbid their " priests to marry; or, shall they rather sa- " crifice men of some other profession for " the good of the state? Or, shall they ap- " point the sons of certain families to be " maimed at their birth, and give a sanction " to the unnatural institution of eunuchs? " If none of these expedients can be thought " proper, shall they appoint a certain num- " ber of infants to be exposed to death as " soon as they are born, determining the " proportion according to the exigencies of " the state, and pointing out the particular " victims by lot, or according to some esta- " blished rule? Or, must they shorten the " period of human life by a law, and con- " demn all to die after they had compleated " a certain age, which might be shorter or " longer as provisions were either more " scanty or plentiful? Or, what other me-

" thod should they devise (for an expedient " would be absolutely necessary) to restrain " the number of citizens within reasonable " bounds?——Alas! how unnatural and " inhuman must every such expedient be " accounted! The natural passions and ap- " petites of mankind are planted in our " frame to answer the best ends for the hap- " piness both of the individuals and of the " species. Shall we be obliged to contradict " such a wise order? Shall we be laid un- " der the necessity of acting barbarously " and inhumanly? Sad and fatal necessity!" " And which after all could never answer " the end, but would give rise to violence " and war. For mankind could never agree " about such regulations. Force and arms " must at last decide their quarrels, and the " deaths of such as fall in battle leave suffi- " cient provisions for the survivors and " make room for others to be born.—Thus, " the tranquillity and numerous blessings of " the Utopian government would come to " an end; war, or cruel and unnatural cus- " toms be introduced, and a stop put to the " increase of mankind, to the advancement " of knowledge, and to the culture of the " earth, in spite of the most excellent laws " and wisest precautions. The more excel- " lent the laws had been, and the more " strictly they had been observed, mankind " must have sooner become miserable. The " remembrance of former times, the great- " ness of their wisdom and virtue, would " conspire to heighten their distress; and " the world instead of remaining the man- " sion of wisdom and happiness, become " the scene of vice and confusion. Force " and fraud must prevail, and mankind be " reduced to the same calamitous condition " as at present.——Such a melancholy si- " tuation in consequence merely of the " want of provisions, is in truth more un- " natural than all their present calamities. " Supposing men to have abused their liber- " ty, by which abuse vice has once been " introduced into the world, and that wrong " notions, a bad taste, and vicious habits, " have been strengthened by the defects of " education and government, our present " distresses may be easily explained. They " may even be called natural, being the na- " tural consequences of our depravity. They " may be supposed to be the means by " which Providence punishes vice, and by " setting bounds to the increase of mankind " prevents the earth's being overstocked, " and men being laid under the cruel neces- " sity of killing one another. But to sup- " pose that in the course of a favourable " Providence, a perfect government had " been established, under which the disor- " ders of human passions had been powerful- " ly corrected and restrained; poverty, " idleness, and war banished; the earth " made a paradise; universal friendship " and concord established, and human so- " ciety rendered flourishing in all respects; " and that such a lovely constitution should " be overturned, not by the vices of men or " their abuse of liberty, but by the order of " nature itself, seems wholly unnatural, and " altogether disagreeable to the methods of " Providence.——By reasoning in this man- " ner, it is not pretended, that it is unnatu- " ral to set bounds to human knowledge and " happiness, or to the grandeur of society, " and to confine what is finite to proper li- " mits. It is certainly fit to set just bounds " to every thing according to its nature, and " to adjust all things in due proportion to " one another. Undoubtedly, such an ex- " cellent order is actually established " throughout all the works of God in his " wide dominions. But, there are certain " primary determinations in nature, to " which all other things of a subordinate " kind must be adjusted. A limited earth, " a limited degree of fertility, and the con- " tinual increase of mankind, are three of " these original constitutions. To these " determinations, human affairs and the " circumstances of all other animals must " be adapted. In which view it is unsuit- " able to our ideas of order, that while the " earth is only capable of maintaining a de- " termined number, the human race should " increase without end. This would be the " necessary consequence of a perfect go- " vernment and education, on which ac- " count it is more contrary to just propor- " tion to suppose that such a perfect govern- " ment should be established in such cir- " cumstances, than that by permitting vice " or the abuse of liberty in the wisdom of " Providence mankind should never be " able to multiply so greatly as to overstock " the earth.——From this view of the cir- " cumstances of the world, notwithstanding " the high opinion we have of the merit of " Sir Thomas More and other admired " projectors of perfect governments in an- " cient or modern times, we may discern " how little can be expected from their " most perfect systems.—— As for these " worthy philosophers, patriots, and law-

" givers, who have employed their time and " their talents in framing such excellent " models, we ought to do justice to their " characters, and gratefully to acknowledge " their generous efforts to rescue the world " out of that distress, into which it has fal- " len through the imperfection of govern- " ment. Sincere and ardent in their love of " virtue, enamoured of its lovely form, " deeply interested for the happiness of " mankind, to the best of their skill and " with hearts full of zeal, they have stre- " nuously endeavoured to advance human " society to perfection. For this their me- " mory ought to be sacred to posterity. But " if they expected their beautiful systems " actually to take place, their hopes were ill " founded, and they were not sufficiently " aware of the consequences.——The spe- " culations of such ingenious authors en- " large our views and amuse our fancies. " They are useful for directing us to cor- " rect certain errors at particular times. " Able legislators ought to consider them as " models, and honest patriots ought never to " lose sight of them, or any proper oppor- " tunity of transplanting the wisest of their " maxims into their own governments, as " far as they are adapted to their particular " circumstances, and will give no occasion " to dangerous convulsions. But this is all " that can be expected. Though such in- " genious romances should chance to be " read and admired, jealous and selfish poli- " ticians need not be alarmed. Such states- " men need not fear that ever such airy " systems shall be able to destroy their craft, " or disappoint them of their intention to " sacrifice the interest of mankind to their " own avarice or ambition. There is too " powerful a charm which works secretly in " favour of such politicians, which will for " ever defeat all attempts to establish a per- " fect government. There is no need of " miracles for this purpose. The vices of " mankind are sufficient; and we need not " doubt but Providence will make use of " them, for preventing the establishment of " governments which are by no means suit- " able to the present circumstances of the " earth *."——Various Prospects of Mankind, Nature, and Providence, chap. 4. 113. ——Here then, Sir, is the very same argument brought to bear in the most direct and pointed manner on the very same subject; the same principle stated, and the same consequences deduced from it. It often happens that one man states a particular principle, and that another draws an important inference from it, which the first was not at all aware of. But it cannot be pretended that this is the case by the present instance. The fact and the inference are both given as fully, as precisely, and explicitly in Wallace as they can be given in any one, as far as general reasoning will go. " So does this anticipation prevent Mr. Malthus's discovery," for, it happens that Wallace's book was published in 1761. As to the details contained in the Essay, I leave them to the connoisseurs. As to the ground-work, it appears to have been completely pre-occupied. Mr. M. has just about the same pretensions to originality in the business, as any one would have who repeated Mr. M.'s arguments after him, and did it in words a little different from his own. " Oh! but," I hear some one cry out, " the geometrical and arithmetical ratios! Has Wallace said any thing about them? Did he find *them* out?" Why really I do not know: whether after having brought his principle to light, he christened it himself, I cannot determine. It seems to me sufficient for him to have said, that let the one ratio increase as fast as it would, the other would increase much faster, as this is all that is practically meant by a geometrical and arithmetical ratio †. But, I should have no objection to let Mr. M. have the honour of standing godfather to another's bantling (and Mr. Shandy was of opinion that it was a matter of as great importance to hit upon a lucky name for a child as to beget it) but that the technical phrase he has employed as a convenient short-hand method of explaining the subject in reality applies only to one half of it. The gradual increase applies only to the degree of cultivation of the earth, not to the quantity. These two things are palpably distinct. It does not begin to take place till the whole surface of the earth has been cultivated to a certain degree, or only with respect to those parts of it which have been

* A different spirit breathes through this chapter from that of the Essay; the spirit of a gentleman, a philosopher, and a philanthropist. Mr. Malthus, indeed sometimes limps after his model, and *cants* liberality in the true whine of hypocrisy.

† As far as I understand the nature of an arithmetical and geometrical series, I do not apprehend that Mr. M. could make good their strict application to the subject. An arithmetical series is where any number or quantity is increased by the perpetual addition of the same given sum or quantity. But how does Mr. M. know that this is true of the cultivation of the land, or that much more rapid strides may not be made at one time than at another.

cultivated. It is evident that while most of the soil remained wholly unoccupied and uncultivated, (which must have been the case for many ages after these two principles began to operate, and is still the case in many countries) the power of increase in the productions of the earth, and consequently, in the support of population would be exactly in proportion to the population itself, for there would be nothing more necessary in order to the earth's maintaining its inhabitants, than that there should be inhabitants enough to till the earth. In this case, the cultivation of the earth would be limited by the population, not the population by the state of the cultivation. Where there was no want of room, and a power of transporting themselves from place to place, which there would naturally be in great continents, and in gradually increasing colonies, there could be no want of subsistence. All that would be wanted would be power to raise or gather the fruits which the earth had in store, which as long as men were born with hands they would be always able to do. If a certain extent of ground easily maintained a certain number of inhabitants, they would only have to spread themselves over double the surface to maintain double the number. The difficulty is not in making more land maintain more men, but in making the same spot of ground maintain a greater number than it did before. Thus Noah might have taken possession of the three contiguous quarters of the globe for himself and his three sons; and, if they instead of having three sons had had each of them three hundred, there would, I believe, have been no danger of their starving, but the contrary, from the rapid increase of population. What I mean to shew is, that it is not true as a general principle that the increase of population and the increase in the means of subsistence are necessarily disproportionate to each other, that the one is in a geometrical, the other is in an arithmetical ratio, but, that in a particular and very important view of the subject, the extent of population is only limited by the extent of the earth, and that the increase of the means of subsistence will be in proportion to the greater extent of surface occupied, which may be enlarged as fast as there are numbers to occupy it. I have been thus particular, because mathematical terms carry with them an imposing air of accuracy and profundity, and ought, therefore, to be applied strictly, and with the greatest caution, or not at all. I should say, therefore, that looking at the subject in a general and philosophical point of view, I do not think that the expression of an arithmetical and geometrical series applies: for, with respect to the extent of ground occupied, which is one thing on which population depends, and in the first instance always, this might evidently be increased in any ratio whatever, that the increase of population would admit, until the earth was entirely occupied; and after that there would be no room either for a geometrical or arithmetical progression; it would be at an absolute stand. The distinction is therefore confined to the degree of art and diligence used in the cultivation of those parts which have been already occupied. This has no doubt gone on at a very slow kind of snail's pace from the very first, and will I dare say continue to do so; or to adopt Wallace's distinction, the increase of population is either not restricted at all by the "limited nature of the earth," or it is limited absolutely by it: it is only kept back indefinitely by the "limited fertility" of the earth; and it cannot be said to be kept back necessarily by this, while there are vast tracts of habitable land left untouched. Till there is no more room, and no more food to be procured without extreme exertion and contrivance, the arithmetical and geometrical ratios do not naturally begin to operate; and the gradual increase that might take place after that period, is not in my opinion (who am no great speculator) of sufficient importance to deserve a pompous appellation. I would, therefore, rather step there, because it will simplify the question. Till the world is full, or at least till every country is full, that is, maintains as many inhabitants as the soil will admit, namely, till it can be proved satisfactorily that it might not by taking proper methods be made to maintain double the number that it does, the increase of mankind is not necessarily checked by the "limited extent of the earth," nor by its "limited fertility," but by other causes. Till then population must be said to be kept down, not by the physical constitution of nature, but by the will of man. Till then, Mr. Malthus has no right to set up his arithmetical and geometrical ratios upon the face of the earth, and say they are the work of nature. You, Sir, will not be at a loss to perceive the fallacy which runs under the gloss which Mr. M. has here added to Wallace's text. His readers looking at his mathematical scale will be apt to suppose, that population is a naturally growing and necessary evil; that it is always encroaching on and straitening the means of existence, and doing more harm than good: that its pernicious effects are at all times and in all places equally necessary and unavoidable; that it is as

all times an evil, but that the evil increases in proportion to the increase of population; and that, therefore, there is nothing so necessary as to keep population down at all events. This is the imperious dictate of nature, the grinding law of necessity, the end and the fulfilling of the commandment. I do not mean to say, that Mr. M. does not often shift his ground on this subject, or that he is not himself aware of the deception. It is sufficient for him that he has it to resort to, whenever he is in want of it; that he has been able to throw dust in his readers' eyes, and dazzle them by a specious shew of accuracy; that he has made out a bill of indictment against the principle of population as a general nuisance in society, and has obtained a general warrant against it, and may have it brought into court as a felon whenever he thinks proper. He has alarmed men's minds with confused apprehensions on the subject, by setting before their eyes, in an orderly series, the malignant nature and terrible effects of population, which are perpetually increasing as it goes on: and they are ready to assent to every scheme that promises to keep these dreadful evils at a distance from them. "*Sacro tremuere timore.* Every coward is planet-struck." But nothing of all this is the truth. Population is only an evil, as Mr. M. has himself shewn, in proportion as it is excessive: it is not a necessary evil, till the supply of food can, from natural causes, no longer keep pace with it: till this is the case, no restraints are necessary, and when this is the case, the same wholesome degree of restraint, the same quantity of vice and misery, will operate equally to prevent any tremendous consequences, whether the actual population is great or small; that is, whether it is stopped only from having reached the utmost limits prescribed by nature, or whether it has been starved and crushed down long before that period by positive, arbitrary institutions, and the perverse nature of man. But this is entering upon a matter which I intended to reserve for another letter, in which I shall examine the force of the arguments which Mr. M. has built upon this principle. At present, I have done all that was necessary to the performance of the first part of my engagement, which was to shew that Mr. Malthus had little claim to the praise of originality ——I am, Sir, your obedient servant,—A O.——*Tuesday.*

CATHOLIC BILL.

SIR,——In a country torn by party dissentions as ours is at present, it is most fortunate that there is one weekly publication, in which a man who is unconnected equally with the late and the present ministers can deliver his opinions.—In your letters to the Electors of Westminster, you have proved the undoubted right of his Majesty to change his ministers, and to dissolve a parliament as often as he pleases.——I am one of those who think that the measure proposed by Lord Howick in the House of Commons was both wise and just; and, I believe it would have passed through both Houses without a division, if the King had previously consented to it. The statements of Lords Grenville and Howick are before the public, and I protest to you that it does appear to me incomprehensible, how those ministers could have construed his Majesty's consent to an extension of the Irish Bill of 1793, to the whole British empire, into a consent to abolish the Test Laws in England. Their dismission was the consequence of this blunder, and the present ministers advised a dissolution. With submission to you, Mr. Cobbett, I cannot allow the comparison of the cry of chartered rights in 1784, with that of religion in the present day, to be quite fair. In 1784 no public danger could result from the use made by Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville of the cry of chartered rights. The fact was clear, that Mr. Fox's India Bill annihilated the chartered rights of the East India Company, and a great majority of the nation believed as I did, and do still believe, that the Company had great public merit to boast of at that period, and had they been left to conduct their own affairs, would have been soon relieved from the temporary embarrassments under which they laboured. You will consider also that the year 1784, was a period of peace, and with every probability that the peace would long continue.—What is our situation in 1807? A debt of more than six hundred millions; a war to which there is no probable termination, either from success or from defeat; and with a certainty that when peace is restored on the continent, an invasion of England or of Ireland will be attempted. If ever, therefore, there was a time when the heart and hand of every man in the empire should be united for the public service, this is the time beyond any preceding period. But for the miserable purpose of gaining a few seats in parliament, the senseless cry of the church's danger is echoed from one corner of the kingdom to the other.—And what possible danger to the church could have followed *in England*, had Lord Howick's bill passed into a law? The Catholics *here*, are too inconsiderable in number, ever to be dangerous. The dissenters though more numerous, are

not the twentieth part of our population. If the church is at all in danger, it is as the Bishop of Norwich very sensibly observed in his late charge to his clergy, from the rapid increase of methodism, which if it goes on, must, as he says, soon render *a church establishment useless.*—But in Ireland the case is far different. *There*, without arguing whether the proportion of Catholics to Protestants is as four or as three to one, it is sufficient for rational argument, to take what is universally admitted to be true, that the excess of population is on the Catholic side, while the weight of landed property is with the Protestants. But, here again, we must consider what the Protestants are. Not members of the established church. The great majority are presbyterians, descendants of the first Scotch settlers in Ireland, and of Cromwell's officers and soldiers. I think, therefore, I am accurate, when I say, that not more than one tenth part of the whole population in Ireland are members of the established church. Admitting these facts to be true, does it not appear a monstrous absurdity, *that at this day* nine-tenths of the population of a kingdom should be precluded by law from serving his Majesty in any offices civil and military, to which he may be pleased to appoint them, for without his permission they cannot serve him at all.—— But, if it be true that a Catholic cannot be a loyal subject to a Protestant king, which every man of common sense must deny, how comes it, that in the present reign almost every restriction under which the Catholics laboured, has been done away? It is a case where there can, in my humble opinion, be no medium. Either the Catholics were unfit to be trusted, and no restrictive law ought to have been repealed, which is an argument I have heard from some old Irish members, as they are fit to be trusted, and should be eligible to all offices. Such was the opinion of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Lord Cornwallis while they were living, and such is the opinion of Lords Grenville and Howick, *and of some of the members of the present cabinet.*—This is a question however, on which his Majesty has an *undoubted* right to have *an opinion*; and if he is not inclined to remove the very few restrictions that are unrepealed, the business must remain in its present state. This it may do, but the abuse bestowed on the Catholics may be spared. It is as impolitic as it is unjust.—I am one of those who think with you, that nothing can be more absurd, than an attachment to a Pope, an old man living beyond the Alps, and a creature of Buonaparté's. But, what mischief can such an attachment do *in these days*? What mischief did it ever do, since the period of the reformation. In the reign of Elizabeth, Philip the Second compelled the Pope much against his inclination to promulgate a bull of excommunication against her, and enjoining her subjects to withdraw their allegiance from her. What was the consequence of this act of imbecile folly? It united the whole body of the Catholics in her favour, and when Philip sent forth his Armada, both her fleets and her armies were served by Catholic officers, soldiers, and sailors, who flocked to her standard, were graciously received, and their services publicly acknowledged. Can any man believe that Buonaparté would not long ago have ordered the Pope to issue a bull against his Majesty, if he did not know that so mad a measure would destroy any hopes he may entertain of future success in Ireland.—You very truly say, that the Test Laws are already virtually repealed, by the bill which passes annually, freeing those from penalties, who infringe them; and, therefore, as applied to the army and navy, Lord Howick's bill was useless. Indeed, the agitation of any question in favour of the Catholics short of complete emancipation could do no service.—But, Mr. Cobbett, though I see a complete change in Catholics, though I am convinced that if left to enjoy their own religion in peace, they have no longer a wish to make converts, and the solitary instances alluded to by your correspondent Anti-Catholicus, is of no consequence, yet the rage for making converts is taken up with more zeal by another sect of religionists, than it ever was by Roman Catholics. I mean by the followers of Whitfield and Wesley, who claim to themselves the merit of being the orthodox members of the church of England, and who declare that they are governed by her articles and homilies. These are the men from whom the church and the state have great danger to apprehend: what is the influence which the priests in Ireland have over the common people, compared to the influence of the field preachers of the Whitfield and Wesley schools. How many of this description, under the name of *Gospel Ministers*, to distinguish them from other clergymen, have got considerable church preferment. Nor are their efforts confined to this country. They have bible societies, and their missionaries are spread over the face of the globe. Our empire in India was convulsed to its centre last July, and we do not yet know that the danger is over. I allude to the alarming mutiny at Vellore, which, though it broke out owing to a very impolitic order, for converting a turban into something like a hat,

and to a regulation passed, though not enforced, for taking away from the forehead of a Hindoo, the mark of his religion; yet it originated in a prevalent opinion that we wished to convert the Mahomenans and Hindoos to Christianity. Nor was this opinion rightly taken up. Parts of the Bible are translated, if not the whole of it, into the Hindoo language. There are many missionaries on the Coast of Coromandel, and a clergyman in Bengal has published a book, in which he not only recommends most strenuously our attempting to convert the Hindoos to the Christian religion, but supposes the thing *to be practicable.* From similar folly, the Portuguese lost what they once possessed in India, and such will be our fate, if we are mad enough to follow their example.——Without any exaggeration, we may be fairly said to govern nations in India, containing fifty millions of people. The Europeans of every description, civil servants, officers, soldiers, &c. &c. do not exceed twenty-five thousand men, and until the present period it has been our boast, that we have paid the most sacred regard to the religious opinions, both of Hindoos and Mahometans. We mix them in our battalions of Sepoys, and each sect was left at full liberty to serve God in its own way. Yet, Mr. Cobbett, with the mania for conversion which now prevails in England, and which Englishmen have encouraged in distant countries, we are afraid lest a silly old woman, or a love-sick girl, should once in a year become a Catholic from a Protestant.—I trust, however, that the good sense of the country will soon return; and that every man of every religion, will step forth in its defence, for never was there a period in which the service of every friend to his country was so much required as at the present day.—A PROTESTANT, BUT NO BIGOT.

May 10, 1807.

MR. LE MAITRE.

SIR,——I had just taken up your Register this morning, and proceeded as far as the mention of my name, when I was interrupted by friends, who not knowing that I subscribed to your valuable paper were anxious to make known to me the notice you had pleased to take of a proceeding that had occurred in the committee room of Mr. Paull during the late contest for Westminster. I went on with your statement, and saw at once what the thing was. Being engaged very laudably in forming a contrast between the line of conduct pursued by Mr. Paull and by Mr. Sheridan, your "ardent mind" induced you inconsiderately to make mention of a circumstance which you will excuse my saying it would have been better you had never publicly noticed, and that it should have been suffered, as it deserved, to have sunk into oblivion, and as Mr. Paull in your hearing earnestly intreated I would allow. I pass over a circumstance I am willing to believe accidental, of your placing my name so near to Mr. Hart's, as almost to allow it to be supposed you wished to hazard some insinuation disrespectful to my moral character, and proceed to remind you, that in your anxiety to defend Mr. Paull you have left off in the middle of the transaction, and allowed a belief to obtain that I was finally dismissed the committee. This opinion as injurious I conceive to Mr. Paull, and as degrading to me as it is remote from the truth, I am obliged, Sir, to call upon you as publicly to contradict. And as you have stated so much to promote the cause of Mr. Paull, I am sure you will allow me to compleat the statement. ——On the third day of the Westminster election, seeing that Mr. Paull had headed Mr. Sheridan so considerably, I conceived that if a powerful effort were made, it would probably leave Mr. Sheridan so far behind as to induce him to abandon the contest, and consequently relieve Mr. Paull from a grievous expense, I suggested this to many of my friends, and went to Mr Paull's committee and offered my services. Upon requesting instructions I now learned that the spontaneous exertions of the electors had placed Mr. Paull in his triumphant situation, and that the committee had neither plan nor system to regulate the business of the canvass. I took the liberty of suggesting to them my apprehensions, that unless some plan was immediately adopted the tortoise might overtake the hare: my fears met with little attention and I left them. On the fifth day, I believe, Mr. Sheridan coalesced with Sir S. Hood, and I saw the contest was likely to assume another complexion. I hastened to the committee, my plans were adopted, and I was requested to superintend the execution of them. It was very late to begin, but trifles do not alarm me, and from eight in the morning till near midnight I laboured for several days until I had accomplished, though too late to be useful, a plan of conduct which had it been prepared in time, would have secured to the friends of liberty, honour, and integrity, a triumph equal to their best wishes, in spite of coalition, and every other infamy by which our opponents have seemed anxious to disgrace their cause. It was while I was working upon this plan, you, Sir, introduced yourself, and making the most handsome

apology, you delivered with much reluctance Mr. Paull's message, that it was his wish I should retire from the committee. I was indeed surprised. I had been honoured with the particular hatred of Mr. Pitt: during seven years I had experienced every species of persecution his political views and his haughty soul impatient of opposition could impose upon me; and the greater part of this time I had been shut up in various dungeons, without even a knowledge of the probable charges against me. But my conduct I had flattered myself during this period of trial, had been such as would secure me the sympathy and esteem of all not concerned in the oppression. In 1796 Mr. Tooke stood for Westminster, and I hope he will excuse my saying that he saw with satisfaction my youthful endeavours to assist his cause. During the two celebrated struggles for Middlesex, I cannot reproach myself with having relaxed in my exertions a single hour. It was known that I neither expected nor received emolument or reward of any kind, and therefore, my independent zeal, I hope deserved, and I believe met with general attention. I told you therefore, in reply, that Mr. Paull was the first man who had given me insult; but, I added, that as I had never been honoured with Mr. Paull's acquaintance, I had not entered that room on his account. My sole consideration had been the public cause; and then noticing as above related my motives for joining the committee, I stated that my principal regret now consisted in the abandonment of a plan which the members of the committee would scarcely, I feared, be able without my superintendance to carry into execution. You noticed that you were not aware of my being engaged upon any thing particular; and upon further explanation you exclaimed: "upon my honour, Mr. Lemaitre, this is "the only really useful thing I have yet "seen in this committee," and you begged that I would not allow my offended feelings to induce me to leave the room, until you had seen Mr. Paull and brought his further instructions. I consented to stay, and in half an hour you returned with Mr. Paull; we retired into the closet, when Mr. Paull pressing my hand between both of his said, Mr. Lemaitre, Mr. Cobbett has just explained to me how very kindly you have undertaken to arrange a plan of the highest utility and consequence to us in the present state of the election. You have unfortunately been insulted and ill treated; but for God's sake do forget it, and give us the assistance you intended; with many other expressions of kindness and obligation which you will recollect, Sir, and I need not repeat; and, Sir, it is not more than three weeks since, a friend of mine at Mr. Paull's particular desire, repeated his sincere regret at what had unhappily taken place in my respect. I mention it to Mr. Paull's honour. This gentleman had been hastily induced to join his voice to the cry which had formerly with such baneful consequences been raised against me, but like a man of honour he corrected the error, and he did more, like a liberal man he acknowledged it.——I must now, Sir, beg you will excuse that I so late offer you my thanks for the remonstrances you say you made to Mr. Paull in my favour. But, Sir, as I see clearly from some remarks you have made, that you have a very imperfect acquaintance with the situation in which it was convenient for the then ministers to place me, I enclose a copy of one of the several petitions to the House of Commons which in 1800, 1801, and 1802, Mr. Grey (now Lord Howick) did me the honour to present and support, and which after some debate was ordered, and does now lay upon their table. And, Sir, you will allow me to add, that bearing in mind every particular of my situation, the language held by many of the present ministers, then in opposition, upon my particular case, the favourable expressions made in my favour by our late illustrious statesman, Mr. Fox, and which I have by me; and, observing further, the powerful exertions making by the present government to do justice to the unhappy slave in the West Indies, I cannot forbear looking forward to the period when my case will come again under the cognizance of the government and the public; and that that justice which in spite of the exertions of many of those persons now holding the reins of government, I had not then the good fortune to obtain, may under the auspices of our present ministers be granted to me.——I am, Sir, your obedient servant,—P. T. LEMAITRE.—*London, March* 15, 1807.

"*To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland the humble Petition of P. T. Lemaitre,*

"SHEWETH,——That your petitioner was arrested in Sept. 1794, in the house of Macaire, and Co. watch case makers, where he was arrested, under a warrant from his Grace the Duke of Portland, charging him with high treason; his books and papers were seized to the amount of several pounds, and are still detained, although the Privy Council, during several very long examinations, never produced any thing said to have been found in his possession to which they

endeavoured to attach blame. Your petitioner hoped that he had satisfactorily repelled before them the charges preferred against him of a design to assassinate his Sovereign, and beside his own testimony some respectable friends without his knowledge voluntarily presented themselves, and were examined, to prove the strong improbability of his being engaged in such a plot. Yet he was committed to the House of Correction, in Cold Bath Fields, and treated there with the utmost brutality. On the arrest of your petitioner, his mother was told by one of the officers that they had seized enough in his possession to hang him, and that she must expect to see him no more until she saw him go to the gallows. She was put to bed and rose no more. She died in about two months. On this occasion, Aris, the keeper of the Cold Bath Fields prison, had the inhumanity to order two persons whom his deputy had directed to attend your petitioner in strong convulsions to quit his chamber, and leave him to his fate, which they did, supposing, as they informed him on his recovery, he could never survive this treatment.—Thus torn from his business, ease, and comfort, your petitioner passed the severe winter of 1794 and 1795, in a cold damp cell, and still he occasionally suffers by a complaint contracted in this place. His friends were refused admittance, his father and cousin (Macaire) alone excepted, even a taylor was not allowed to measure him for mourning; all parcels coming to or going from him were closely searched in the prison, and in this examination they found their account, as they could select the articles they chose for their own wear; and when your petitioner complained to the keeper, Aris, that he had been plundered of a month's linen, &c. he said he could do nothing in it, unless your petitioner chose to have the lodgings of all the turnkeys searched; an indiscriminate and fruitless measure, your petitioner did not consent to adopt. Robbed of health, peace, and property, your petitioner left this place on £300. bail in May, 1795, and immediately on his liberation went to the house of the Right Hon. Wm. Pitt, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to demand the necessary documents in order to institute a prosecution against the parties, by whose machinations he had so severely suffered. After some time he was referred to the Privy Council, but his application to their lordships was unsuccessful. The following year, 1796, your petitioner was surprised with the intelligence that a bill of indictment for high treason had been found against him at the Old Bailey. He immediately surrendered to the court, and was committed to Newgate. Some weeks after this he was arraigned at the bar, when, strange as it may appear for the first time in his life, your petitioner met here a man, Crosfield, and held up his hand with him, whom to the best of his knowledge he had never seen or heard of before, but with whom he was charged with conspiring the king's death. Some months after this, your petitioner was again put to the bar and acquitted; Mr. Attorney General declaring he had no evidence to produce against him. But, your Hon. House will observe, that this summary discharge did not acquit your petitioner of any of the expences of a defence, the great amount of which to a private individual without fortune, is exceedingly oppressive, nor was this the whole extent of the pecuniary loss incurred by your petitioner. His agreements with Messrs. Macaire, and Co. exacted of him for every day's absence from business 9 shillings, on which account he paid upwards of an hundred guineas.—In April, 1798, your petitioner was again seized, and again committed to Newgate, on charges of "treasonable practices," where after he had been confined about a year he was attacked violently with spasms in the stomach, and, once more in a prison, his life was despaired of. Your petitioner earnestly solicited of His Grace the Duke of Portland, that he might be brought to trial, but received no answer. From this prison on the 10th August, 1799, your petitioner was removed to Reading Jail, where his spasmodic complaint again returned, on which occasion he met with the reverse of the humane treatment he had before experienced in Newgate. Your petitioner remained here until the 2d of March, 1801, when he was ordered to town, and taken before Mr. Justice Ford, in Bow Street, who offered to liberate him on condition of giving his own recognizance to appear on the first day of the ensuing term in the Court of King's Bench. But, as the Privy Council had refused to tell him on his examination in 1798, on what specific charge he had been arrested, your petitioner refused to enter into the recognizance demanded of him, until he could learn the real grounds of accusation on which he had been three years detained in various prisons. On his refusal to accede to the terms proposed, your petitioner was taken from this office to the Parliament Street Hotel, whence he wrote to the Duke of Portland, desiring to be liberated without any condition or recognizance. Your petitioner received no answer, but was committed the same afternoon to Pothill Fields pri-

son, in which new hardships awaited him, for either he must submit to be lodged in an apartment destitute of every accommodation, wherein to exclude the inclemencies of the season he must shut out the light, the window not being glazed, he must associate with felons at the rate of 35 shillings per week, or pay two guineas and a half per week for his board and lodging. The state of your petitioners health demanded that he should reject the first, his character and feelings would not allow him to submit to the second, and thus he was reduced to the necessity to preserve his health, and avoid the worst society, to incur an expence in this protracted season of suffering beyond his power to discharge, without a painful dependance on friends, whose resources he had already exhausted. In this situation your petitioner again appealed to the Duke of Portland, but his Grace directed that he should be allowed only 20 shillings per week, leaving £1. 12. 6 to be paid by himself. By stat. 7 of William 3 cap. —— it is enacted that no person shall be prosecuted for treason, unless it be against the king's person three years after the fact is committed. The Habeas Corpus Act was now in force. Your petitioner therefore, having since his last arrest been confined three years, thought the law would liberate him. Lord Kenyon was applied to for an Habeas, but he refused to grant one, and referred your petitioner to the Court of King's Bench in the ensuing term. But before the first day of term when your petitioner was to have been brought up to the Court, the Habeas Corpus Act was again suspended. Under these circumstances your petitioner submitted to the terms of liberation again offered to him through the personal medium of Mr. Ford, and was liberated on the 25th of April last. On the 11th inst. your petitioner addressed to his Grace the Duke of Portland, a memorial giving a detail of the above particulars, and requesting to be reimbursed his immediate expences. To this application no answer has been made.——By every consideration your petitioner is now invited to appeal to your Hon. House. Did your petitioner feel in the smallest degree culpable, he would court obscurity, and silently submit to the ruin that unavoidably follows such an age of suffering, having been confined a great part of the period between eighteen and twenty-five years of age. But your petitioner assures you Hon. House, that he has innocently incurred the injuries he has endured, and such your petitioner humbly submits is the presumption arising from the protraction of imprisonment, beyond the period limited by the statute already alluded to for the trial of persons accused of treason (except on the king's person, with which your petitioner was not charged) inasmuch as were your petitioner guilty *even in the judgment of his Majesty's then ministers*, it would leave them without excuse, and guilty themselves of a high misdemeanor of neglect, and breach of public duty to his Majesty and their country, for suffering a traitor to escape for ever without bringing him to trial. Your petitioner, therefore, humbly prays your Hon. House to take his case into your consideration, and for such relief or the adoption of such measures as your Hon. House in your wisdom these circumstances may seem to require.——And your petitioner shall ever pray.——P. T. Lemaitre.——*June* 1, 1801.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

America.—*Message of the President of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, December* 2, 1806.

It would have given me, fellow-citizens, great satisfaction to announce, in the moment of your meeting, that the difficulties in our foreign relations, existing at the time of our last separation, had been amicably and justly terminated. I lost no time in taking those measures which were most likely to bring them to such a termination, by special missions, charged with such powers and instructions, as, in the event of failure, could leave no imputation on either our moderation or forbearance. The delays, which have since taken place in our negotiations with the British government, appear to have proceeded from causes which do not forbid the expectation that, during the course of the session, I may be enabled to lay before you their final issue.—What will be that of the negotiations for settling our differences with Spain, nothing which had taken place, at the date of the last dispatches, enables us to pronounce. On the western side of the Mississippi, she advanced in considerable force, and took post at the settlement of Bayou Pierre, on the Red River.—This village was originally settled by France, was held by her as long as she held Louisiana, and was delivered to Spain only as a part of Louisiana. Being small, insulated, and distant, it was not observed, at the moment of re-delivery to France and the United States, that she continued a guard of half a dozen men, which had been stationed there. A proposition, however, having been lately made by our commander

in chief, to assume the Sabine River as a temporary line of separation between the troops of the two nations, until the issue of our negotiations shall be known, this has been referred by the Spanish commandant to his superior, and in the mean time he has withdrawn his force to the western side of the Sabine River. The correspondence on this subject, now communicated, will exhibit, more particularly, the present state of things in that quarter.—The nature of that country requires indispensably that an unusual proportion of the force employed there should be cavalry, or mounted infantry. In order, therefore, that the commanding officer might be enabled to act with effect, I had authorised him to call on the Governors of Orleans and Mississippi, for a corps of five hundred volunteer cavalry. The temporary arrangements he has proposed, may perhaps render this unnecessary. But I inform you, with great pleasure, of the promptitude with which the inhabitants of those territories have tendered their services in defence of their country. It has done honour to themselves, entitled them to the confidence of their fellow-citizens in every part of the union, and must strengthen the general determination to protect them efficaciously, under all circumstances which may occur.—Having received information, that in another part of the United States, a great number of private individuals were combining together, arming and organising themselves, contrary to law, to carry on a military expedition against the territories of Spain, I thought it necessary, by proclamation, as well as by special orders, to take measures for preventing and suppressing this enterprise, for seizing the vessels, arms, and other means provided for it, and for arresting and bringing to justice, its authors and abettors. It was due to that good faith which ought ever to be the rule of action in public, as well as in private transactions; it was due to good order, and regular government, that while the public force was acting strictly on the defensive, and merely to protect our citizens from aggression, the criminal attempts of private individuals, to decide for their country the question of peace or war, by commencing active and unauthorised hostilities, should be promptly and efficaciously suppressed—whether it will be necessary to enlarge our regular force, will depend on the result of our negociations with Spain. But as it is uncertain when that result will be known, the provisional measures requisite for that, and to meet any pressure intervening to that quarter, will be a subject for your early consideration.—The possession of both banks of the Mississippi reducing to a single point the defence of that river, its waters, and the country adjacent, it becomes highly necessary to provide for that point a more adequate security Some position above its mouth, commanding in the passage of the river should be rendered sufficiently strong to cover the armed vessels which may be stationed there for defence; and, in conjunction with them, to present an insuperable obstacle to any force attempting to pass. The approaches to the city of New Orleans, from the eastern quarter also, will require to be examined, and more effectually guarded. For the internal support of the country, the encouragement of a strong settlement on the western side of the Mississippi, within reach of New Orleans, will be worthy the consideration of the Legislature. The gun-boats, authorised by an act of the last session, are so advanced, that they will be ready for service in the ensuing Spring. Circumstances permitted us to allow the time necessary for their more solid construction. As a much larger number will still be wanting to place our sea-port towns and waters in that state of defence to which we are competent, and they entitled, a similar appropriation for a further provision of them is recommended for the ensuing year. A further appropriation will also be necessary for repairing fortifications already established, and the erection of such other works as may have real effect in obstructing the approach of an enemy to our sea-port towns, or their remaining before them. In a country whose constitution is derived from the will of the people, directly expressed by their free suffrages; where the principal executive functionaries, and those of the legislature, are renewed by them at short periods; where, under the character of jurors, they exercise in person the greatest portion of the judiciary powers, where the laws are consequently so formed and administered as to bear with equal weight and favour on all, restraining no man in the pursuits of honest industry, and securing to every one the property which that acquires, it would not be supposed that any safeguards could be needed against insurrection or enterprize, on the public peace or authority. The laws, however, aware that these should not be trusted to moral restraints only, have wisely provided punishment for these crimes, when committed. But would it not be salutary to give also the means of preventing their commission? Where an enterprize is

meditated by private individuals against a foreign nation, in amity with the United States, powers of prevention, to a certain extent, are given by the laws. Would they not be as reasonable and useful, where the enterprise preparing is against the United States? While adverting to this branch of law, it is proper to observe, that in enterprises meditated against foreign nations, the ordinary process of binding to the observance of the peace and good behaviour, could it be extended to acts to be done out of the jurisdiction of the United States, would be effectual in some cases where the offender is able to keep out of sight every indication of his purpose which could draw on him the exercise of the powers now given by law.——The States on the coast of Barbary seem generally disposed at present to respect peace and friendship. With Tunis alone, some uncertainty remains. Persuaded that it is our interest to maintain our peace with them on equal terms, or not at all, I propose to send, in due time, a reinforcement into the Mediterranean, unless previous information shall show it to be unnecessary.—We continue to receive proofs of the growing attachment of our Indian neighbours, and of their disposition to place all their interests under the patronage of the United States. These dispositions are inspired by their confidence in our justice, and in the sincere concern we feel for their welfare. And as long as we discharge these high and honourable functions with the integrity and good faith which alone can entitle us to their continuance, we may expect to reap the just reward in their peace and friendship.—The expedition of Messrs. Lewis and Clarke for exploring the River Missouri, and the best communications from that to the Pacific Ocean, has had all the success which could have been expected. They have traced the Missouri nearly to its source, descended the Columbia to the Pacific Ocean, ascertained, with accuracy, the geography of that interesting communication across our continent, learned the character of the country, of its commerce and inhabitants: and, it is but justice to say, that Messrs Lewis and Clarke, and their brave companions, have, by this arduous service, deserved well of their country.—The attempt to explore the Red River, under the direction of Mr. Freeman, though conducted with a zeal and prudence meriting entire approbation, has not been equally successful. After proceeding up it about six hundred miles, nearly as far as the French settlements had extended, while the country was in their possession, our geographers were obliged to return, without effecting their work.—— Very useful additions have also been made to our knowledge of the Mississippi, by Lieut. Pike, who has ascended it to its source, and whose journal and map, giving the details of his journey, will shortly be ready for communication to both Houses of Congress. Those of Messrs. Lewis, Clarke, and Freeman, will require further time to be digested and prepared. These important surveys, in addition to those before possessed, furnish materials for commencing an accurate map of the Mississippi and its western waters. Some principal rivers, however, remain still to be explored, towards which the authorisation of Congress, by moderate appropriations, will be requisite.—I congratulate you, Fellow-Citizens, on the approach of the period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally, to withdraw the citizens of the United States, from all further participation in those violations of human rights, which have been so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country, have long been eager to proscribe. Although no law you may pass can take prohibitory effect till the first day of the year 1808, yet the intervening period is not too long to prevent, by timely notice, expeditions which cannot be completed before that day.—The receipts of the Treasury, during the year ending on the 30th day of September last, have amounted to near fifteen millions of dollars; which have enabled us, after meeting the current demands, to pay two millions seven hundred thousand dollars of the American claims, in part of the price of Louisiana; to pay, of the funded debt, upwards of three millions of principal, and nearly four of interest; and, in addition, to reimburse; in the course of the present month, near two millions of five and a half per cent. stock. These payments and reimbursements of the funded debt, with those which had been made in the four years and a half preceding, will, at the close of the present year, have extinguished upwards of twenty-three millions of principal. —The duties composing the Mediterranean fund will cease, by law, at the end of the present session. Considering however, that they are levied chiefly on luxuries, and that we have an impost on salt, a necessary of life, the free use of which otherwise, is so important, I recommend to your consideration the suppression of the duties on salt, and the continuation of the Mediterranean fund, instead thereof, for a short time; after which, that also will become unnecessary

for any purpose now within contemplation. —When both of these branches of revenue shall, in this way, be relinquished, there will still, ere long, be an accumulation of monies in the Treasury, beyond the instalment of public debt, which we are permitted by contract to pay. They cannot, then, without a modification assented to by the public creditors, be applied to the extinguishment of this debt, and complete liberation of our revenues, the most desirable of all objects. Nor, if our peace continues, will they be wanting for any other existing purpose.—The question, therefore, now comes forward, to what other object shall those surpluss's be appropriated, and the whole surplus of impost, after the entire discharge of the public debt, and during those intervals when the purposes of war shall not call for them? Shall we suppress the impost, and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures? On a few articles of more general and necessary use, the supression, in due season, will doubtless be right; but the great mass of the articles on which impost is paid, are foreign luxuries, purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them.—Their patriotism would certainly prefer its continuance, and application to the great purposes of the public education, roads, rivers, canals, and such other objects of public improvement, as it may be thought proper to add to the constitutional enumeration of federal powers. By these operations, new channels of communication will be opened between the States; the lines of separation will disappear, their interests will be identified, and their union cemented by new and indissoluble ties. Education is here placed among the articles of public care, not that it would be proposed to take its ordinary branches out of the hands of private enterprise, which manages so much better all the concerns to which it is equal: but a public institution can alone supply those sciences, which, though rarely called for, are yet necessary to complete the circle, all the parts of which contribute to the improvement of the country, and some of them to its preservation.—The subject is now proposed for the consideration of Congress, because, if approved, by the time the State Legislatures shall have deliberated on this extension of the federal trusts, and the laws shall have passed, and other arrangements made for their execution, the necessary funds will be on hand, and without employment. I suppose an amendment of the constitution, by consent of the States, necessary; because the objects now recommended are not among those enumerated in the constitution, and to which it permits the public monies to be applied.—The present consideration of a national establishment, for education, particularly, is rendered proper by this circumstance; also, that if Congress, approving the proposition, shall yet think it more eligible to found it on a donation of lands, they have it now in their power to endow it with those which will be among the earliest to produce the necessary income. This foundation would have the advantage of being independent on war, which may suspend other improvements by requiring for its own purposes, the resources destined for that.—This fellow-citizens, is the state of the public interests, at the present moment, and according to the information now posessed.—But such is the situation of the nations of Europe, and such, too, the pridicament in which we stand with some of them, that we cannot rely, with certainty, on the present aspect of our affairs, that may change from moment to moment, during the course of your Session, or after you shall have separated. Our duty is, therefore, to act upon the things as they are, and to make a reasonable provision for whatever they may be. Were armies to be raised whenever a speck of war is visible in our horizon, we never should have been without them. Our resources would have been exhausted on dangers which have never happened, instead of being reserved for what is really to take place. A steady, perhaps a quickened pace in preparations for the defence of our sea-port towns and waters, an early settlement of the most exposed and vulnerable parts of the country, a militia so organised, that its affective portions can be called to any point in the Union, or volunteers instead of them, to serve a sufficient time, are means which may always be ready, yet never preying upon our resources, until actually called into use. They will maintain the public interests, while a more permanent force shall be in a course of preparation. But much will depend on the promptitude with which those means can be brought into activity. If war be forced upon us, in spite of our long and vain appeals to the justice of nations, rapid and vigorous movements in its outset, will go far towards securing us in its course and issue, and towards throwing its burdens on those who render necessary the resort from reason to force.—The result of our negotiation, or such incidents in their

course, as may enable us to infer their probable issue: such further movements also on our Western frontier as may shew whether war is to be pressed there, while negotiation is protracted elsewhere, shall be communicated to you from time to time, as they become known to me, with whatever other information I posses, or may receive, which may aid your deliberation on the great national interests committed to your charge.—TH. JEFFERSON.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Forty-seventh Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Pultusk.— The affair of Czarnowo, that of Naslesk and Kursomb, that of the cavalry and Lapoczyn, have been followed by that of Pultusk, and by the complete and precipitate retreat of the Russian army, which has finished the present year's campaign.—— Marshal Lannes first arrived on the morning of the 26th, directly opposite to Pultusk, where, during the night, the whole of Gen. Benningsen's corps had assembled. The Russian division, which had been defeated at Nasielsk, had arrived about two in the morning at the camp of Pultusk, with the third division of Marshal Davoust's corps in close pursuit of them. At ten o'clock Marshal Lannes began the attack, having his first line composed of the division of Suchet, the second of Gazan's, and that of Oudin, of the 3d light corps under the command of Gen. Dauttane, on his left wing. The engagement was obstinate; after various occurrences, the enemy was completely routed. The 17th regiment of light infantry, and the 34th, covered themselves with glory. Generals Vedel and Claperede were wounded. General Treilhard, commandant of the light cavalry; Gen. Bouslard, commandant of a brigade of dragoons under Gen. Becker; and also Col. Barthelemy, of the 15th dragoons, were wounded with grape shot.—— Voisin, Aid-de-Camp to Marshal Lannes; and M. Curial, Aid-de-Camp to General Suchet, were killed, and both have fallen with glory. Marshal Lannes was likewise grazed by a ball. The fifth corps of the army gave a proof of every thing that could be expected from the superiority of the French infantry over that of other nations. Marshal Lannes, though he had been for six days indisposed, persisted in following the corps. The 85th regiment sustained several charges of the enemy's cavalry with great coolness and success. During the night the enemy beat a retreat, and reached Ostrolenka.

Forty-eighth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Warsaw, Jan. 3.—— Gen. Corbineau, Aid-de-Camp to the Emperor, had set off from Pultusk, in pursuit of the enemy, with three regiments of light cavalry. After occupying Brok, he reached Ostrowiel, on the 1st inst. On his march he picked up 400 Russian soldiers, several officers, and a great quantity of baggage waggons.——Marshal Soult, with three brigades of light horse, part of Lasalle's division, has taken a position along the banks of the little river Orcye, in order to cover the cantonments of the army.——Marshal Ney, the Prince of Ponte Corvo, and Marshal Bessieres, have cantoned their troops on the left bank.—The light corps, under Marshals Soult, Davoust, and Lannes, continue to occupy Pultusk and the banks of the Bug.—The enemy's army continues to retreat. The Emperor arrived at Warsaw on the 2d of Jan.——We have had snow and frost for two days in continuance; but it has begun again to thaw, and the roads which were becoming somewhat better, are now as bad as before.—Prince Borgheze has incessantly been at the head of the 1st regiment of carbineers, which he commands. The brave carbineers and cuirassiers testified the most anxious desire to meet the enemy; but the division of dragoons which came first into action, by carrying every thing before them, left the former no opportunity of attacking the enemy.—His Majesty has appointed Gen. Laribossiere a general of division, and given him the command of the artillery of the guards. He is an officer of the highest merit.——The troops of the Grand Duke of Wurtzburgh compose the garrison of the city of Berlin. They consist of two regiments, which make an excellent appearance.—The corps under Prince Jerome continues to besiege Breslau. That beautiful city is in ashes. A disposition to wait the course of events, and the hope of being relieved by the Russians, have prevented the garrison from surrendering, but the siege makes progress. The Bavarian and Wirtemburgh troops have merited the praise of Prince Jerome, and the esteem of the French army.—The Governor of Silesia had collected the garrisons of the fortresses not yet blockaded, and formed out of them an army of 80,000 men, with which force he had commenced his march to interrupt the operations of the army besieging Breslau. —Against this force Gen. Hedouville, the chief of Prince Jerome's staff, detached Gen. Montbrun, commandant of the Wurtemburghers, and Gen. Minucci, commandant

of the Bavarians. They came up with the Prussians at Strenien, put them to flight, and took 400 men, 600 horses, and several convoys of provisions, which the enemy intended to send into the fortress. Major Herscher, at the head of 150 of Leiningen's light horse, attacked two Prussian squadrons, and completely routed them, making 36 of them prisoners.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CAPTURE OF CURACOA.——*From the London Gazette Extraordinary Sunday, Feb. 22, 1807. Concluded from page 672.*

No. 2.—Curacoa, Jan. 1, 1807.—Preliminary articles of the capitulation agreed upon by Charles Brisbane, Esq. captain of his Majesty's ship Arethusa, and senior officer of a squadron of his Majesty's ships at Curacoa, on the one part; and by his Exc. Pierre Jean Changuion, Governor of the Island of Curacoa and its dependencies, on the other.—Article 1. The Fort Republique shall immediately be surrendered to the British force; the garrison shall march out with the honours of war, lay down their arms, and become prisoners of war. Answer. Granted.—Art. 2. The Dutch garrison at Curacoa shall be prisoners of war, and by his Britannic Majesty sent to Holland, not to serve this war before they shall be regularly exchanged; and for the due performance of this article the officers pledge their word of honour. Answer. Granted.—Art. 3. The same terms as in the above article are granted to the officers and people of the Dutch men of war. Answer. Granted.—Art. 4. All the civil officers may remain at their respective appointments, if they think proper; and those who choose shall be sent by his Britannic Majesty to Holland. Answer. Granted.——Art. 5. The burghers, merchants, planters, and other inhabitants, without difference of colour or opinion, shall be respected in their persons and property, provided they take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty. Answer. Granted, neutral property being respected.—Art. 6. All the merchants' vessels, with their cargoes, in the harbour, of whatsoever nation they belong to, shall be in the possession of their proper owners. Answer. Not granted.—Art. 7. A definitive capitulation shall be signed upon this basis in Fort Amsterdam. Answer. Granted.

Curacoa, Jan. 2, 1807.——The foregoing Articles having this day been mutually read and agreed to, this capitulation is become definitive. Signed on the one part by C. BRISBANE. Signed on the other part by his Excellency, P. J. CHANGUION.

A list of killed and wounded on board his Majesty's squadron under my command, at the capture of the Island of Curacoa, on the 1st of January, 1807. Arethusa, 2 seamen killed, 5 seamen wounded.—Latona, 1 seaman killed, 2 seamen wounded.——Anson, none killed, 7 seamen wounded.—Fisgard, none killed, none wounded.—Total, 8 seamen killed, 14 seamen wounded. (Signed) C. BRISBANE.

Curacoa, Jan. 3, 1807.——List of killed and wounded on board the Hastlar frigate, Surinam sloop, and Flying Fish schooner.—Hastlar, C. J. Evertz, commandant, killed; G. B. Z. Gerond, second purser, ditto; A. Graaf, chief mate, badly wounded; J. J. N. Giblesperd, steward, killed; W. Maubers, seaman, ditto; H. Driel, seaman, ditto.——Surinam, Jan Van Nes, captain, dangerously wounded; Jean Baptiste, lieut. do; G. B. Baltner, Midshipman, dangerously wounded; Arend Arens, seaman, ditto; Ferdinand Ballatin, seaman, ditto (since dead).—Flying Fish, G. H. V. A. Hinget, gunner, dead; M. S. Giblesperd, seaman, wounded.

By Charles Brisbane, Esq. Captain of his Majesty's ship Arethusa, and senior officer of a squadron of his Majesty's ships employed at Curacoa.

His Exc. Lieut. Gen. Changuion, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Island of Curacoa and its Dependencies, having refused to take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, and surrendered himself prisoner of war, I have thought proper to appoint myself governor of the said island and its dependencies, until the pleasure of the commander in chief is made known; and I do hereby appoint myself accordingly.—Given under my hand at Curacoa, this 4th day of Jan. 1807. (Signed) C. BRISBANE.

By Charles Brisbane, Esq. Captain of his Majesty's ship Arethusa, and senior officer of his Britannic Majesty's squadron in Curacoa harbour.

Whereas this island and its dependencies have surrendered to the arms of his Britannic Majesty, as appears by the capitulation which has been signed by his Exc. Pierre Jean Changuion and me on the 1st instant, I therefore hereby require, that all the burghers and inhabitants of this island shall meet on Wednesday next, the 7th instant, at ten o'clock in the morning, at the Government House, in order to take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty aforesaid.—Those who belong to the militia companies will receive further orders from their major, and are to conduct themselves accordingly.—All those who fill public offices, of whatsoever nature they may be, and all such as do not

belong to the militia companies, are also required to meet at the Government House, at the hour, and for the purpose aforesaid.—I expect that the burghers and inhabitants of this island will conduct themselves in such a manner as to deserve my protection and favour; and I, on my part, shall not fail, as far as in my power lies, to promote the happiness and welfare of this island, and its inhabitants; and I flatter myself, that my endeavours, in this case, will be crowned with the gracious approbation of my Sovereign; and, I hope, to the satisfaction of the inhabitants of this island and its dependencies.—Given under my hand, on board his Majesty's ship Arethusa, in the harbour of Curacoa, this 5th day of Jan. 1807. (Signed) C. BRISBANE.

CAPTURE OF ALEXANDRIA. *From the London Gazette, Downing-Street, May 9, 1807.*

A dispatch, of which the inclosed is a copy, has been received this day at the office of Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from Major-General Fraser, dated Alexandria, the 25th of March, 1807, addressed to the Rt. Hon. William Windham:

Alexandria, March 25, 1807.

Sir,—It is with much satisfaction I have the honour to inform you, that, in the afternoon of the 20th current, the town and fortresses of Alexandria, with two Turkish frigates and a corvette, surrendered to his Majesty's arms by capitulation; and that they were taken possession of on the memorable morning of the 21st, by the troops under my command.—You are already apprised of my having been detached on this service, with a body of troops from Messina, by his Excellency General Fox, under convoy of his Majesty's ships Tigre and Apollo; and the Wizard sloop was sent forward by Captain Hallowell, to get intelligence from Major Misset, whom I had been, by my instructions, directed to consult as to the best plan of operations for effecting the purposes of the expedition.—I have now to acquaint you, that in the night of the 7th inst. (the day after we sailed,) the Apollo frigate, with nineteen transports out of thirty three, which conveyed the troops, parted company, and that the other fourteen, with the Tigre, came to an anchor to the westward of Alexandria, on the 16th.—On our getting near the land we saw the Wizard, and Captain Palmer immediately brought me the intelligence he had received from Major Misset, together with a letter from him, stating that he had not come off himself, thinking his presence in Alexandria absolutely necessary to counteract the intrigues of the French Consul, who was endeavouring to prevail upon the Governor to admit a body of Albanians, from Rosetta, to assist in the defence of the place.—He earnestly recommended me to land the troops immediately, as the inhabitants were well affected towards us, and that he had sanguine hopes we should be able to get possession of it without firing a shot. Before I determined, however, upon this measure, I deemed it prudent to acquaint Major Misset with the very diminished state of my force, and I therefore sent in my aid-de-camp, Captain A'Court, of the 31st regiment, with a flag of truce to him, with a detailed account of it, and at the same time, a manifesto to the Governor and inhabitants, (a copy of which I enclose,) which had not the desired effect, but, on the contrary, treated with contempt. The Major, however, in reply, strongly urged my immediately landing; still repeating that we should not meet with any resistance, and that my doing so would be the only means of preventing the garrison being reinforced by the Albanians, who had actually been sent for, and might be expected in the course of twenty-four hours.—These considerations led me to follow his advice, and accordingly I landed that evening (the 17th) as many troops as our small number of boats could convey, a few miles to the eastward of Marabout, without opposition, though I could only take up a position for the night; as before the next landing could be effected, such a surf had arisen on the beach, as totally to prevent the second division from approaching the shore.—The next morning, however, with infinite difficulty and risk they were landed; but finding my situation now, from the increased height of the surf and appearadce of the weather, to be very precarious, both with respect to getting provisions or stores on shore, or having any communications with the transports, I determined at all hazards to force my way to the western side, where I could receive supplies from Aboukir Bay, at the same time resolving to attempt (passing) to get into the town, even with the small force I had, and push my way, if possible, into the forts that commanded it, a matter I had reason to believe from Major Misset and others, would not be very difficult to accomplish.—I therefore moved forward about eight o'clock in the evening of the 18th, and in our way forced a palisadoed intrenchment with a deep ditch in front of it, (that had been thrown up by the Turks, as a defence against

the Mamelukes and Arabs on the western side) stretching from Fort des Bains to Lake Mareotis, strengthened by 3 batteries mounting 8 guns, exclusive of Fort des Bains on its right flank, mounting thirteen guns.—— This we effected with very little loss, though under a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, and proceeded within a few yards of Pompey's Gate, where we found the garrison prepared to receive us, the Gate barricadoed, and the walls lined with troops and armed inhabitants: this, added to the smallness of my force, (not exceeding one thousand men of all descriptions,) led me to think the risk too great, and I determined to proceed to the westward, as I had originally intended, where I arrived in the morning of the 19th, and took up my position on the ground the British troops occupied in the action of the 21st, immediately sending detachments to take possession of Aboukir Castle, and the Cut between the Lakes Maadie and Marotis, by which communication the reinforcement of Albanians was expected in Alexandria; in both these attempts we succeeded. —The next day, the 20th, I sent in (by a friendly Arab that had stolen out of the town, and joined us) a manifesto, addressed to the inhabitants, warning them of the danger of implicating friends and foes in the event of taking the place by assault, and urging them to force the governor to capitulate. This had the desired effect, a flag of truce was sent out, and a capitulation, (of which I herewith inclose a copy) was agreed to and signed.—Although this service has fortunately not been of long duration; yet, from the scantiness of our numbers, and the scarcity of all sorts of supplies, as well military stores as provisions, (which the boisterous state of the weather completely prevented our receiving) our situation was, for some time, rather critical; and I am happy to have it in my power to bear testimony to the patience and cheerfulness with which the troops bore every privation, and the ardour and spirit they shewed in the attack of the enemy's works, as well as the inclination and wish they displayed to have stormed the place, had I deemed that step adviseable.—To Major-General Wauchope, the hon. Brigadier-General Stuart, and Colonel Oswald, who landed with, and accompanied me, I feel myself under great obligations, for their exertions and assistance in carrying on the service; and I am much indebted to Lieut.-General, and Captain Green, acting as deputy quarter-master general, for the great attention and zeal shewn by them in forwarding and executing the duties of their respective departments; and I think it but justice to Captain Pym, and to the officers and men of the detachment of the Royal Artillery, that was with me, to mention the very great zeal and alacrity which they displayed on every occasion, which I am confident would have been equally conspicuous on the part of Captain Burgoyne and the officers of the engineers, had circumstances permitted them to have acted.—To Captain Hallowell, and the officers and seamen of his Majesty's ship Tigre, I cannot sufficiently express my acknowledgments for the assistance they afforded me, and for the readiness with which they stood forward on all occasions. Captain Hallowell marched with me to the attack of the enemy's entrenchments, and to the very gates of the city, and remained on shore until the place surrendered; from his advice and legal knowledge, I derived useful information —Capt. Withers, of the royal navy, agent of transports, is also entitled to praise, for his activity in landing the troops, and for the exertions he afterwards made for supplying them with provisions.—I send you herewith a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, together with returns of prisoners made, and of the public stores of different descriptions found in the several batteries and magazines —I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) A. M. Fraser, Maj. Gen.——P. S. The Apollo, with the nineteen missing transports, came to anchor in Aboukir Bay, on the morning of the 20th, and Sir J. Duckworth's squadron arrived here on the 22d.——It is but due to Lieut. Hunter, and a small detachment of the 20th light dragoons, who were landed without their horses or arms, to mention the zeal and spirit with which they volunteered their services, and carried the scaling ladders, on the night of the 18th.

Articles of the capitulation for the surrender of the city of Alexandria. Said Nahamed Naim Effendi being commissioned by his Excellency Emen Bey, the Governor, and Hagg Mahamet Katto, and Sieg Ibrahim, Chieftain of the people, accompanied by Signor Antonio Godard, propose to place the city and forts in the possession of the commanders in chief of the land and naval forces of his Britannic Majesty, his Excellency Major General Frazer, and Captain Hallowell, upon the conditions hereafter to be mentioned.

To be continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 21.] LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

"This more than half repays whole years of pain.
"*Time, health*, and *fortune* are not spent in vain."——POPE.

TO THE
FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS
OF THE
CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XVII.

Botley, 19th May, 1807.

GENTLEMEN,

Your prospect of success, in the present struggle, becomes, day after day, more promising; and, seeing the lead which Sir Francis Burdett has, by your good sense and public spirit, now obtained upon the poll, there appears to be little doubt of his return to parliament, to that assembly which contained no man to raise his voice against the doubling of the Income Tax, exempting, at the same time, the *King's* Funded Property from the operation of that tax; no man to oppose even the slightest resistance to the adding of many thousands a year to the already too large pensions and grants of the Royal Family, nor to the introducing of many thousands of Hanoverian troops.

But, Gentlemen, in proportion as your exertions promise ultimate success, you must expect to see increase the activity and malice of corruption. I have, indeed, great confidence in your zeal and perseverance; but, experience has taught me, that, against such a system of corruption as you have to contend with, to struggle with success is almost impossible. Be, therefore, I beseech you, vigilant. Let no man of you say, "*my vote* is not wanted." The vote of every one of you is wanted; for, the vote of every man of you will add to the weight of the decision. Delays are always dangerous; and especially so in cases like this. Let no man, therefore, who can by any possibility vote to-day, put off voting till to-morrow. There are yet *thousands* of you to vote for Sir Francis Burdett; and who, that has a vote to give, will not hereafter be ashamed to make an excuse for having neglected to give it? Remember, that you are almost the only body of electors now left in the kingdom, who have really the power of electing whom you please. With you almost alone it remains to speak the real sense of the people of England. The king has ordered his commissioners to tell us, that he has dissolved the parliament in order to "recur to *the sense of his people*." That sense, Gentlemen, you almost alone have it in your power to express; and, therefore, through your lips, let the king hear it, and that too in an audible voice.

As, in all such cases, Gentlemen, corruption has had recourse to calumny. Let there appear a man, no matter how spotless his life, who is the enemy of corruption, and instantly all the agents of corruption, like a nest of serpents, each with his poisonous sting, and with a hiss unanimous, dart forth against him. Thus, though of opposite factions, you now see the Morning Chronicle and the Courier, the Oracle and the Morning Post, the Times and the Sun, all joining to calumniate and vilify the object of your suffrages. All the refuted falsehoods of 1803 have been re-asserted with as much confidence as if they had been admitted truths. Sir Francis Burdett is called "the associate of O'Connor;" and this is set down as a crime to his account by those very men who vindicated O'Connor at the time of his trial at Maidstone, and who even now eulogize the late ministers, many of whom *swore* that they had long been associates with O'Connor, and that they thought his principles were precisely the same as their own. This was sworn by the Duke of Norfolk, by the late Lord Chancellor, Erskine, by Mr. Fox, Mr Grey, I believe, and certainly by *Mr. Sheridan*, who is now a candidate for your votes, and who is strenuously recommended by those very writers who impute to Sir Francis Burdett, as a crime, that he was acquainted with O'Connor! Mr. Sheridan, as well as almost all the rest of those "associates" of O'Connor, was old enough to be the father of Sir Francis Burdett. Yet, they are all of the king's privy council, while, to Sir Francis Burdett, an acquaintance with O'Connor is to be imputed as a crime never to be washed away!——Another charge against him is, that he was "the associate of the *traitor* Despard;" and the inference left to be drawn is as evident as it is malignant. The fact is, that Sir Francis Burdett knew no more of Desp[illegible] an Englishman, confi[illegible] son, without any [illegible] pub[illegible]

against him, and without being brought to trial, but released, at last, in consequence of the law of Habeas Corpus being restored to practice. The miserable man, thus bereft of the means of support, and thrown upon the charity of a world but too apt to seek an excuse in accusations against those who implore its aid, appealed, through his wife, I believe it was, to the compassion of him who had shown compassion upon him while he was in prison; and, by that appeal obtained, I believe, some relief. But, as to *acquaintanceship*, none, I am assured, ever existed between him and Sir Francis Burdett; and, as to the assertion, which was made at the time, that "he *was seen* walking arm in arm with Sir "Francis, in the lobby of the House of "Commons, on the evening before he "was taken up," I would first ask these vile calumniators, whether, supposing the fact to be true, it would not amount to almost proof, that there was nothing criminal in their minds, as known to each other. But, the fact is this; that, on the evening referred to, Sir Francis Burdett was going into the House *with another member*, when, in the presence of from thirty to forty persons, Despard, who made one of the assemblage in the lobby, came up to Sir Francis, with a letter in his hand, which he asked him to frank. Having done this, at a little desk which is fixed up for the purpose close by the door of the House, Sir Francis immediately left him. *This* was the way in which Sir Francis Burdett "*was seen*" with Despard; this was the circumstance that was tortured into a presumptive proof of his being, in some way or other, an *associate* in the guilt of this unfortunate man! It is for you, Gentlemen, to make, by your voice of approbation, loudly and clearly expressed, atonement for this cruel injustice towards Sir Francis Burdett.——The Third Charge (for the three are always strung together) is, that, when, in 1803, a county-meeting was called to resolve upon something about what was called the *Defence of the Country*, Sir Francis Burdett told the people, that "*the* "*Country was not worth defending.*" This is not only a direct, but a wilful falsehood. Sir Francis, upon the occasion referred to, said, "that it was the good old custom to "make the *Redress of Grievances* precede "the demand of *Sacrifices from the People*; "and that, as to the means of defending "the country, he thought the most likely "way to defend it securely, was, to begin "by reforming abuses, by effectually preventing a waste of the public money, by "lessening, if possible, the burden of taxation, *and thereby convincing the people, that they had a country worth defending.*" This I also have said repeatedly. This I say now. This who does not say? The base misrepresentation originated in the Morning Post, then the property of Mr. Daniel Stuart, who is still keeping it up in his present paper, the Courier. At the time, though still a good deal misled as to Sir Francis Burdett, I detected and exposed the malice and injustice of this representation, which was reprobated by men, in general, of all parties; and I could name as many as five or six members of parliament, and those, too, men of some repute for moral as well as political rectitude, who spoke to me with abhorrence of that very falsehood, which the venal slaves of both factions are now endeavouring to pass upon you for an undeniable and even an acknowledged truth!

To be hated, misrepresented, and vilified by all those, who, either directly or indirectly, prey upon the public, always has been, and always will be, the lot of every man, who endeavours to guard the public against its Plunderers; and, as their hostility is naturally proportioned to their fears of detection and punishment, which fears again are proportioned to his talents and integrity, it would be strange indeed, if, upon the list of those who are entitled to their mortal malice, the Plunderers did not give the very first place to Sir Francis Burdett. Of others, here and there, and now and then, they discover their hatred; but, of him at all times and in all seasons; for though the factions are sometimes so deeply engaged in vilifying one another, and would seem, indeed, to have exhausted upon each other all the terms of reproach; yet, no sooner does the idea of his efforts and views come athwart their minds, than instantly, laying aside their mutual accusations and reproaches, they, like the squabbling Robbers in the Romance, set upon him as their common and implacable enemy.

To cherish those whom your mortal enemy fears, and hates because he fears, is, in general, a tolerably good rule of action. Had you, therefore, no other proof of Sir Francis Burdett's merit, than that the Plunderers, from the very biggest to the very least, hate him more than they hate any other man, and all other men, this alone would be a sufficient inducement for you now to exert yourselves, not only to return him to parliament, but to return him by an unexampled majority; and thereby to shew your detestation of Political Corruption and of that

wide-spreading Public Plunder, which is its inseparable attendant. Suffer no one to dismay you with the question of "what can *one* man do in parliament?" *Beginnings*, in politics as in numeration, must always be by *one*. There must be *one*, before there can be *many*; and, in tracing any event, whatever it may be, to its source, you will always find that source in the mind of one person. For my part, I anticipate the most important Constitutional Reforms from the election of Sir Francis Burdett, especially if you do your duty in sending him to parliament by such a majority as you are able to give him; and I again call upon you, to reflect, each man of you in his own mind, on the mortification, on the shame, which must hereafter be felt by every man, who, when he listens to the praises bestowed upon those who elected Sir Francis Burdett, shall say to himself: "I was an Elector of West-"minster, and no part of those praises be-"long to me!" Such a man, instead of claiming his share of the great honour due to the City, must see, in that honour, his own personal disgrace.

I am,
Gentlemen,
Your faithful friend,
and obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER XVIII.

Botley, 20th May, 1807.

GENTLEMEN,

In the sixteenth letter, which I did myself the honour to address to you, I predicted, that you would soon see evidences of a removal of the unjust prejudices against Sir Francis Burdett; and, it now appears, that the work of conversion has already made considerable progress; for, I find a meeting of Mr. Sheridan's friends, he himself being present, and Major Downs, his Lieutenant, being one of the leaders, declaring, in the most distinct and public manner, that Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Sheridan are *the fittest persons to represent you in parliament*; and, I find Mr. Sheridan declaring, at the Hustings, on the 18th instant, that, if that "*great* and *virtuous* man, "Mr. Fox were now alive, *Sir Francis* "*Burdett is the man, whom, before all* "*other men, he would recommend to your* "*choice.*" This is well. But, Gentlemen, we may now, surely, address ourselves to the still-prejudiced opponents of Sir Francis Burdett, and put it to their good sense, what must have been *the motive* whence this same Sir Francis Burdett was so vilified by the Whigs, during the last election? Of the premeditated, the crafty, the cold-blooded attack of Mr. Whitbread, in a letter to Sir Francis, reserved, like the loaded pistol of a secret foe, to be let off at a moment when the assailed party was well known not to have a moment's time to prepare for resistance; of this attack, and of its evident object, you need not be reminded, it being, I trust, so imprinted upon your memories as never to be effaced. Nor need I scarcely remind you, that, at their several dinners and carousals, the friends of Mr. Sheridan, especially Lord William Russell and Peter Moore, chose, as a standing subject of their abuse, the political conduct and principles of Sir Francis Burdett. Nay, in the election bills, issued from their committee, you read "*Paull, Buonaparte, Burdett*, and the *Devil* "for ever!" Yet, Gentlemen, by these persons, or, at least, by their principal, it has now been discovered, that, if Mr. Fox had been alive, he would have recommended Sir Francis Burdett as *the fittest man* in the world to represent you in parliament!

But, Gentlemen, I confide in your discernment for the defeating of the obvious purpose of this new language on their part. Be assured, that, at the bottom of their hearts, *they hate* Sir Francis Burdett as cordially as before; and that their object, in these praises of him, is, not, perhaps, to obtain a seat for Mr. Sheridan, or rather for his *son, at this time*, but so to worm themselves back into your good opinion, as to secure a chance of success at Westminster *upon some future occasion*, and which occasion, being nice calculators in such matters, they suppose to be, in all probability, at no very great distance. I beg you to observe, with what assurance, increasing day after day, they now obtrude themselves upon your indulgence. Mr. Sheridan, like a rat lately escaped to his hole, first peeps out with the greatest apparent modesty and diffidence. Your forbearance emboldens him, till, at the end of the tenth day, he has the hardihood to tell you, that, if you choose him, those who have given him the seat which he has already secured, *have given him leave to transfer that seat to his son!* And thus, Gentlemen, you, who are making such laudable exertions to tear up corruption by its very roots, are, to your face, solicited to aid in the supporting of that very corruption! And,

in whose behalf is this solicitation made? Why, in behalf of the Younger Sheridan, one of the "juvenile aristocracy," who led the bludgeon-men at the last election; the heir and hope of the *royal* house of Sheridan, who, at the time that he was labouring to stifle your voices in Westminster, was muster-master-general of Ireland, at a salary of 3,000 pounds a year, and who was, at the same time, a captain in a regiment serving abroad, receiving full pay in that capacity also. And, Gentlemen, this is the man, a man who, in return for the thousands of the public money which he has received, has never rendered one moment's service to the country, and who has distinguished himself only as an enemy to your liberties; this is the man, for whose sake, nay, to place whom in parliament, to place whom upon the same bench with Sir Francis Burdett, you are openly solicited to give your countenance and support to the corruptions of the Borough system, those corruptions to which the country owes all the miseries under which it now labours! An insult so gross, any thing so contemptuous of men's understanding, has never, that I recollect, before reached my knowledge; and, as such, you will, I trust, consider and resent it.

Having, as, I think, you now have, by your admirable public-spirit, secured the return of Sir Francis Burdett, it remains for you to consider, to which of the other three candidates (Mr. Paull having withdrawn) you ought to give the preference. And here, Gentlemen, as in all other cases, look to your *principles* as your guide. Those principles are, first, that the constitution, particularly as to the representation in the House of Commons, ought to be speedily restored, and, of course, that (as the act of settlement provided) *no place-man or pensioner should have a seat in that House*; and 2d, that there ought to be set on foot a rigid inquiry into abuses in the expenditure of the public money, with a fixed determination, on the part of the parliament, to expose and punish peculators of every rank and degree. These are the great principles which you are now proclaiming as yours by your votes; and, therefore, the question for you to put to yourselves, is simply this, "which of these "three candidates is most likely to contri-"bute towards bringing these principles "into practice?" Mr. Elliot is notoriously supported by those, who would, figuratively speaking, stifle your principles, and who, were not your labour necessary to the support of their idleness, would literally stifle your voices. The choice, then, lies between Mr. Sheridan and Lord Cochrane. The former is not only the avowed supporter of the doctrine, that place-men and pensioners ought to be in the House of Commons, but is, even at this moment, *a sinecure place-man himself*, and, the son, who lately was one, would have been one still, had they not thought, that, as a permanent thing, a chance with the OUT faction was better than a place with the IN faction. That Mr. Sheridan possesses rare talents is a truth that cannot, and need not be denied; but, Gentlemen, in all the discoveries relating to peculators, have those talents been once exerted? No; not that I recollect, at any rate; and, indeed, who can expect, from a seeker after place, any exertions in such cases? The two factions hate one another. But, their hatred is the hatred of *rivals*. The object of their pursuit is the same; and the very same is their principle of action; never, therefore, expect from any man, who belongs to either of the factions, that he will act as the faithful guardian of the liberties and properties of *the people*, upon whom both factions seek for the privilege of preying with impunity, in one way or another. Let the place-men and pensioners, while they are suffered to enter the House of Commons, come from the rotten boroughs; but, let no body of really free men, and, above all, let not the free and independent Electors of Westminster disgrace themselves by the choosing of a place-man, or the advocate for the sending of place-men and pensioners to that House. This, you will bear in mind, was the great point upon which Sir Francis Burdett was attacked by Mr. Whitbread; and, for you to choose a place-man, or an advocate for the place and pension system, as a colleague for Sir Francis Burdett, would be, at once, to nullify your own voice as to all purposes except that of insulting him, who, with a slight alteration in his words, made use of at Brentford, would, doubtless, exclaim: "you "have chosen the Manager of Drury Lane "Theatre, and for what services the devil "only knows!" —— As to Lord Cochrane, you object, and so do I, that he is an officer in the navy; and, therefore, notwithstanding his explanation about a court-martial being necessary to cashiering, he must be, *(as long as he continues in that profession)* in a great measure, at the mercy of the crown; to which must be added the self-evident truth, that, while he is at sea, he cannot be in the House of Commons. But, this objection, though weighty in itself, is trifling compared with the objection against him, who is the advocate for place-men and pensioners being in the House of Commons, who is a sinecure place-man himself, who is

a member of one of the preying factions, and who is, and must ever be, directly opposed to the very principle, to restore which to practice is the great object which has now called for your exemplary endeavours. When some motion for restoring to you the blessings of the constitution shall be made, Lord Cochrane may, possibly, be at sea; but, he will not, as Mr Sheridan would be, present to give his vote against that restoration. But, he may be present, and, then, you have his unequivocal pledge, that he will vote for such a reform as shall banish place-men and pensioners from the House of Commons, and his pledge, not less unequivocal, that he will, to the utmost of his power, support every motion for the exposure and punishment of a waste of the public money. So many have deceived you with pledges, that you may be well excused, if you are not in haste to confide in them; but, I heard Lord Cochrane, voluntarily declare, in the most unequivocal manner, at Honiton, that he never would, as long as he lived, ask for, or accept, any emolument whatever out of the public money, except in the regular line of his naval profession, and, that this promise should extend to all those, relations or others, who might, in anywise, be dependent upon him for support. The same promise he has now made, in the like voluntary manner, to you; and, my firm belief is, that he will scrupulously adhere to his word. But, Gentlemen, at the very least, Lord Cochrane has the merit openly to have proclaimed, as his own, the great principle, for which Sir Francis Burdett has so long contended, and which you will now, I trust, stamp as the principle of the independent people of England; and, observe, too, that, amongst all the numerous election addresses that you have seen, his is the *only one*, except that of your own committee, in which this principle is distinctly avowed. Convinced, as I am, therefore, that it is giving effect to this principle which alone can tend to the restoration of the constitution, and thereby insure the safety of the throne as limited by law, and the enjoyment of those rights and liberties, which were obtained by the wisdom and the valour of our forefathers, I cannot help expressing an earnest hope, that, of the three candidates, Lord Cochrane will be, by you, decidedly preferred.

I remain,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful friend,

And obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS

OF THE

CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER IX.

Botley, 22d of May, 1807.

GENTLEMEN,

The intelligence, brought me by this day's post, induces me to address this one more letter to you, with the hope that it may reach you before the close of the poll; for, if I should be the means of setting only a single man of you right, upon any one point, with respect to which that man may be in error, I am satisfied that I shall thereby render much more service to the country than will ever be rendered by the expenditure of all those millions of our earning, which, apparently, are now to be sent to the continent of Europe.

I do not suppose, that many of you are likely to be at all misled by the speeches of Mr. Sheridan; but, there are some parts of them, which have not yet been sufficiently commented upon by me; and, though I have already spoken (in my letter of yesterday) of his new language respecting Sir Francis Burdett, I cannot refrain from saying a few words more upon that subject.—In his speech of the 19th instant, he, as it were incidentally, but not without a premeditated design, introduced the name of *Mr. Bosville*, well known to have always been one of those most esteemed by Sir Francis Burdett; and, this gentleman he called "*one of the "honestest and best patriots in the country*," a character which Mr. Bosville certainly merits, and which he securely possessed without this extorted tribute on the part of Mr. Sheridan. But, Gentlemen, this master-stroke of flattery; this compliment to Sir Francis Burdett, conveyed in praises of his most valued friends, will not, I trust, for one moment, deceive you, for the sole purpose of securing whose votes, at another, if not at this election, all these new professions of respect are manifestly made. Nevertheless, these professions, however insincere, are valuable, inasmuch as they are indications of what Mr. Sheridan, at least, considers as the growing sentiment of the public, with regard to the principles and the character of Sir Francis Burdett. He tell us, too, that *Mr. Brand*, one of the members for Hertfordshire, is upon the list of your subscription. Mr. Brand's name has no peculiar value in it; but, while, as an individual, he has his share of merit, his connection

with the Whig ministry, coupled with this act, stands as a tolerably good proof of the insincerity of the Whigs, who, to a man, at the last elections for Middlesex as well as Westminster, represented Sir Francis Burdett as being every thing short of a downright traitor, and as aiming, at the very least, to overturn the kingly government of England. Gentlemen, all offences against ourselves are to be forgiven, the moment we are convinced of the contrition of the offender; and, though we are justified in being more slow to forgive offences committed against our country, those offences too ought to be freely forgiven, but not until the offender has produced a *security* that he will offend no more. But, in both cases, there are some offences, which can never be *forgotten*; and, of this class was the wicked and base handle, which the Whigs made of the phrase, "*the best of kings.*" Oh! it were indeed a reproach to you to forget the interpretation which Mr. Byng and others put upon this phrase! That interpretation, that out-cry, still baser than the out-cry of "*popery,*" was used by the time-serving Whigs for the purpose of ingratiating themselves with the adherents of Pitt, for which they have been most justly punished, and that, too, by the intrigues of that very faction. How careful was Mr. Byng to disclaim all connection, all community even of wishes, with Sir Francis Burdett! *He*, good loyal gentleman, said, that he was "firmly attached to the constitution, and "that he *affectionately loved* the *best of* "*kings*," turning, while he uttered the words, his sapient eyes towards Sir Francis. "The *best of kings*" has now most justly rewarded Mr. Byng and his faction; and, that very magistrate, John Bowles, whom they left in quiet possession of all his offices and emoluments, apparently for no other reason than that he, in conjunction with his bosom associate, Redhead, were the notorious calumniators of Sir Francis Burdett, has now been the principal instrument of bringing the long possessed seat of Mr. Byng into jeopardy! Well done John! Holloo John! Hunt them with thy vice-scenting nose; tear them, good John, with thy worshipful fangs, and scratch, at last, a hole for them in that collection of incomparable rubbish, thy Anti-Jacobin Review!

There are two other topics, Gentlemen, upon which I must say a few words by way of comment on Mr. Sheridan's speeches; *the propriety of carrying on an election by subscription*, and *the expressions of my Lord Cochrane with respect to Mr. Fox.* Upon these topics, Mr. Sheridan has, if his speeches have been truly reported, taken a most foul advantage of his lordship, who, as to subscriptions, complained of the manner in which Mr. Sheridan was supported at the last election, a complaint which his crafty adversary has endeavoured to represent as an implied censure upon your present subscription. But Gentlemen, *you* certainly have not overlooked the wide distinction here to be drawn? Mr. Sheridan's election was supported by a *secret* subscription of PEERS OF PARLIAMENT, several of whom were, at the same time, servants of the king, receiving large salaries out of the public purse, and, of course, engaged in carrying on an election against the people with the people's money, to which must be added, that peers of parliament are, by that constitution, for the preservation of which we are called on "to "spend our last shilling and shed the last "drop of our blood," strictly prohibited from *interfering*, either directly or indirectly, in the elections of members of the House of Commons; and, if, to pay money for the purpose of keeping out one man and of bringing in another; if this be not *interfering* in such elections, the prohibition can be considered as nothing more than one of those numerous nonfinal securities, by which the people have been so long deluded. Your subscription, on the contrary, is prohibited by no law or usage. You have been *openly* invited to subscribe. The list of subscribers shuns the inspection of man. You are not servants of the crown; and, it is your *own money* that you give, which, if necessary to the preservation of your rights, it is full as much, at least, your duty to give, as it is your duty to pay any sum, in any shape whatever, for the purpose of keeping an enemy from your shores. Lord Cochrane, therefore, when he complained of the subscription, by which the election of Mr. Sheridan was supported, conveyed, you must clearly perceive, not the smallest censure of that subscription, which has now been entered into by you.

As to Lord Cochrane's expressions with respect to Mr. Fox, they were, as nearly as I have been able to discover, these: "that "Mr. Fox in himself, was, or would have "been, an honour to his country; but, "that you should take great care not to "bestow your confidence on those, of "whom there had been many, who were "attached only to the baser part of Mr. "Fox." Taking advantage of the cry, excited by these words, amongst some dozen or two of his own scene-shifters, or of those

unthinking beings, who are led merely by the sound of names, Mr. Sheridan has made several efforts to excite a prejudice against Lord Cochrane, who gave you most wholesome advice, and who said, or insinuated, nothing, except in *praise* of Mr. Fox, which can with truth be denied Observe, too, that the mention of Mr. Fox originated, not with his lordship, but with Mr. Sheridan, who had, with true theatrical address, introduced that name for the purpose of exciting in you compassion towards himself, whom he took care to represent as the faithful follower and bosom friend of the beloved deceased. Well; let us meet him upon this ground; and, then let us ask, *what Mr. Fox did for us.* Before he came into power, he solemnly declared, that he never would hold a place as a minister, until the parliament had been reformed; he came into place, and never did he utter the word reform afterwards, but, on the contrary, set his face against all those who endeavoured to bring about a correction of even notorious abuses; he was the man, who, as his very first ministerial act, brought in a bill for enabling one of his colleagues in office to hold a large sinecure place, which, by law, was incompatible with the active office he then had been promoted too; he, who had, only the year before, complained that the minister, Pitt, would, by degrees, take away all the income of the people, because he proposed to add a sixth to the Income-tax, defended, as soon as he was in office, a bill which raised that same tax to ten per centum; he, who had for so many years been complaining against the influence of the crown, was one of those who brought in the bill for adding to the Pensions of the Royal Family, at the same time that, by another act, the King's Property in the Funds, under whatever name invested, was exempted from the Income-tax, and that, too, at a time when Mr Fox declared, that it was impossible to lay a new tax without affecting the prosperity of the nation in some way or other; he, who had, upon every occasion that offered, all his life long, reprobated the introduction of foreign troops, did, amongst his first acts as a minister, give his sanction to a bill for adding to the ten thousand foreign troops then in this country; he, who had all his life long contended against unnecessary wars, and especially wars for the sake of Hanover, did, in his very first published dispatch, declare, that he should advise the king never to make peace for England, except upon the condition of Hanover being restored; he, who, upon numberless occasions, had asserted, that all the calamities and disgrace of this country were the work of the minister Pitt, gave a vote for making the people of that same country pay the debts of that same minister Pitt, and, that, too, expressly *upon the score of his merits*; he was a sinecure place-man, doubly-blessed, from his cradle to his grave, and he, upon more than one occasion, contended, in parliament, that it was *unconstitutional* to lessen the number of patent places, which he asserted to be *private property* as much as house and land.——These, Gentlemen, are a part of the things which Mr Fox did for us; and, as I told you in my second or third letter, if this be the sort of representative that suits you, the honour of representing you, would, in no case, be coveted by me But, it is not so. You have opened your eyes. You have seen, that, for too long a time, *names*, and not *principles*, had been your guide; and you have now resolved, despising alike Whiggism and Toryism, to ask, who will act most justly by the country? The intention of Mr. Sheridan evidently is to wheedle you back into that state which exhibited you as the mere tools of the *government*, on one side, and of the *great families* on the other side, who, together, by the means of a *quiet compromise*, left you no more of the real freedom of election than is exercised by the electors of Old Sarum. From this degraded state you have manfully risen to the assertion and exercise of your rights; but, this honourable change you owe not to Mr. Fox, while to Mr. Sheridan you owe every means that he was able to use to prevent that change. The former contentedly suffered the minister of the day to give him his colleague; and, as to the latter, after having completely inveigled you into an election of Lord Percy, conducted as quietly as that of Gatton, or of Ryegate; he coalesced with Sir Samuel Hood, joined hand and heart with those who were your bitterest enemies, and who had been the bitterest enemies of Fox himself, in order to subdue you by force. Judge, therefore, Gentlemen, whether Mr. Sheridan be a fit person for the colleague of Sir Francis Burdett; or whether you ought to leave him to the support of the play-actors, scene-shifters, and police-runners, marshalled under that respectable matron, whom he brought as a witness against his electioneering friends, Messrs. Weatherhead and Drake.——Of Mr Fox I never *seek* to say harm; but, if challenged to speak, the truth must be spoken; and, the truth is, as Lord Cochrane evidently believes, that, though Mr. Fox was a man of rare and wonderful talents though he far

kind and generous in his nature, and though he loved his country most sincerely; yet that he had not, as Major Cartwright told him, "the power to say *nay* to bad men," and that that failing led him so to act as to render very little benefit to his country, while he notoriously gave countenance to many men, who did it great and lasting injury.

That, henceforward, you may reject, with equal scorn, the appellation of *Foxite*, of *Pittite*, of *Whig*, or of *Tory*; that you may, in the exercise of your elective rights, be influenced by *principles* and not by *names*; and that your conduct, by becoming an example to electors in general, or a *timely indication to the elected*, may lead to a constitutional reform of the gross abuses that exist, and thereby produce the restoration of our liberties and ensure the safety of the throne, is the unfeigned wish of

Your faithful friend
And obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

POOR LAWS.

Being the Third Letter of A. O.

"A swaggering paradox, when once explained, soon "dwindles into an unmeaning common-place."
BURKE.

SIR,——This excellent saying of a great man was never more strictly applicable to any system than it is to Mr. Malthus's paradox, and his explanation of it. It seemed, on the first publication of the Essay on Population, as if the whole world was going to be turned topsy-turvy; all our ideas of moral good and evil were in a manner confounded, we scarcely knew whether we stood on our head or our heels; but, after exciting considerable expectation, giving us a good shake, and making us a little dizzy, Mr. M. does, as we do when we shew the children London—sets us on our feet again, and every thing goes on as before. The common notions that prevailed on this subject, till our author's first population scheme tended to weaken them, were, that life is a blessing, and that the more people could be maintained in any state in a tolerable degree of health, comfort, and decency, the better: that want and misery are not desirable in themselves, that famine is not to be courted for its own sake, that wars, disease, and pestilence are not what every friend of his country or his species should pray for in the first place: that vice in its different shapes is a thing that the world could do very well without, and that if it could be got rid of altogether, it would be a great gain. In short, that the object both of the moralist and politician, was to diminish as much as possible the quantity of vice and misery existing in the world; without apprehending that by thus effectually introducing more virtue and happiness, more reason and good sense, that by improving the manners of a people, removing pernicious habits and principles of acting, or securing greater plenty, and a greater number of mouths to partake of it, they were doing a disservice to humanity. Then comes Mr. M. with his octavo book, and tells us there is another great evil, which had never been found out, or at least not sufficiently attended to till his time; namely, excessive population; that this evil was infinitely greater and more to be dreaded than all the others put together; and that its approach could only be checked by vice and misery; that any increase of virtue or happiness was the direct way to hasten it on; and that in proportion as we attempted to improve the condition of mankind, and lessened the restraints of vice and misery, we threw down the only barriers that could defend us from this most formidable scourge of the species,—population. Vice and misery were indeed evils, but they were absolutely necessary evils; necessary to prevent the introduction of others of an incalculably and inconceivably greater magnitude; and that every proposal to lessen their actual quantity, on which the measure of our safety depended, might be attended with the most ruinous consequences, and ought to be looked upon with horror. I think, Sir, this description of the tendency and complexion of Mr. M.'s first Essay is not in the least exaggerated, but an exact and faithful picture of the impression which it made on every one's mind. After taking some time to recover from the surprise and hurry into which so great a discovery would naturally throw him, he comes forward again with a large quarto, in which he is at great pains both to say and unsay all that he had said in his former volume; and upon the whole concludes, that population is in itself a good thing, that it is never likely to do much harm, that virtue and happiness ought to be promoted by every practicable means, and that the most effectual as well as desirable check to excessive population is *moral restraint*. The mighty discovery thus reduced to, and pieced out by common sense, the wonder vanishes, and we breathe a little freely again. Mr. M. is however by no means willing to give up his old doctrine, or *eat his own words*: he stickles stoutly for it at times. He has his fits of reason and his fits of extravagance, his yielding and his obstinate moments, fluctuating between the two, and vibrating back-

wards and forwards with a dexterity of self-contradiction which it is wonderful to behold. The following passage is so curious in this respect that I cannot help quoting it in this place. Speaking of the reply of the author of the Political Justice to his former work, he observes, "But, Mr. Godwin says, that if he looks into the past history of the world, he does not see that increasing population has been controuled and confined by vice and misery *alone*. *In this observation I cannot agree with him.* I will thank Mr. Godwin to name to me any check that in past ages has contributed to keep down the population to the level of the means of subsistence, that does not fairly come under some form of vice or misery, *except indeed the check of moral restraint, which I have mentioned in the course of this work;* and which, to say the truth, whatever hopes we may entertain of its prevalence in future, has undoubtedly in past ages operated with very inconsiderable force.*" When I assure the reader that I give him this passage fairly and fully, I think he will be of opinion with me, that it would be difficult to produce an instance of a more miserable attempt to reconcile a contradiction by childish evasion, to insist upon an argument, and give it up in the same breath. Does Mr. M. really think that he has such an absolute right and authority over this subject of population, that, provided he mentions a principle, or shews that he is not ignorant of it, and cannot be caught *napping* by the critics, he is at liberty to say that it has or has not had any operation, just as he pleases, and that the state of the fact is a matter of perfect indifference? He contradicts the opinion of Mr. G. that vice and misery are not the only checks to population, and gives as a proof of his assertion, that he himself truly has mentioned another check. Thus after flatly denying that moral restraint has any effect at all, he modestly concludes by saying that it has had some, no doubt, but promises that it will never have a great deal. Yet in the very next page he says, "On this sentiment, whether virtue, prudence, or pride, which I have already noticed under the name of moral restraint, or of the more comprehensive title, the *preventive check*, it will appear, that in the sequel of this work, I shall lay considerable stress," p. 385. This kind of reasoning is enough to give one the headache. But to take things in their order.—The most singular thing in this singular performance of our author is, that it should have been originally ushered into the world as the most complete and only satisfactory answer to the speculations of Godwin, Condorcet and others, or to what has been called the modern philosophy. A more unaccountable piece of wrong-headedness, a total perversion of reason could hardly be devised by the wit of man. Whatever we may think of the doctrine of the progressive improvement of the human mind, or of a state of society in which every thing will be subject to the control of reason, however absurd, unnatural or impracticable, we may conceive such a system to be, certainly it cannot, without the grossest inconsistency, be objected to it, that such a system would necessarily be rendered abortive, because, if reason should ever get this mastery over all our actions, we should then be governed entirely by our physical appetites and passions, without the least regard to consequences. This appears to me a refinement on absurdity. Several philosophers and speculatists had supposed that a certain state of society, very different from any that has hitherto existed, was in itself practicable, and that if it were realised, it would be productive of a far greater degree of human happiness than is compatible with the present institutions of society. I have nothing to do with either of these points. I will allow to any one who pleases that all such schemes are "false, sophistical, unfounded in the extreme." But, I cannot agree with Mr. Malthus that they would be *bad* in proportion as they were *good;* that the true and only unanswerable argument against all such schemes is that very degree of *happiness*, virtue, and improvement, to which they are supposed to give rise. And I cannot agree with him in this, because it is contrary to common sense, and leads to the subversion of every principle of moral reasoning. Without perplexing himself with the subtle arguments of his opponents, Mr. M. comes boldly forward, and says, "Gentlemen, I am willing to make you large concessions. I am ready to allow the practicability and the desirableness of your schemes, the more desirable and the more practicable, the better; the more happiness, the more virtue, the more knowledge, the more refinement, the better; all these will only add to the exuberant strength of my argument. I have a short answer to all objections, (to be sure, I found it in an old political receipt-book, called Prospects, &c. by one Wallace, a man not much known, but no matter for that, *finding* it

* The prevalence of this check may be estimated by the general proportion of virtue and happiness in the world, for if there had been no such check, there could have been nothing but vice and misery.

keeping, you know:") and with one smart stroke of his wand, on which are inscribed certain mystical characters, and algebraic proportions, he levels the fairy enchantment with the ground. For, says Mr. M. though this improved state of society were actually realised, it could not possibly continue, but must soon terminate in a state of things pregnant with evils far more insupportable than any we at present endure, in consequence of the excessive population which would follow, and the impossibility of providing for its support. This is what I do not understand. It is, in other words, to assert that the doubling the population of a country, for example, after a certain period, will be attended with the most pernicious effects, by want, famine, bloodshed, and a state of general violence and confusion; that this will afterwards lead to vices and practices still worse than the physical evils they are designed to prevent, &c. and yet that at this period those who will be the most interested in preventing these consequences, and the best acquainted with the circumstances that lead to them, will neither have the understanding to foresee, nor the heart to feel, nor the will to prevent the sure evils, to which they expose themselves and others; though this advanced state of population, which does not admit of any addition without danger, is supposed to be the immediate result of a more general diffusion of the comforts and conveniences of life, of more enlarged and liberal views, of a more refined and comprehensive regard to our own permanent interests as well as those of others, of correspondent habits and manners, and of a state of things, in which our gross animal appetites will be under the constant control of reason. The influence of rational motives, of refined and long-sighted views of things is supposed to have taken place of narrow, selfish and merely sensual motives: this is implied in the very statement of the question. "What conjuration and what mighty magic" should thus blind our philosophical descendants on this single subject in which they are more interested than in all others, so that they should stand with their eyes open on the edge of a precipice, and instead of retreating from it, should throw themselves down headlong. I am unable to comprehend; unless indeed, we suppose that the impulse to propagate the species is so strong and uncontroulable, that reason has no power over it. This is what Mr. M. was at one time strongly disposed to assert, and what he is at present half inclined to retract. Without this foundation to rest on, the whole of his reasoning is utterly unintelligible. It seems to me a most preposterous way of answering a man who chuses to assert, that mankind are capable of being governed entirely by their reason, and that it would be better for them, if they were to say no; for, if they were governed entirely by it, they would be much less able to attend to its dictates than they are at present; and the evils which would thus follow from the unrestrained increase of population, would be excessive. Almost every little miss who has had the advantage of a boarding-school education, or been properly tutored by her mamma, whose hair is not of an absolute flame colour, and who has hopes in time, if she behaves prettily, of getting a good husband, waits patiently year after year, looks about her, rejects or trifles with half a dozen lovers, favouring one, laughing at another, "chusing among them, as one picks pears," saying, "This I like, that I loathe," with the greatest indifference, as if it were no such very pressing affair, and *all the while behaves very prettily*; till she is at last smitten with a handsome house, a couple of footmen in livery, or a black servant, or a coach with two sleek geldings, with which she is more taken than with her man. Why, what an idea does Mr. M. give us of the grave, masculine, genius of our Utopian philosophers, their sublime attainments, and gigantic energy, that they will not be able to manage these matters as decently and cleverly as the silliest women can do at present! Mr. M. indeed, endeavours to soften this absurdity by saying, that moral restraint at present owes its strength to selfish motives; what is this to this purpose? If Mr. M. chuses to say, that men will always be governed by the same gross mechanical motives that they are at present, I have no objection to make to it; but it is shifting the question; it is not arguing against the state of society we are considering from the consequences to which it would give rise, but against the possibility of its ever existing. It is to object to a system on account of the consequences which would follow if we were to suppose men to be actuated by entirely different motives and principles from what they are at present, and then to say, that those consequences would necessarily follow, because men would never be what we suppose them. Or it is to alarm the imagination by deprecating the evils that must follow from the practical adoption of a particular scheme, yet to allow that we have no reason to dread those consequences, but because the scheme itself is impracticable.—I am ashamed of wasting your readers' time and my own in thus beating the air. It is not, however, my fault, that Mr. Malthus

has written nonsense, or that others have admired it. It is not Mr. M.'s nonsense, but the opinion of the world respecting it, that I would be thought to compliment by this serious refutation of what in itself neither deserves nor admits of any reasoning upon it. If, however, we recollect the source from whence Mr. M. borrowed his principle, and the application of it to improvements in political philosophy, we must allow that he is merely *passive* in error. The principle itself would not have been worth a farthing without the application, and he accordingly took them as he found them, lying snug together; and as Trim, after having converted the old jack-boots into a pair of new mortars, immediately planted them against which ever of my Uncle Toby's garrisons the allies were then busy in besieging, so the public spirited gallantry of our modern engineer, directed him to bend the whole force of his clumsy discovery against that system of philosophy, which was the most talked of at the time, but to which it was the least applicable of all others. Wallace, I have no doubt, took up his idea either as a paradox or a *jeu d'esprit*; or, because any thing, he thought, was of weight enough to overturn what had never existed any where but in the imagination; or he was led into a piece of false logic by an error we are very apt to fall into, of supposing, because he had never been struck himself by the difficulty of population in such a state of society, that therefore, the people themselves would not find it out when it came, nor make any provision against it. But, though I can in some measure excuse a lively paradox, I do not think that the same favour is to be shewn to the dull, dogged, heavy repetition of absurdity.—Mr. M. might have taken as the motto of his first edition, "These three bear record on earth, Vice, Misery, and Population."—In the answer to Mr. G. this principle was represented as an evil, for which no remedy could be found but in evil: that its operation was mechanical, necessary, unceasing; that it went strait forward to its end, unchecked by fear, or reason, or remorse; that the evils which it drew after it could only be avoided by other evils, by actual vice and misery. Population, was in short the great devil, the untamed Beelzebub, that was only kept chained down by vice and misery; and which, if it were once let loose from these restraints, would go forth and ravage the earth. That they were therefore, the two main props and pillars of society, and that the lower and weaker they kept this principle, the better able they were to contend with it: that, therefore, any diminution of that degree of them which at present prevails, and is found sufficient to keep the world in order, was of all things chiefly to be dreaded.—Our author is fully aware of the force of the stage maxim, to elevate and surprise. Having once healed the imaginations of his readers, he knows that he can afterwards mould them into what shape he pleases. All this bustle, and terror, and stage effect, and theatrical mummery, was only to serve a temporary purpose; for all of a sudden the scene is shifted, and the storm subsides. Having frightened away the boldest champions of modern philosophy, this monstrous appearance, full of strange and inexplicable horrors, is suffered quietly to shrink back to its natural dimensions, and we find it to be nothing more than a common-sized, tame-looking animal; which, however, requires a chain and the whip of its keeper to prevent it from becoming mischievous. Mr. M. then steps forward, and says, the evil we were all in danger of was not population, but philosophy. Nothing is to be done with the latter by mere reasoning. I, therefore, thought it right to make use of a little terror to accomplish the end. As to the principle of population itself, you need be under no alarm: only leave it to me, and I shall be able to manage it very well. All its dreadful consequences may be easily prevented by a proper application of the motives of common prudence and common decency. If any one should be at a loss to conceive how Mr. M. can reconcile such contrary opinions, I should be inclined to suggest to Mr. M. Hamlet's answer to his friend Guilderstern, "'Tis as easy as lying; govern these ven- "tiges" (the work-houses, and charitable donations) "with your fingers and thumb; and this very instrument will discourse most excellent music: look you, here are the stops." (Mr. M.'s, Essay, and Mr. Whitbread's, Poor Bill.)——I am, Sir, your humble servant,——A. O.

An Address of several of his Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects to their Protestant Fellow Subjects.

His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects flattered themselves, that the declarations they had already made of the integrity of their religious and civil tenets, the oaths they had taken to his Majesty's person, family, and government; the heroic exertions of a considerable proportion of them in his Majesty's fleets and armies; the repeated instances in which they have come forward in

their country's cause; their irreproachable demeanor in the general relations of life; and above all, the several acts of parliament past for their relief, avowedly in consequence of, and explicitly recognising their meritorious conduct, would have been a bond, to secure to them for ever, the affection and confidence of all their fellow subjects, and to make any further declaration of their principles wholly unnecessary. but, with astonishment and concern, they observe, that this is not altogether the case:—they are again publicly traduced; and attempts are again made to prejudice the public mind against them:——We, therefore, English Roman Catholics, whose names are hereunder written, beg leave again to solicit the attention of our countrymen, and to lay before them the following unanswered and unanswerable Documents of the purity and integrity of the Religious and Civil Principles of ALL his Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects, in respect to their king and their country.—We entreat you to peruse them; and when you have perused them, to declare; "whether his Majesty's Roman Ca-
" tholic Subjects maintain a single tenet, in-
" consistent with the purest loyalty; or in-
" terfering, in the slightest degree, with
" any one duty, which an Englishman owes
" his God, his king, or his country?——I.
" The First Document we present to you, is
" the oath and declaration prescribed by the
" British Parliament of the 31st of his pre-
" sent Majesty, and which is taken by all
" English Catholics.——I *A. B.* do hereby
" declare, that I do profess the Roman Ca-
" tholic religion.—I *A. B.* do sincerely pro-
" mise and swear, that I will be faithful,
" and bear true allegiance to his Majesty
" King George the Third, and him will de-
" fend to the utmost of my power against
" all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever
" that shall be made against his person,
" crown, or dignity: and I will do my ut-
" most endeavour to disclose and make
" known to his Majesty, his heirs, and suc-
" cessors, all treasons and traitorous conspi-
" racies which may be formed against him
" or them: and I do faithfully promise to
" maintain, support, and defend, to the ut-
" most of my power, the succession of the
" crown; which succession, by an act, en-
" titled, 'An Act for the further Limita-
" tion of the Crown, and better securing
" the Rights and Liberties of the Subject,'
" is and stands limited to the Princess So-
" phia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of
" Hanover, and the heirs of her body, be-
" ing Protestants; hereby utterly renouncing
" and abjuring any obedience or allegiance
" unto any other person claiming or pre-
" tending a right to the crown of these
" realms. And I do swear, that I do reject
" and detest as an unchristian and impious
" position, that it is lawful to murder or
" destroy any person or persons whatsoever;
" for, or under, pretence of, their being
" heretics or infidels; and also that un-
" christian and impious principle, that faith
" is not to be kept with heretics or infidels:
" and I further declare, that it is not an
" article of my faith; and that I do re-
" nounce, reject, and abjure the opinion,
" that Princes excommunicated by the Pope
" and Council, or any authority of the See
" of Rome, or by any authority whatsoe-
" ver, may be deposed or murdered by their
" subjects, or any person whatsoever: and
" I do promise, that I will not hold, main-
" tain, or abet any such opinion, or any
" other opinions contrary to what is ex-
" pressed in this declaration: and I do de-
" clare, that I do not believe that the Pope
" of Rome, or any other foreign prince,
" prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought
" to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction,
" power, superiority, or pre-eminence, di-
" rectly or indirectly, within this realm:
" and I do solemnly, in the presence of
" God, profess, testify, and declare, that I
" do make this declaration, and every part
" part thereof, in the plain and ordinary
" sense of the words of this oath, without
" any evasion, equivocation, or mental re-
" servation whatever, and without any dis-
" pensation already granted by the Pope, or
" any authority of the See of Rome, or any
" person whatever, and without thinking
" that I am, or can be, acquitted before God
" or man, or absolved of this declaration,
" or any part thereof, although the Pope, or
" any other person or authority whatsoever,
" shall dispense with, or annul the same,
" or declare that it was null, or void. So
" help me God."

II. The next Documents we present to you are. The Oaths and Declarations prescribed by the acts of the Irish Parliament to Irish Roman Catholics.—The first is the Oath of Allegianc and Declaration, prescribed by the Irish acts of the 13th and 14th of his present Majesty; and is taken by all Irish Roman Catholics.—" I *A. B.* do take
" Almighty God, and his only Son Jesus
" Christ, my Redeemer, to witness, that
" I will be faithful and bear true allegiance,
" to our most gracious Sovereign Lord
" King George the Third, and him will de-
" fend to the utmost of my power against

" all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever " that shall be made against his person, " crown, and dignity; and I will do my " utmost endeavour to disclose and make " known to his Majesty, and his heirs, all " treasons and traiterous conspiracies, which " may be formed against him or them; and " I do faithfully promise to maintain, sup- " port, and defend, to the utmost of my " power, the succession of the crown in " his Majesty's family, against any person " or persons whatsoever; hereby utterly re- " nouncing and abjuring any obedience or " allegiance unto the person taking upon " himself the stile and title of Prince of " Wales, in the life-time of his father, and " who since his death is said to have as- " sumed the stile and title of King of Great " Britain and Ireland, by the name of " Charles the Third, and to any other per- " son claiming, or pretending a right to " the crown of these realms; and I do " swear that I do reject and detest, as un- " christian and impious to believe, that it " is lawful to murder or destroy any per- " son or persons whatsoever, for or under " pretence of their being heretics, and also " that unchristian and impious principle " that no faith is to be kept with heretics: " I further declare, that it is no article of " my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, " and abjure, the opinion that princes, ex- " communicated by the Pope and Council, " or by any authority of the See of Rome, " or by any authority whatsoever, may be " deposed or murdered by their subjects, " or by any person whatsoever; and I do " promise that I will not hold, maintain, " or abet, any such opinion, or any other " opinion, contrary to what is expressed in " this declaration: and I do declare that I " do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or " any other foreign prince, prelate, state, " or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any " temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, " superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or " indirectly, within this realm; and I do " solemnly in the presence of God, and of " his only Son Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, " profess, testify, and declare, that I do " make this declaration, and every part " thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of " the words of this oath, without any eva- " sion, equivocation, or mental reservation " whatever, and without any dispensation " already granted by the Pope, or any au- " thority of the see of Rome, or any per- " son whatever, and without thinking that " I am, or can be acquitted before God or " man, or absolved of this declaration, or " any part thereof, although the Pope, or " any other person or persons or authority " whatsoever, shall dispense with or annul " the same, or declare that it was null and " void from the beginning. So help me " God."

The next is the Oath and Declaration prescribed by the Irish act of the 33d of his present Majesty, and is taken by all Irish Roman Catholics, wishing to entitle themselves to the benefit of that act:—" I *A. B.* " do hereby declare, that I do profess the " Roman Catholic religion."—" I *A. B.* do " swear that I do abjure, condemn, and " detest, as unchristian and impious, the " principle that it is lawful to murder, " destroy, or any ways injure any persons " whatsoever, for or under the pretence of " being a heretic: and I do declare solemn- " ly before God, that I believe, that no " act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, " can ever be justified or excused, by or " under pretence or colour that it was done " either for the good of the church, or in " obedience to any ecclesiastical power " whatsoever: I also declare, that it is not " an article of the Catholic Faith, neither am " I thereby required to believe or profess that " the Pope is infallible, or that I am bound " to obey any order, in its own nature im- " moral, though the Pope, or any eccle- " siastical power, should issue or direct " such order, but on the contrary, I hold " that it would be sinful in me to pay any " respect or obedience thereto: I further " declare, that I do not believe, that any " sin whatever committed by me, can be " forgiven, at the mere will of any Pope, " or any priest, or of any person or persons " whatsoever, but that sincere sorrow for " past sins, a firm and sincere resolution to " avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, " are previous and indispensable requisites to " establish a well founded expectation of " forgiveness, and that any person who re- " ceives absolution without these previous " requisites, so far from obtaining thereby " any remission of his sins, incurs the ad- " ditional guilt of violating a sacrament. " and I do swear that I will defend, to the " uttermost of my power, the settlement " and arrangement of property in this coun- " try, as established by the laws now in " being: I do hereby disclaim, disavow, " and solemnly abjure, any intention to " subvert the present church establishment, " for the purpose of substituting a Catholic " establishment in its stead. and I do so- " lemnly swear, that I will not exercise " any privilege to which I am or may be-

" come entitled, to disturb and weaken the " Protestant religion and Protestant government in this kingdom. So help me God." ——Such are the principles which his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects have publicly and solemnly declared and professed on oath. There is not, in any of them, a single principle, which every Roman Catholic subject of his Majesty does not profess, or which, if his king and country required it, he would not think it his duty to seal with his blood.

III. In the year 1788, a Committee of the English Catholics waited on Mr. Pitt, respecting their Application for a Repeal of the Penal Laws. He requested to be furnished with authentic evidence, of the Opinions of the Roman Catholic Clergy and the Roman Catholic Universities abroad, " on the exis- " tence and extent of the Pope's dispensing " power." Three questions were accordingly framed, and sent to the Universities of Paris, Lovain, Alcala, Doway, Salamanca, and Valadolid, for their Opinions. The Questions proposed to them were,—1. Has the Pope or cardinals, or any body of men or any individual of the Church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England?—2. Can the Pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense with His Majesty's subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever?—3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic Faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction, either of a public or a private nature? The Universities answered unanimously,—1. That the Pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, has not any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England.—2. That the Pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, cannot absolve or dispense with His Majesty's subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever.—3. That there is no principle in the tenets of the Catholic Faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transactions either of a public or a private nature — As soon as the opinions of the foreign Universities were received, they were transmitted to Mr. Pitt: but we earnestly beg of you to observe, that it was for his satisfaction, not ours, that these opinions were taken: assuredly, His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects did not want the wisdom of foreign Universities to inform them, that His Majesty is the lawful Sovereign of all his Roman Catholic Subjects, and that, by every divine and human law, his Roman Catholic Subjects owe him true, dutiful, active, and unreserved allegiance.—Such then fellow countrymen and fellow subjects, such being our Religious and Civil Principles in respect to our King and our Country, let us now again ask you, is there in them, a single tenet, which is incompatible with the purest loyalty, or which in the slightest degree, interferes with the duty we owe to God, our King, or our Country? but are these principles really instilled into us? Do our actions correspond with them? In reply, we ask, are there not, at this very moment, thousands of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, who daily and hourly make the most heroic exertions, and sacrifices in those fleets and armies, to whose patient and adventurous courage it is owing that we are still blessed with a King and a Country?—— —Now then, fellow-countrymen and fellow-subjects, be assured, that, among these heroic and inestimable defenders and supporters of their king and their country, there is not one, whose parents and whose priests have not taught, that loyalty is a religious as much as a civil duty; and that, when he is fighting for his king and his country, he is performing a duty to his God. (Signed) John Douglass, D. D. Vic. Ap. Lond. Shrewsbury, Petre, Dormer, H.Ch. Englefield, W. Jerningham, John Throckmorton, T. Gage, Geo. Jerningham, M. Langdale, John Webbe Weston, Francis Canning, Ch. Bellasyse, D. D W. Sheldon, Ch. Conolly, G. Silvertop, John Charlton, James Langdale, R. K. Cox, John Collins, D. D. Lawrence Nihell, M. D, Ch. Butler, Michael Ann, W. Throckmorton, T. Lloyd, J. Bew, D. D. R. Butler, Ch. Fairfax, B. Salvin, J. W. Weston, jun. James Wheble, T. Stapleton, Ralph Riddell, George Cary, D. Blount, W. Cruise, E. Jerningham, C. Hornyhold, T. Walmesley, John Prujean, F. Cholmeley, F. Witham, H. Huddlestone, F. Eyre, John Greenham, M. Constable Maxwell, R. Clifford, R. Rookwood Gage, Thomas Wright, Nicholas Selby, Anthony Wright, John Wright, T. Wright, jun, T. Thorpe, John Gabb, James Yorke Branston, Edward Whright, Edward Walsh.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*Forty-ninth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Warsaw, Jan. 8.——Breslaw has surrendered. The capitulation has not yet been received at the head-quarters; neither has the inventory of the magazines of subsistence, or of the clothing and artillery yet come to hand. They are, however, known to be very considerable. Prince Jerome must have made his entry into the place. He is going to besiege Brieg, Schweidnitz, and Kosel.—General Victor, commander of the 10th corps of the army, has marched to besiege Colberg and Dantzic, and to take these places during the remainder of the winter.—M. de Zastrow, Aid-de-Camp to the King of Prussia, a wise and moderate man, who had signed the armistice which his master did not ratify, was however, on his arrival at Konigsburg, appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Our cavalry is not far from Konigsburg.——The Russian army is continuing its movement towards Grodno. We learn that in the last engagements it had a great number of generals killed and wounded. It evinces great discontents against the Emperor of Russia and the court. The soldiers say, that if their army had been judged strong enough to fight with advantage against the French, the Emperor, his guards, the garrison of Petersburg, and the generals of the court, would have been conducted to the army by the same security which brought them to it last year; that if, on the contrary, the events of Austerlitz and those of Jena made it be thought that the Russians could not obtain successes against the French army, they ought not to have been engaged in an unequal struggle. They also say, "the Emperor Alexander has compromised our glory. We had always been vanquishers; we had established and shared the opinion that we were invincible. Things are greatly altered. For these two years past we have been led about from the frontiers of Poland to Austria, from the Dniester to the Vistula, and made to fall every where into the snares of the enemy. It is difficult not to perceive that all this is ill-managed."—Gen. Michelson is still in Moldavia. There is no news of his having marched against the Turkish army, which occupies Bucharest and Wallachia. The fears of that war are hitherto confined to the investing of Choczim and Bender. Great movements are taking place throughout all Turkey to repel so unjust an aggression.—Gen. Baron Vincent is arrived from Vienna at Warsaw, with letters from the Emperor of Austria for the Emperor Napoleon.——There had been a great fall of snow, and it had frozen for three days. The use of sledges had given a great rapidity to the communications, but the thaw has just began again. The Poles assert, that such a winter is unexampled in this country. The temperature is in reality milder than it generally is at Paris at this season.

Fiftieth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Warsaw, Jan. 13.——The troops found at Ostrolenka several sick Russians, whom the enemy had been unable to take off with him. Independent of the loss of the Russian army in killed and wounded, it has suffered still greater losses by the illness which increases in it from day to day.—On the 8th of January the garrison of Breslau, consisting of 5,500 men, defiled before Prince Jerome. The town has sustained considerable damage. From the first moment it was invested, the Prussian governor caused the three suburbs to be burned. The fortress was regularly besieged; we were already battering it in breach when it surrendered. The Bavarian and Wirtemburg troops distinguished themselves by their intelligence and bravery. Prince Jerome is now investing and besieging, at the same time, all the other fortresses in Silesia; it is probable that they will not hold out long.—The corps of 10,000 men, whom the Prince of Pless formed of the garrisons of the fortresses, were cut to pieces in the engagements of the 29th and 30th of December.—Gen. Montbrun, with the Wirtemburg cavalry, went to meet the Prince of Pless, near Ohlau, which he took possession of on the 28th, in the evening. On the following morning, at five o'clock, the Prince of Pless ordered him to be attacked. Gen. Montbrun, taking advantage of the unfavourable position of the enemy's infantry, made a movement to the left, turned and killed a number of men, made 700 prisoners, took four pieces of cannon, and as many horses.——The principal forces, however, of the Prince of Pless lay behind on the side of Neis, where he assembled them after the engagement of Strechlen. He left Schurgalt, and marching day and night, advanced as far as the night camp of the Wirtemburg brigade, which were drawn up in the rear of Hube, under Breslau. At eight in the morning he attacked, with 600 men, the village of Griesten, occupied by two battalions of infantry, and by the Lilange light horse, under the command of the Adjutant Commandant Duveyrier; but he met with so vigorous a reception, that he was forced to make a speedy retreat. Gen. Montbrun and Minucci received orders in-

mediately on their return from Ohlau, to cut off the enemy's retreat. But the Prince of Pless made haste to disperse his troops, and made them return by detachments into the fortresses, abandoning in his flight a part of his artillery, a great deal of baggage, and several horses. He had a number of men killed in this affair, and left us 800 prisoners. —Letters received from Bucharest give some details concerning the preparations for war making by Barayctar and the Pacha of Widdin. On the 20th December, the advanced guard of the Turkish army, consisting of 15,000 men, were on the frontiers of Wallachia and Moldavia. The Prince Dolgorucky was also there with his troops. They were thus in the presence of each other. In passing Bucharist, the Turkish officers appeared to be very much animated; they said to a French officer who was in that town, "the French shall see what we are capable of; we form the right of the army of Poland; we shall shew ourselves worthy to be praised by the Emperor Napoleon the Great."—— Every thing is in motion through this vast empire; the Sheiks and Ulemas give the impulsion, and every one flies to arms in order to repel the most unjust of aggressions.—Count Italinsky has hitherto only avoided being sent to the Seven Towers by promising that on the return of his messenger the Russians will have received orders to abandon Moldavia and restore Choczim and Bender.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

CAPTURE OF ALEXANDRIA. *From the London Gazette. Downing Street, May 9, 1807. Concluded from page 920.*

I. All private property of individuals, whether on land, or embarked, shall be respected. The religion of the inhabitants, their mosques, and their laws, shall be respected, as well as their houses and families.—II. The Commandant, his Excellency Emen Bey, as well as the Commandant of the Marine, Salek Aga, and Mahamet Naim Effendi, with all the official retinue of the government, the troops and the crews of the vessels, belonging to government, shall be sent to a Port of Turkey, with the arms and baggage of individuals, but they are to consider themselves as prisoners of war, and shall not be engaged to take up arms against the British forces or their allies until exchanged.—III. The vessels belonging to government, and all public property, shall be given up to the British forces, and commissaries shall be appointed on both sides to make an inventory.—IV. All Ottoman vessels belonging to individuals, and all property belonging to private subjects of the Sublime Porte, which shall be found within Alexandria, shall be respected. Such persons as wish to remain in the country shall have the liberty to do so, if their conduct and characters shall make it safe; and those who wish to depart, may carry with them their properties, and shall be furnished with passports for landing in any port of Turkey, which shall not be blockaded.——V. There shall be a general amnesty for all the inhabitants, nor shall any notice be taken of the conduct they may have held during the defence of the place.——VI. There shall be no seizure of the property of individuals, if they shall not become enemies of Great Britain.——VII. The gate of Rosetta shall be placed at night in the hands of the forces of his Britannic Majesty, as well as Fort Cretin and Fort Caffarellie.—From the camp without the city of Alexandria, the 20th March, 1807, or the 10th of the month Maharçn, of the year 1222. (Signed) SEID MAHAMED NAIM EFFENDI. HAIG MAHAMED KATEP. SIEG IBRAHIM BASA. (Signed) ALEX. M. FRASER, Maj. Gen. commanding his Britannic Majesty's troops.—BEN. HALLOWELL, Captain of his Majesty's ship Tigre.

(True Copy.)

GEORGE AIREY, Acting as Secretary.

Return of killed and wounded of the army in the attack of the 18th March, 1807, under the command of Major General Fraser. —1st bat. 35th reg. 2 rank and file, killed; 1 subaltern, 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, wounded.——Reg. de Roll, 1 assistant surgeon, 2 rank and file, killed; 1 rank and file, wounded.—Sicilian Volunteers, 3 rank and file, killed.—Royal Artillery, 1 bombardier, 1 gunner, wounded.—Total—1 officer, 6 rank and file, killed; 1 officer, 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, wounded.—GEORGE AIREY, Acting Dep. Adj. General.

Return of the Garrison of Alexandria, previous to its surrender, the 21st March, 1807.

Soldiers of the line, 215.—Gunners, 44.—Sailors and marines, 208.—Total, 467. —Escaped of the above number, while the capitulation was pending, 240.—Total prisoners remaining, 227.——GEORGE AIREY, Acting Dep. Adj. General.

[The list of ordnance will appear in the next Gazette.]

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 22.] LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

"Sir Thomas Webster having represented the town of Colchester in what was called the Pensioned Parliament of Charles II. became so disgusted with the parliamentary depravity of that body, as to take a resolution to abandon them and the cause of the people in that house, where he saw no possibility of either opposing the despotic measures of the court, or supporting the liberties of his country. He wrote, accordingly, a letter to his constituents on the election of the first parliament of James II. which met on the 21st March, 1685, declining the representation of a people, whose delegated legislature was converted into an engine of despotism, by the corrupt ministers of an arbitrary king, and requesting them to choose another representative; he then absented himself from the town and its connections. On the day of election, however, his former constituents, with a virtue and manliness of conduct peculiar to real independence, resolved to re-elect their old member, whose integrity they had tried, and whose attachment to the cause of liberty was not to be shaken. Without solicitation, therefore, or expense, and even without his own acquiescence, Sir Thomas was again deputed the assertor of their rights in parliament."——HISTORY OF THE BOROUGHS, Vol. II. p. 19.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.——This contest was, I thought, as far as related to the choosing of Sir Francis Burdett, a thing quite without example in our history; but, as will be perceived from the motto to the present sheet, there is upon record one other instance of the kind; and, it is with great satisfaction that I find myself in a situation to revive and widely to circulate the knowledge of a fact so honourable to the country. "The *Pensioned Parliament*" of the Stuarts has ever been an object of just execration. The flagrant parliamentary corruptions of those times were, as was stated in my first letter to Mr. Perceval, the great cause of those discontents which finally produced the *revolution* or *change* in 1688, only three years previous to which the above-recorded instance of public virtue was exhibited to the nation. And, indeed, the rapidity of the progress was quite natural; for, either the corruptions of the parliament must have been destroyed, or the people must have become, in person as well as in property, the slaves, the absolute slaves, of their tyrannical and traitorous masters. All the *names* and all the *forms* of freedom and justice were in full use, the same as at any former period: but, if the substance was gone; if the House of Commons, instead of being freely chosen by the people, and thereby becoming their real representattves and the faithful guardians of their property, was a packed assembly, in the choice of whom the people had no real voice, and who, instead of guarding their property, became themselves their cruellest plunderers, never seriously disagreeing in any thing except in the division of the plunder; if, in a word, they became a gang of robbers instead of a body of faithful stewards, of what use were the names and forms of freedom and of justice except that of amusing the people,—except that of rendering them silent under the weight of their sufferings? This was felt deeply by the people of England, at the time here referred to; and, accordingly, when, in consequence of that feeling, they had driven the guilty king, the ostensible author of their misery and disgrace, from the throne, and, along with him, his still more guilty advisers, they, including all the virtuous part of the nobility, formed a determination to guard themselves, in future, against similar evils. They declared, and they caused to be enacted, that the principal cause of their proceeding to such extremities, was, the corruption of parliament, and they provided by law, that, thereafter, no man holding a place or pension under the crown should be a member of the House of Commons. And, surely, they were right. They wished not to *destroy*, but to *preserve*. They had been taught, by experience, that a kingly form of government, limited by law as to the extent of its power, was that which was most congenial to the temper of Englishmen. To the support of a kingly form of government they regarded an hereditary nobility, *having its root in distinguished and acknowledged public services and virtues*, as essentially necessary. These, therefore, they wisely resolved to maintain; but, they perceived, that, if the king was rendered absolute by the means of a "pensioned parliament," that, if by these silent means, he was enabled to seize on their property and to violate their personal freedom, at his pleasure, it was of no consequence to them whether the names and forms of freedom and justice were retained, or abolished. Indeed, they seem to have perceived, that it was, rather than othe-

wise, injurious to retain them; for, that, to keep up the use of those names and forms, was to delude the people, and that it was better that the despotism should stand openly exposed to their execration. They saw, that they exposed themselves to great risk in an attempt to overthrow the base tyranny by which they were oppressed; they were not without apprehensions as to the consequences of a struggle against such deep-rooted corruption, and, as clearly appears from all the authentic documents of that critical period, there were not a few amongst the most virtuous public characters, who hesitated between their hatred of the oppressors and their fear of producing confusion. They also had to encounter the calumnious accusations of the innumerable swarm who fattened upon the plunder of the people; and, it was a fact not to be disguised, that, as the powers of the state, the mighty powers of the state, all the engines of accusation and of punishment, were in the hands of the tyrant and his advisers, the dangers to the first movers, even anticipating ultimate success, were of fearful magnitude. Yet, with all this before them, but considering that no great evil of any sort could ever be removed without some danger in the remedy, did our wise, our brave, and virtuous ancestors, undertake, and, through a long series of struggles, as well against legal hypocrisy as against lawless power, at last arrive at the time, when they saw the crown of these realms happily and safely placed upon the heads of the House of Brunswick, where, under the limitations so clearly settled by the constitution, and so essential to the freedom and happiness of the people, every good man must wish it to remain in undisturbed and unmaligned enjoyment.——From this digression, into which I have been led by reflections arising from a perusal of my motto, I now return to the recent Westminster Election, to record the principal transactions relating to which, and more especially to record the principles of the electors and the elected, is my present object. I shall, therefore, begin by inserting the already published addresses of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, the account of the ELECTORS' COMMITTEE, and the addresses of LORD COCHRANE.

Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex on the Dissolution of Parliament.

"Gentlemen;——After what has lately passed in review before us, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the actual situation of our country: and as impossible to imagine that any efforts of ours can at this time procure redress.—Lord Melville, with his associates and abettors, under the pretence of Loyalty; and the leaders of the Whigs, under the pretence of the Constitution; and the leaders of the Catholics, under the pretence of Religion, are all evidently struggling for one and the same object—a share of the common spoil. Whilst the wholesome Power of the Crown, the fair Liberty of the Subject, and the real interest of any Religion, are all sacrificed to the common object—Plunder.—Of the rights of the People at large, and of their welfare and independence, not a syllable is even whispered by any of these factions: and any attempt by others to bring the People or their Interests into consideration, is stigmatised as treason.—In this desperate situation of our affairs (for such I esteem it) I cannot consent to become a candidate for any seat in Parliament.—With the omnipotent means of corruption in the power of our spoilers, all struggle is vain. We must wait for our redress and regeneration till corruption shall have exhausted the means of corruption; and I do not believe that period very distant, the present ministers being most likely to be our best friends by hastening it.—Till that time shall arrive, I beg leave to retire from all parliamentary service; without the least abatement of zeal for the rights and liberties of my countrymen, to which I will always be ready to sacrifice my own interests, in any manner, whenever there shall appear the smallest prospect of success.—I am, Gentlemen, with respect and gratitude, Your faithful Servant, FRANCIS BURDETT."——April 28, 1807.

Proceedings of the Committee for conducting Sir Francis Burdett's Election.

"The committee appointed by You to conduct the election of Sir Francis Burdett, having found, with great pleasure, that you have given the countenance and support of your vote to the nomination of that illustrious friend to his country, beg leave to congratulate you on the success of *your* exertions in the cause of liberty, and to present you with the following Report.——SAMUEL BROOKS, Chairman.

"——*Britannia Coffee-house, 25th May, 1807.*"

"*Britannia Coffee-house, Covent Garden, 23d May, 1807.*

"At a meeting of the Committee appointed by the Electors of Westminster to con-

" duct the election of Sir Francis Bur-
" dett, Bart. Mr. Samuel Brooks, in the
" Chair; It was resolved
" That as those who are naturally the
" enemies of freedom at elections, have en-
" deavoured to misrepresent the circum-
" stances under which was undertaken the
" enterprise that has led to the glorious re-
" sult, for the purpose of celebrating which
" we are, with other friends of purity of
" election, about to be assembled, it is ne-
" cessary that we make a record of those
" circumstances, and also of the progress of
" our efforts, together with a Declaration of
" the Principles by which we have been,
" and still are actuated.—We therefore De-
" clare,—I. That, on the 29th day of April,
" a deputation of the free and independent
" electors of the city and liberties of West-
" minster, regarding Sir Francis Burdett,
" Bart. as the man distinguished above all
" others for public virtue, and having wit-
" nessed his long, ardent, and disinterested
" endeavours, to cause to be restored to the
" people of England those rights and liber-
" ties, that security for person and property,
" which their forefathers enjoyed, applied
" to him to become a candidate for their
" city, at the then ensuing election.——II.
" That, to this application, Sir Francis Bur-
" dett answered, " That he thought it im-
" possible for him to render any service to
" the electors or to the country, and that to
" become a candidate under such circum-
" stances was only to aid in the delusion."
" That the deputation then asked Sir Fran-
" cis, " Whether, if elected without his in-
" terference, he would accept the seat, and
" attend his duty in Parliament?" To
" which he replied, " Certainly, this is the
" right way; electors ought to seek repre-
" sentatives, not candidates solicit electors:
" If I should be returned for Westminster,
" for Middlesex or any other place, I must,
" and certainly shall obey the call, and I
" will do the duty of a faithful Steward;
" but I will not spend a guinea, nor do any
" thing whatever, to contribute to such
" election."——III. That, upon this An-
" swer being communicated to a meeting of
" electors, it was resolved to put Sir Francis
" Burdett in nomination at the Hustings,
" which was accordingly done on the day of
" election, by Mr. Francis Glossop, whose
" proposition was seconded by Mr. William
" Adams.——IV. That, the committee,
" which had been previously formed, open-
" ed a public subscription, for the purpose
" of defraying the expences of the commit-
" tee-room, of printing, of messengers, and
" of several other things indispensably ne-
" cessary; and that a list of the subscrip-
" tions, including names and sums, has
" been correctly kept, and is ready for in-
" spection.—V. That, from the first to the
" last, the committee made use of no means
" whatever to give an undue bias to the
" mind of any elector, appealed to no pre-
" judice, had recourse to nothing tending to
" flatter or to terrify, to soothe or to in-
" flame; but, as being perfectly consonant
" to the wishes of Sir Francis Burdett, ad-
" dressed themselves, in language unvar-
" nished, to the plain good sense and public
" spirit of the electors, leaving them to fol-
" low the dictates of their own consciences,
" and uniformly and decidedly rejecting
" every overture for a coalition, in what-
" ever manner made, and from whatever
" quarter proceeding——VI. That there
" have been polled, at this election,

	SINGLE VOTES	SPLIT VOTES WITH					TOTAL.
		Burdett.	*Cochrane.*	*Elliott.*	*Sheridan.*	*Paull.*	
COCHRANE	632	1423	—	1264	374	15	3708
ELLIOTT	438	286	1264	—	145	4	2137
SHERIDAN	592	1527	374	145	—	7	2645
PAULL	17	226	15	4	7	—	269
	1679	3462	1653	1413	526	26	8759
BURDETT	1672	—	1423	286	1527	226	5134
							13893
Single Votes...		1672	632	438	592	17	3351
							10542
	3351	5134	3708	2137	2645	269	
							5271

"From which it appears that 3851 "electors have given single votes at this "election; that 5271 electors have given "double votes, making together 8622 elec- "torspolled at this election, and that in spite "of all the weight of power, of undue and "corrupt influence, and of a calumniating "hired daily press, Sir Francis Burdett has "received as many single votes (within 7) "as ALL the other candidates put together — "VII. That this result, while it is grati- "fying in itself, is still more so, when ac- "companied with reflections on that state of "things, when the electors of Westminster, "attached to Names, and inattentive to "*Principles*, became the mere instruments "of the treasury, and of the great Aristo- "cratical Families, who, by an amicable "compromise, each put in a member; and "thus, as to all practical purposes connect- "ed with the elective franchise, had reduc- "ed this great and enlightened city to a "level with the rottenest of the numerous "rotten boroughs.—VIII. That, as to our "Principles, they are those of the constitu- "tion of England, and none other; that it "is declared by the Bill of Rights, that one "of the crimes for which the tyrant James "was driven from the throne, was interfe- "ring, by his ministers, in the election of "members of parliament; that, by the "same great standard of our liberties, it "is delared, that the election of mem- "bers of parliament ought to be free; "that, by the act which transferred the "crown of this kingdom from the heads of "the house of Stuart to the heads of the "house of Brunswick, it is provided, that "for the better securing of the liberties of "the subject, no person holding a place or "pension under the crown shall be a mem- "ber of the house of commons; that these "are our principles; and that, as we are "convinced, that all the notorious peculat- "tion, that all the prodigal waste of the "public money, that all the intolerable "burthens and vexations therefrom arising; "that all the oppression from within and all "the danger from without, proceed from a "total abandonment of these great constitu- "tional principles, we hold it to be our "bounden duty to use all the legal means in "our power, collectively and individually, "to restore those principles to practice.—— "IX. That though we are fully convinced, "that, as the natural consequence of the "measures pursued for the last sixteen "years, our country is threatened with im- "minent danger from the foe which Eng- "lishmen once despised; and that, though "we trust there is not a man of us who "would not freely lay down his life to pre- "serve the independence of his country, yet "we hesitate not to declare, that we see no "danger to us so great, no scourge so much "to be dreaded, as a packed and corrupt "house of commons, whose votes, not less "merciless, and more insulting, than a "conqueror's edicts, would bereave us of all "that renders country dear, and life worth "preserving; and that, too, under the "names and forms of law and justice,— "under those very names, and those very "forms, which yielded security to the "persons and property of our forefathers. "X. That in choosing Sir Francis Bur- "dett as our representative and steward, "we have, as far as rested with us, taken "care to prevent the existence of such a "house of commons; that we trust our "example will, when occasion serves, "have due weight with electors in ge- "neral; and that, by our united exer- "tions, the blessings of the constitution will "be restored, the just prerogatives of the "crown, as limited by law, secured; an- "cient and well-earned nobility supported, "and the rights and liberties of the people "established upon solid foundations —— "XI. That this declaration be signed by the "chairman of the committee, and that they "be published.—(Signed) SAMUEL BROOKS, "chairman."

Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, 23d May, 1807.

"At a numerous meeting of the friends "of Sir Francis Burdett, bart., convened by "advertisement to celebrate his election for "Westminster, Joseph Clayton Jennings, "Esq. in the chair.

"Resolved, That the report of the com- "mittee, appointed to conduct the election "of Sir Francis Burdett be read.—It was "accordingly read.—Resolved unanimously, "that this meeting agrees with the commit- "tee for conducting the election of Sir "Francis Burdett, in the declaration read "to them from the chair; that they concur "in the great constitutional points on which "the committee has founded its conduct; "and that they beg the committee to accept "their sincerest thanks for the communica- "tion.— Resolved unanimously, that an "anniversary of the glorious triumph of the "electors of Westminster, by the election "of Sir Francis Burdett, be held at this "house on the 23d day of May.—(Signed) "J. CLAYTON JENNINGS, chairman.—Re- "solved unanimously, that the thanks of "this meeting be given to Mr. Jennings, "for his discreet, spirited, and able con-

" duct during the election.—(Signed) WILLIAM JONES BURDETT."

Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the Electors of Westminster, after the Election.

" Gentlemen;—next to the consciousness " of endeavouring sincerely to serve my country, nothing can be more pleasing to my " mind than the public approbation of my endeavours. Accept my grateful thanks.—At " the same time forgive me for feeling something like despair of any good to the " country; whilst I see the regular expences " of corruption greatly exceed all the expences necessary for any war, which we " can be justified in pursuing: whilst I see " attempts to delude the public mind, by " COMPARATIVELY petty and insignificant " inquiries into what is termed PECULATION; whilst those inquirers themselves " think it not dishonourable to seize greedily every opportunity of enriching themselves out of the public spoil, by any other " means not termed by them PECULATION. —Such wretched notions of public honor " and honesty can afford no signal benefit to " the public, nor can give us any suitable " redress. They appear to me to resemble " the notion of chastity entertained by the " prostitute, who boldly challenged any " one to say, that she ever went out of " the regiment. According to them, all " within the regiment, all within the RED " BOOK is honourable and virtuous. And " they insult us by declaring that they have " as good a title by the RED BOOK, as any " of the people can have to the fruits of " their industry, or to the inheritance of " their ancestors; from which industry, " and from which inheritance, be it remembered, and from them alone, the " RED BOOK itself takes every thing that " it has to bestow. So that they pretend as " good a right to all which they can contrive " to take from us, as we have to the remainder—till they can take that too.— " Gentlemen, figure to yourselves a gang of " robbers combined to plunder the peaceable and industrious inhabitants of several " surrounding parishes; and agreeing amongst themselves to share the booty in " such different proportions as the leader of " the gang shall appoint to each. From " time to time it will happen that some " thief or other amongst them will purloin " a part of the booty, and clandestinely appropriate to himself more than his appointed share. The purloiner is detected: and the gang with open mouths exclaim against the atrocity of cheating—" *the regiment*; the only crime of the kind " which they acknowledge to be so. Would " it not be ridiculous in these plundered parishes to take any part in such a dispute; " and to divide themselves into strong parties for the accusers or the accused? " As long as the thieves in common take all " they can seize, what is it to the plundered people who share the booty? how they " share it? and in what proportions? Ought " they not rather to destroy the gang and " abolish the combination?—Such is my " conception of the different corrupt ministers we have seen, and their corrupt " adherents. And unless the public with an " united voice, shall loudly pronounce the " abolition of the WHOLE of the present " SYSTEM OF CORRUPTION, I must " still continue to despair of my country.— " You, Gentlemen, by this unparalleled " election, have loudly pronounced your " sentiments. May your voice be echoed " through the land.—In the mean time, " though an individual is almost as nothing " in the scale, I will carry with me your " sentiments into the House of Commons. " And I assure you that no rational endeavours of mine shall be omitted to restore " to my countrymen the undisturbed enjoyment of the fair fruits of their industry; " to tear out the accursed leaves of that scandalous RED BOOK; and to bring back " men's minds to the almost forgotten notions of the sacredness of private property; " which ought no longer to be transferred " from the legitimate possessors by the corrupt votes of venal and mercenary combinations—I will continue, Gentlemen, " disinterestedly faithful to the interests of " my country; and endeavour to prove " myself your zealous representative.—— " FRANCIS BURDETT. *May 23d.* 1807."

Lord Cochrane's First Address to the Electors of Westminster.

" Gentlemen,

" An explicit declaration of the principles " of every Candidate for the Suffrages of " free People, is indispensable to the freedom of Election. The Electors should " be aware of the line of conduct intended " to be pursued, in order that they may at " once approve or reject the Candidate; " having deliberately weighed his character, " and considered the probability of his forfeiting the solemn pledge he gives to his " country.—I shall be as brief as possible " in the declaration of my principles. Measures favourable to the interests of the " country I will support, let them be " brought forward by whom they may; " those hostile, or urged by factious mo-

" tives, I will oppose, without any view to " advantage, or dread of injury.—I am not " one of those who are of opinion that per- " sons should withdraw from the service " of their country in despair. Men actuat- " ed by the dictates of conscience, who " scorn to be ranked among the great pau- " pers of the nation, and by sinecures and " unmerited pensions to drain the resources " of their country, may do much good, " even if their abilities are small. Sophis- " try is not required to prove a truth: su- " tle arguments may be used to establish " the reverse. Is it absolutely impractica- " ble that a Member of the House of Com- " mons can pursue a line of conduct wholly " independant? It has been said that a " man who does not link himself to the " chains of some party is a mere cypher in " that House: that the measures he may " propose (however beneficial) will be re- " jected by both, because they do not ori- " ginate with either. Let us hope that " this is not the case.—An important appeal " is at this crisis made to the country, and " the whole body of Electors of the United " Kingdom must decide. On a late occa- " sion I gave a vote against an abstract " proposition, because I viewed it in its " consequences. It tended to throw a " blame, where no blame was due. It " was connected with an approval of the " Catholic Bill, which I considered not " only inadequate to its purpose, but pro- " ductive of religious dissentions in the na- " val service, to which my attention has " been devoted. What would be the situa- " tion of our country with a Catholic dispo " ser of our commissions and rewards? " Religious motives are more powerful than " other motives. In judging from what " has passed, I did dread the future These, " Gentlemen, were the reasons for the con- " duct I pursued,—not a deficiency of zeal " for our fellow subjects of the Catholic " persuasion.—Gentlemen, I unequivocally " avow my intention to stand unconnected " with any of the Candidates who have " declared themselves. It is not a seat in " Parliament that I am desirous to obtain; " it is the distinguished honour of represent- " ting your popular City, elected by the " votes of unbiassed freemen, having con- " fidence in the man they send to Parlia- " ment.—My professional life may be " known to some of you, and I am aware " that it has been objected, that a Naval " Officer liable to be called from his consti- " tuents is unfit to attend to their interests, " and to perform his duty in Parliament. " To this I answer, that it is requisite there " should be in the House of Commons " professional men as well as others, in " order that information may be given on " matters frequently the subject of discus- " sion, by those who from actual service, " and recent impressions, can give correct " intelligence; and I answer also, that one " zealous in the performance of his duty, " may be of more real service to his coun- " try, than a Member who (though always " on the spot) is devoted to his private oc- " cupations.—Rest assured, Gentlemen, " that if I should be so fortunate as to suc- " ceed in attaining my object, you will find " that I have not made professions without " a full intention to perform them.—I " shall not willingly be deficient in the per- " sonal respect I feel most anxious to shew " to you individually, by soliciting your " Votes and Interest in my favour, as far " as it is in my power. Your liberality " will induce you to attribute any omission " to the difficulties I must encounter; which, " I am confident, will be overcome by that " independant spirit that has ever character- " ised the City of Westminster. I have " the honor to be, Gentlemen, with the " greatest respect, &c. COCHRANE. *Har- " ley-Street, April* 29, 1807."

Lord Cochrane's Address to the Electors of Westminster after the Election.

"Gentlemen,—Unknown to you as I was but only a few days ago, and deceived as you have been by the professions of many, with whose very hearts you thought yourselves acquainted, it would be too much in me to presume that your minds are quite free from apprehensions with regard to my motives; and if the time were more distant when these motives must be developed, this reflection would, I confess, leave great uneasiness on my mind. But, Gentlemen, those motives must, if I live but a very short time, be rendered manifest, and in the prospect of that manifestation, I wait with perfect confidence of being firmly established in your esteem, which I value far beyond any thing that can be bestowed.—Did I consider great oratorical talents as being indispensibly necessary in a Member of Parliament, I certainly should not have sought a seat in that Assembly; but, the observation of my life has convinced me, that the public evils which I wish to see remedied, proceed more from the want of integrity, than from the want of talents of any sort; and still more from the want of that moderation of mind which teaches a man to content himself with little, either of wealth or power, and which renders him proof against those blandishments

and intrigues, that have by degrees corrupted so many honest hearts to the core.—— No two men, of independent minds, ever yet were found to be in exact coincidence upon every point admitting of discussion; and, therefore, Gentlemen, you, who have given proof of so much good sense and independence of spirit, will not be surprized, if, as to some matters, my sentiments, and of course my vote may be found opposite to that of my colleague; nor can I, from my present comparative unacquaintance with parliamentary concerns, promise that my exertions will be, in their effect, equal to his; but, this I promise you, Gentlemen, that, in whatever relates to the preventing of a waste of the public money, in whatever relates to a restoration of the blessings of the constitution, and particularly those connected with the freedom of election, (which I trust on this occasion has been preserved), and the consequent purity and independence of the House of Commons, you shall find me, in point of endeavour at least, not inferior to any member that ever has had, or ever will have, a seat in that House.—With a due sense of the important duty imposed upon me, with a firm resolution conscientiously to discharge that duty, and with an anxious hope that I shall be able in some degree to contribute towards your prosperity and happiness, and the good of my country, I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your devoted humble servant, COCHRANE. *Harley street, May 23, 1807.*"

The first observation that it is necessary to make, is, that Mr. Elliott declined the contest on the eleventh day; and that Mr. Paull in fact, declined it on the second, though his friends kept the poll open until the sixth day.——That any thing should have happened to prevent Mr. Paull's sharing in the triumph with Sir Francis Burdett, I lament, and must always lament; but, with the exception of certain hasty expressions, the natural effect of those passions which, for a time, overcome reason and justice, the Committee of the Electors, are entitled to the higest degree of praise that language can bestow; and, the Committee of Mr. Paull deserve equal praise, except in what related to their having endeavoured to prevent the election of Sir Francis Burdett; in which, as it was an endeavour to gratify their personal revenge at the expense of the public cause, they can never be justified; an endeavour, however, which I never, for a moment, imputed to Mr. Paull himself. At any rate, supposing perfect reconciliation, whether between the principals or their friends, to be improbable, I hope to see no attempts made to widen the breach, and to render that impossible which is now only improbable. It is very easy to be patriotic where there is no feeling to subdue, no interest to sacrifice; but, if a man would convince me of his real love to his country, he must give me such proofs of love as are expected and required in private life; namely, a willingness and a readiness to yield, to forbear, and to forgive; for, where these are not to be found, there may be a love of self-gratification, but there can be none of any other sort. Attempts have been made, not by the principals themselves, nor, indeed, by any known bearer of their wishes, to induce me to take a part in the quarrel; but this I, from the first, resolved not to do; and, though it should be out of my power to prevent it, I am immoveably determined, that, if the quarrel be to be revived and perpetuated, the fault shall in no degree, be mine. I was not a party in its origin, and I will be no party in its continuation.—— Leaving this quarrel, never more to be mentioned by me, I shall now proceed to make some remarks upon the false and malignant interpretation, which has, by the hireling prints, been given to Sir Francis Burdett's last address, taking, as a sufficient specimen, a paragraph in the Morning Post of the 27th instant. "It is "now understood, that *the chairing of Sir* "*Francis Burdett is to take place on the* "*day of the meeting of parliament, and* "*that as a further insult, he is to be con-* "*veyed in triumph*, by the mob, to the "Grand Council of that Nation, which "in his cowardice and his treason, he wish-"ed to lay at the feet of a foreign invader, "and whose envied constitution he now "calls upon the people to destroy. It will, "however, be a question for parliament to "decide, *whether a man of such principles,* "*who has at length thrown off the delusive* "*mask of patriotism, and presented himself* "*in the undisguised character of a Revolu-* "*tionary Demagogue, be a fit and proper* "*person to occupy a seat in the great Con-* "*stitutional Council of the British Empire.* "Certain it is, that the records of the "House of Commons afford many exam-"ples of persons *being expelled the Senate* "*for offences comparatively harmless* "*and insignificant, and in times, too, when* "*Europe was undisturbed by the machina-* "*tions of the worst description of mankind,* "and Great Britain enjoyed an enviable "state of tranquillity, which the designs of "the wicked alone have been able to "interrupt. *To this question, we shall pro-* "*bably ere long, be induced to turn our* "*serious attention.*——In the mean time,

" it may not be unnecessary for us to " afford some elucidation of what we " have already said, in respect to the " means by which his partizans have " succeeded in forcing him into the repre- " sentation of Westminster. Whatever as- " sertions we have made upon this subject, " we can be at no loss to prove. The proof " can only expose those whose names and " descriptions we have it in our power to " lay before the public: though we would " do it with reluctance, *because from the* " *numerous applications already made to us,* " *since the appearance of Sir F. Burdett's* " *address, we see that many of those, who as* " *tradesmen, aspire to any thing like respec-* " *tability* of character, already repent the " blind precipitancy of their zeal, and " anxiously deprecate the dragging of their " names before the public, as abettors of a " cause, *now confessed to be outrageously* " *disloyal and unconstitutional,* by every " one who has read the opinions addressed " to the electors of Westminster by Sir " Francis Burdett—opinions, which every " man, of any character among them, must " reject, as adding insult to ingratitude. " We cannot think of disgracing our co- " lumns by a detailed enumeration of all the " voters in favour of Sir Francis Burdett; " but the few whose names and occupations " we have it in our power to give, will be " fully sufficient to ascertain and characte- " rise the description of persons in which " his partisans should be classed."—Now, the first assertion here made, is a downright falsehood Nothing at all has been settled upon, or even proposed, of the purport here stated. But, I am far from thinking, that a triumphal chairing ought not to take place; and, if I were the manager of it, most assuredly, I would have it on the very day of the opening of parliament, and would have the procession end (if there be no law or usage or legal order to the contrary) at the very door of the House. The king has ordered us to be told, that, in this dissolution of par- " liament, he has " *recurred to the sense of* " *his people*:" the people of Westminster, the people of the first city in the kingdom, have expressed their sense in the choosing of Sir Francis Burdett; and, when they have done this by so very decided a majority, shall they be called *a mob*? Was it to a mob that the king appealed? And, shall the people be deterred from showing their regard, in any lawful manner they please, for the object of their choice? The hirelings never cease to tell us, that the times are *critical;* and shall they blame the people for acting as if they thought them so? They are continually calling upon the people to show their *energy;* and shall they represent them as having designs to destroy the government and constitution, because they have shown that they felt uncommon interest in an election? Were there ever known popular proceedings so marked by tranquillity and propriety as those of the electors of Sir Francis Burdett? Not a single act of violence have they committed, or attempted to commit. Nothing inflammatory has appeared from any man of them; and are they now to be represented as a sanguinary mob, while, in almost the very same columns, the violences of the deluded rabble of Liverpool and Bristol are cited as marks of *loyalty* and *religion*? Indeed, one of the offences of the electors of Westminster appears to be, that they were not to be deluded by the hypocritical cry of " *no popery.*" It is an offence, in the eyes of the champions of corruption, that this cry was justly estimated; that it was clearly seen to have been invented for the purpose of turning the attention of the people from the real grounds of the contest between the factions; and that, accordingly, it was treated with contempt.—— Entitled to equal credit is the assertion, that some of the electors have applied to the editor of the Morning Post not to publish their names as electors of Sir Francis Burdett. This is another downright falsehood, invented for the purpose of deluding persons who live at a distance from London; for, near the spot such an assertion will gain no belief. The address of Sir Francis Burdett is perfectly in character. It is precisely what his electors expected; and, if it had not excited clamours amongst the hosts of corruption; it would not have answered its purpose. " Every one I meet," said a person to me, the other day, in Oxford Street; " every one I meet reprobates the " address of Sir Francis Burdett."—— " Which way did you come," said I; " Why," replied he, " from White Hall, " across the Parade, through St. James's " Palace, and up St. James's and Bond " Street."—— " Well, then," added I, " now go to Somerset Place, the 'Change, " the India House, Lloyd's, the Custom " House, and the Excise Office, and you " will meet with exactly the same cry. " But, when you have heard the hun- " dreds at these places, then go and hear " the thousands and hundreds of thou- " sands in the manufactories, in the shops, " in the work-shops, upon the river, and " in the gardens. Go and hear those, " whose labour, whose ingenuity, and " whose industry in every way are taxed to " support the clamorous whom you have

"heard; go hear the laborious father whose "means of provision for his children is ta- "ken away by the income tax; go hear "the merchant, who is compelled to make "an exposure of all his most private con- "cerns, and who, by the taxers, is fre- "quently not believed upon his oath; go "hear the numerous annuitants from whose "scanty means of subsistance one-tenth is "annually taken in a direct tax, while no "greater a proportion is taken from the "man of freehold estate; go hear, in "short, all those, who have nothing but "their labour, of one sort or another, to "subsist on, and who have no share in the "taxes; go hear these, and then come and "tell me, on which side you find the majori- "ty."—Well may there be clamours against this address! Look at the Red Book. Only look at the outside of it. Look at its bulk. See it swelled to the thickness of a duodecimo bible, and wonder not that the address has excited a clamour. It is bigger than both army and navy list put together. The several lists in it comprise numbers, including relations and dependants, surpassing, perhaps, the number of persons employed in the agriculture of the kingdom. Well there may be a clamour against an address, which points to the reducing of these lists!—To deny the *truth* of the facts inferred by this address seems to have been, for some reason or other, thought unnecessary. It was more easy to assail it with a misinterpretation. To represent it as a declaration of a wish to over-turn the kingly government, because, forsooth, *the names of the royal family are inserted in the Red Book!* What a scandalous, what a base misrepresentation!—These misrepresentators know that the author of the address has no such wish, and that his address contains no such meaning. They know, that he wishes to over-turn nothing which belongs to the constitution of England. They know that his wishes are to restore and to preserve, and not to destroy. They know, that he wishes to deliver the king from the arbitrary power of any and of every faction; and that, he would not, if he had it completely in his power, deprive him of any one prerogative which the constitution has given him. It is against the factions, which, each in its turn, has ruled, by the means of a parliament, both king and people, in the manner that we have seen, that Sir Francis Burdett is at war, and not against the establishment of royalty, much less against the person of the king, to whom he has never attempted to impute any degree of blame.—It is curious to perceive how ingeniously the hirelings of the factions find an application of every thing of this sort to the French Revolution. When I made some observations upon paragraphs published relative to the festival of the matron Jordan, at Bushy Park, these hirelings told the world, that it was *thus* that the authors of the French revolution began. Now we are told, that the attack upon the Red Book strictly resembles the attacks upon the *Livre Rouge*, which were the beginning of a revolution that finally led "an *innocent* and "*amiable* king and queen to the scaffold." But, why stop here? Why stop at the death of the king and queen? Why not go on to say, "a revolution which has made France "the mistress of Europe?" This trick of referring to the causes of the French revolution is as dangerous as it is malignant. But, upon the supposition, that it was by attacks upon the *Livre Rouge* that the French revolution was begun, would it not be wise to begin by times in reducing our Red Book to a bulk that would make it no longer an object of attack? *This way*, however, of securing the government, never seems to be thought of. In private life, the way to avoid the consequences of exposure and consequent animadversion, is, to cease to do that which is the subject of such exposure. Why not act upon the same principle in public matters? Why not nullify the attacks of Sir Francis Burdett, why not sew up his mouth, by removing the evils of which he complains?—He makes no attack upon the form of the government. He expresses no hostility to any established authority. He asks you to overturn nothing but abuses, which are hostile alike to all governments, and under which no government, whatever may be its form, can long exist. Indeed, he complains of nothing, which the whole nation do not, at some time or other, complain of; and of what the factions themselves, in their mutual accusations, do not complain of. We have recently heard them accuse one another of coming into office for the sole purpose of getting possession of the public money. What have they not said in this way? They have charged one another, in open parliament, with every thing, which he, even by implication, has charged them with. They have, over and over again, declared that the dissolution of parliament, in the two last instances, was for the sole purpose of effecting what he has said the ministers respectively wished to effect, and that is so well known that it need not be named here. In the several addresses that have been published by them, they have charged one another with a determination to protect peculators. "NO PECULATION" is written even upon the election carriages of Mr.

Byng. And, in short, it is quite impossible to say of them worse than they have said of each other. "Aye," will they reply, "but "this is all *in the regiment*. We have a "right to say what we please of each other; "but you, the People, have nothing to do "with the matter. It is not the *thing* that "we dislike, but *the distribution of it*; and "that remorseless man, Sir Francis Burdett, would *destroy the thing itself*."—— Some persons, who acknowledge the *truth* of Sir Francis Burdett's address, and who are as great enemies as he is of abuses and corruption, doubt of the "policy" of speaking his sentiments so plainly just at this time. This doubt arises from want of due reflection. He has no "*policy*." He will never gain any point by policy. It would be contrary to his character to attempt it. To scorn all disguise, to speak the truth in defiance of clamour, these it is that have gained him all the political power that he possesses, and which he will convince the nation he wishes to possess daily for their good.——It is curious enough to observe, that *every* address, or speech, of his, from the first to the present, has for its time excited equal clamour. When a few lines come out from his closet, they have, upon the plundering tribe, an effect, in part at least, similar to that which is produced by quick lime-dust falling upon the backs of slugs or caterpillars. They twist, they writhe, they foam at the mouth; and, though they have not, as yet, begun to disgorge their prey, or to desist from their devourings, as the less callous vermin of the garden do in consequence of such an application, let us hope, that, in time, the similarity will be rendered complete.—— The writer, whom I have quoted, anticipates an *expulsion* of Sir Francis from the House of Commons. The House of Commons will be found, whenever it meets, much too *wise*, even to hint at such a step. But, it is not amiss to observe, that this very writer, at the outset of the election, asserted, that there was not the least ground for fearing, that Sir Francis Burdett would be elected; when elected, the same writer asserted, that it was owing to the *contempt* in which the people held him; and that, as to the ministers, they wished him to be in parliament, because *there* he could do them no mischief, his talents being of that miserable cast that he must soon sink into nothingness. *Now*, however, this writer has found out, that it would be wise and just to expel him from parliament, and to throw him back again into that situation, "where he is "*alone* able to do mischief." The truth is, that such men know not what to say. The whole tribe of peculators, of every description, are thrown into alarm indescribable. And, well they may, for, from the day of his election, they may date their decline and fall. The Morning Chronicle said, that the dissolution of parliament could give no pleasure to any but "the "*agitators* of Middlesex and Westminster." Not one, not a single soul of those persons, whom he had in his eye as agitators, has interfered, at all, in this election. It has been carried on by *the people* themselves. By the people alone. It was not until the *tenth* day of the election that Sir Francis Burdett heard that a poll was opened for him. Not one of his intimate friends meddled with the matter. And, with the exception of the letters written by me, who was, all the while, at seventy miles distance, and which letters, probably, had little or no effect, not one act was done by any man, who, by any fair construction, could possibly be deemed an agitator. The act was wholly an act of the people, originating in the suggestions of a few sensible men of fair reputation, who took the lead, and who were followed by the rest of the electors. No unfair means were resorted to. There was even no regular canvass. The committee told the people, in their advertisements, that the business was their own, and that, therefore, they should not *thank* them for their votes, while the other candidates sent round letters of thanks. In these advertisements there were no appeals to the passions. There were no revilings of any body. "You "*know* Sir Francis Burdett, choose him if "you will," was the substance of all that was said. The whole expenses of the election amounted to little more than *seven hundred pounds!* A considerable part of this sum came in *half crowns* and *shillings*. Let the hirelings cite an instance of the kind, if they can; and, if they cannot, let them hold their tongues. This election, let them be assured, is the beginning of a new era in the history of parliamentary representation; and my confident hope is, that it will lead to a restoration of that independance and purity in the House of Commons, without which it is impossible that we should be happy at home, or secure from abroad.——I should now, if I had room and time, go into some detail as to the parts which the *Sheridans* have, upon this occasion, played on the Covent Garden stage. But, to say the truth, their disgusting flatteries of those whom we may properly term the rabble; their nauseous praises of each other; their worse than mountebank wheedling of the prostitutes and bullies of the play-house publics;

their base cringing to the committee of Sir Francis Burdett; their baser eulogies of him, and that, too, upon grounds, whereon they had formerly vilified him; their canting whine about Mr. Fox at the hustings, on whom they afterwards pronounced the severest satire at their dinner of fifty persons, from which dinner they did not depart without quarreling and absolute fighting; their despicable folly in the selection of their associates, and in their toasting of MR. JOHN FROST, as if for the express purpose of leaving *no doubt* as to the means that had been employed *in procuring their votes:* all these being fresh in the minds of the public, it would be waste of time to descant upon them now, though it may hereafter be useful to keep alive the remembrance of them.——Of their last act, however, of folly and of meanness, I must take particular notice, first putting upon record the evidence of it, in an advertisement signed by the celebrated Peter Moore. ——"Albany Tavern, Piccadilly, May 27. "—At a very full Meeting of the Committee for conducting the Election of the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to, PETER MOORE, Esq. M. P. in the Chair: "Resolved, that owing to unforeseen circumstances, not at all to be attributed to Mr Sheridan, and to the irresolution or change of mind in others; which not only prevented a timely canvass in his behalf but occasioned, in consequence of incorrect representations made to him, his withdrawing his name on the day of nomination; the committee have deeply to regret, that the city of Westminster has not had an opportunity of returning the candidate, whose long tried public conduct, transcendent talents, disinterested patriotism, and uniform consistency of character, have endeared him to every true friend to the constitution, to the just prerogatives of the crown, and to the genuine cause of freedom and the people. "—Resolved, That it is perfectly manifest, as well from the number of voters which would have been added to Mr. Sheridan's great majority on Saturday, but who were unable to poll on account of its not being generally known that the poll closed an hour sooner than on the preceeding days, as well as owing to the manœuvres resorted to of administring an additional oath, evidently designed for the purpose of procrastination, that could the contest have been continued but even one day longer, Mr. Sheridan must have headed Lord Cochrane; and in this opinion the committee are the more fortified by the return that has been made of the disposition of every parish, all manifesting the most ardent spirit to have brought forward the whole of the immense strength still remaining unexhausted and unpledged, in support of Mr. Sheridan.——Resolved unanimously, That this committee still look to the day, and that they trust at no great distance, when the friends of the constitution, and to true liberty, may see their most earnest wishes accomplished, by the appeal to be made to parliament in behalf of Mr. Sheridan; and for the attainment of this important object, they pledge themselves, that no legal efforts or exertions shall on their parts be wanting.—— Resolved, that the Committee, conducting the Election of the Right Hon R. B. Sheridan, continue to be of opinion, that it will be highly to the honour of the City of Westminster, that no part of the expence in the glorious cause which he has been called forth to support, should fall on Mr Sheridan; and, therefore, that the utmost exertions be forthwith made to promote the above most desirable object, so that a general subscription, as has been strongly recommended by numbers of respectable Electors, may be immediately set on foot. —— Resolved, That the Committee for this purpose do consist of the Gentlemen present, together with such other persons, as they may please to add to their number; and with a power to appoint a Select Committee for matters of detail ——Resolved, That the sums to be received, be paid into the house of Messrs *Alexander Davison!!!* Noel, and Co. Bankers, Pall-Mall, and to be applied solely under the authority of the Treasurer and Committee *to the expences of the late contest*, to the expence of supporting the intended appeal to Parliament, and *to such arrear as may yet remain, on account of the preceding election.* Resolved, That the committee is convinced, that by an economical application of the money which shall be so raised, a very moderate fund will be sufficient to answer the purposes before proposed.—Resolved, that the thanks of the committee be given to Gerard Noel, Esq. M. P., for the honour he has done them in accepting the office of treasurer, and that no money be drawn for but by his order, nor applied but on the certificate of three members of the committee, such certificate to be lodged with the treasurer. — Resolved, That an account of the receipt of all sums to be received, be kept by the treasurer, subject to the inspection of the commit-

" tee and subscribers. Resolved, that the " committee *do communicate the above re-* " *solutions to the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan,* " together with their best wishes for his " success, and their ardent hope yet to hail " him as their representative. — PETER " MOORE, *Chairman.*"

Whether Mr. Peter Moore would, if called upon, hereafter disclaim, upon oath, all knowledge of this advertisement, as he did all knowledge of the several advertisements, which appeared under his signature at the former election; I know not. This " numerous meeting " consisted of *thirteen persons,* including *the two Sheridans,* and *Mr. John Frost.* The only subscriber that is said to have appeared, as yet, is that celebrated matron, *Mrs. Butler!* As to the *petition,* of which the advertisement talks, nothing can be a more gross deception. There is no foundation for a petition; there is even no pretended foundation; the Sheridans well know, that it is impossible for any candidate to observe the laws of election more strictly than Lord Cochrane has observed them. He has conducted himself, in this respect, in a manner worthy of general imitation, and he despises, as all his friends do, the base and contemptible attempt here made to cast an aspersion upon his moral character. The subscription is to meet, amongst other things, " the *arrear* " remaining on account of the *preceding* " *election!*" The plain fact, is, that the subscription is intended to *get money for Mr. Sheridan and the rest of the persons assembled.* That is the object, and the sole object, and the means are truly worthy of those by whom they have been resorted to. But, this notable trick will, like all the others, assuredly fail. There will be no money, worth mentioning, raised. Not even enough to pay the expences of advertising. The whole is an impudent attempt at imposition, and that the public clearly perceives. Let the contrivers be prepared, however, for a revival of the subject. Let them expect that I shall call upon them for their " *petition* "; and, that, if they fail to prefer it, no pitiful subterfuge shall serve their turn. To bring upon them greater contempt than that to which they now are entitled, and receive, is impossible; but, it may be useful to keep it alive; and kept alive it shall be, if I have life. When the parliament has met we shall see what they do, and, until then, we may take our leave of them. We shall see, too, whether Mr. Sheridan is ready with his *bills,* which he had before prepared, for preventing the salaried magistrates from annoying the publicans who might give their votes against ministerial candidates, and for *preventing brewers from being the owners of public houses,* thereby " insuring *to the indus-* " *trious mechanic wholesome porter at a* " *reasonable rate.*" We shall see how he will fulfil this promise, which he evidently purloined from the Mayor of Garrat, when he comes to re-enter the House; we shall see how " the father of Tom Sheridan " will look, when he is called upon for the fulfilment of these new pledges; we have, however, I suspect, seen the last stage of the *Proteus's Progress,* starting from the " Walk in, Ladies and Gentlemen," at his father's recitations in Marlborough street; wriggling upwards, by degrees, through the fiddler's saloon and the green-room of the theatre, to the benches of the House of Commons; and, after various experiments in the art of sinking, going down for ever, side by side with John Frost, under the cry of " a Mug! a Mug!" from the hustings of Covent Garden.

The elections *are nearly now over.* The dissolution, which had one well-known purpose in view, on the part of those who advised it, will have answered many useful and even great purposes. It has humbled, and even broken down, the Whigs, that faction whose principle it is, *that a few great families ought to rule both king and people.* It has produced exposures innumerable. It has set many persons to thinking, who appear never to have thought before; and it *must* lead to important and durable consequences.—— We have now to wait for the meeting of the new parliament, when we shall have before us the numerical proof of the independence of that body; and, in the meanwhile, we shall have leisure to turn our thoughts towards, and to discuss, subjects of foreign as well as of domestic polity. It is high time that we begin minutely to inquire into the *causes* which have produced the terrible effects, which we feel, and the more terrible effects which we dread. It is perfectly useless for us to waste our time in trifling disputes about who gets this place, or that pension. The *great causes* of our distresses of various sorts are alone the fit object of our inquiry; for, until those are ascertained, until those are clearly perceived and understood *by the people at large,* no effectual remedy can be applied. People may rail till they are hoarse against the addresses of Sir Francis Burdett; but, is there any man who will say, that *some change of system* is not become necessary? Is there any man who will say, that, with the present system of governing persevered in, he can see any possible way out of our present embarrassments? Is there any man who will say, that, in what

ever company he falls, he does not find men, and all men, at a loss as to what is to become of the country? And, if this be the case, how can any man reasonably hope for national deliverance without a change of some sort or other in conducting the affairs of the nation? How base, how wicked, how diabolical is it, then, or, at least, how despicably foolish, to represent as an enemy to the king and to the country, every man, who proposes any thing wearing the appearance of *a change of system?* The king, above all others, is interested in such a change. He, above all others, must wish to see the country secure; and, is it not, therefore, truly abominable to hear the charge of disloyalty preferred against every man who expresses a wish to see changed the system, under the operation of which the kingdom has been brought into that state, which *every one acknowledges* to be a state of imminent peril? ——These questions I put to my readers. Let them duly reflect upon them; and I feel confident that the result of the reflection will be, a thorough conviction, that a change, a *great change* of system, especially with respect to the expenditure of the public money, that is to say, the *employment of the resources of the nation*, must take place, or, that we are not yet arrived at a thousandth part of our calamities and disgrace. I beseech these readers to bear in mind, that, though the two contending factions may complain of one another, though they may accuse, and have accused, one another to the country, *they have nobody else to accuse.* Between them they have had all the powers of the state, all the resources of the nation, in their hands. They have been the complete masters of them. They have had no insurrections, no denials, to obstruct them. Sir Francis Burdett has had no part in any thing that they have done, or in any thing that has happened to the country. Perils they tell us we are in; but, they are quite unable to show us, that any body but themselves have caused those perils. Again, therefore, I ask, how diabolical is it to endeavour to turn the resentment of the people upon those who wish for *a change of system?*

LETTER TO LORD MILTON.

At this moment of joy and exultation in the fair prospect of success, I presume to offer myself to your lordship's notice.—My Lord, it has seldom been the lot of any young man to enter into life with such fair prospects as those you possess. Every thing that is desirable in life is yours; domestic happiness; rank; riches; and, above all, the power of being the Saviour of your Country. In a very little time you must make your election, whether you will play the truly great part, or you will chuse to fall into the ranks of a despised and sinking party.—If you follow the footsteps of your noble ancestor, the Marquis or Rockingham, you will soon find yourself in possession of a station more commanding than was ever held by either Fox or Pitt; you will find yourself at the head of a party which will soon consign all others to their merited contempt. The energy you have shown, in deciding upon this contest, makes me hope the best from your future conduct.—If you determine to be the Man of the People, instantly come forward and pledge yourself before your constituents, explicitly and unequivocally, to the measures which are necessary to save your country. Pledge yourself to a moderate and temperate Parliamentary Reform, pledge yourself to a repeal of that detested act which (contrary to the Constitution of 1688) re-permitted Placemen and Pensioners to sit and vote in the House of Commons; in short, pledge yourself to a renewal of our old and excellent Constitution. In your pledges forget not the great Delinquents of India, the Peculators at home, or the miseries of the unhappy Peasantry of Ireland. Act thus, in the face of your constituents, with your native candour and ingenuousness,—you will then possess the public confidence, and lay a firm foundation for your future greatness.—You must not expect that this is a smooth path: you will instantly be assailed by all the venal, jobbing tribe. The time will shortly come, when, like the ocean's rock, you must resist the shock of contending elements; then you must prepare to stand, and that perhaps alone, amidst the whirlwind and direct the storm; then it may be for you with nervous arm to stem the torrent of a maddened People; then you may be the man to save the People, Peerage, and the Crown. Unhappy France! hadst thou possessed but one such man, what misery had been saved! —Place your dependance on the People: your father has experienced and can tell you how vain the smiles of courtiers are! If they can get you to disgrace yourself, they will think they have you safe, and they will be right. Take care lest they "Drag You "thro' the Dirt." They will call you Jacobin. A great Nobleman a Jacobin!!!

"Stedfast and true to Virtue's sacred laws,
Unmoved by vain or censure or applause,
Let the world talk, my Friend, that would we know
Which calls us guilty, cannot make us so."

Believe me, my Lord, the best Security for the Privileges of the Peerage is the Love of the People; when you are supporting

our rights, you are enlisting millions to defend your future Coronet. Beware the cringing fawning sycophantic crowd, beware the cunning Priest, beware their half measures which lead to ruin. Think and act for yourself. Come forward to your constituents with honest pledges which cannot be forgotten, and I prophesy you shall be hailed the Saviour of your Country. For God sake take care, my Lord; you must act; the critical moment is come, when you must decide for your future life; whether you will sink amongst the Crowd and be forgotten, or you will determine to be great amongst the greatest of your fellow-men. I remain my Lord, (at present) with enthusiastic admiration of your youthful talents and virtues, A YORKSHIRE FREEHOLDER.—*May* 23, 1807.

POOR LAWS.—MR. MALTHUS.

Being C. S.'s Second Letter.

SIR,——As I have thought a good deal, not only on the laws which multiply the poor, but also on those which have a tendency to diminish their number; and as the value of these thoughts is greatly enhanced by the readiness with which you have often given them insertion in the Political Register, I feel encouraged to offer a few remarks upon the controversy which has appeared in your work, between your correspondents W. F. S. and A. O. on the subject of Mr. Malthus's check population doctrine. I have to observe, of all three, that could they persuade themselves to attend less to the theoretical and more to the practical causes of social wretchedness, they would have deserved better of their country; or, at least, stood higher in the esteem of those who are of opinion, that it would be wrong in Mr. Malthus, or any other, to suffer evils to continue which can be removed, because the time may come when others of equal or more malignancy will occupy their place. Those who are averse to improvement, if such there be, secure the continuance of abuse in proportion as they succeed in dividing its friends on the means of reform. And whether they be averse to it or no, the effect is the same if by abstract reasoning or any other means, they should divide opinion as to the practical means of removing existing grievances. I am, therefore, in heart and in soul, in head and in understanding, as much disposed to censure the judgment which will not do good lest evil should come of it, as I am inclined to abhor that cast of mind which will do evil that good may follow. There are cases in which the maxim, and the sacred maxim too, of "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof," strictly applies; and, surely, if it can do so more in any one case than another, it must be in that *when the surface and fertility of the earth cease, as our philosopher predicts they will, to be sufficient to maintain the number of its inhabitants with the necessaries of life.* The consequent famine and vice of this, to me, imaginary æra, are the evils against which the philosophy and philanthropy of our divine author would have us guard;—if his book has any other object than the mere display of his own theoretical researches. And as he has not, to my knowledge, specified either the number or description of the immediate evils to which it is *not* necessary for us to submit, to avert the remote calamities which he predicts, the conclusion, I think, is, that he justifies, not only the full practice of all the evils of which our senses and reason compel us to complain as unnecessary, if our oppressors would but do as they would be done by, but also, the greater evil on every principle of moral and political justice that we have been taught of suffocating, as it were, in the womb of their parents, a given number of every succeeding generation. Surely, Sir, were it even mathematically certain, that the time would come when the application of a remedy so outrageous to all our settled notions of moral justice and sound policy, presented itself as the least of two evils, it is time enough to suggest it when a symptom of the evil to which it applies makes its appearance; or, in other terms, when the whole surface of the earth is so far cultivated, and well cultivated too, as to leave no room for farther improvement. But, if Mr. Malthus's doctrine be new in the annals of political economy, W. F. S.'s mode of supporting it is not less modern in the art of reasoning. "The important position" says he, "laid down, and on which Mr. "Malthus's system is chiefly founded, is "that, by the immutable law of nature "there is a constant disposition in the human species to increase beyond the means "of subsistence. This is the position, "therefore, Sir, that I call upon A. O. to "controvert; for, if it be irrefragable, "then it must follow, *ex necessitate*, that unless this tendency to increase be by some "means or other prevented or *checked*, that "at some period or other the means of subsistence must be deficient; and that that "deficiency will be in proportion to the increase of population: and as scarcity increases and poverty makes its appearance, "its attendants, misery and vice, must be "proportionally multiplied." These are positions which it is not necessary to controvert before we deny credit to the conclusions they contain. For instance, it may be in-

sisted upon, that the moon is made of green cheese, and that by the attraction of its gravity it is coming nearer and nearer to the earth, and who can controvert the positions, since there is nothing impossible to the infinite powers of the Great Author of nature; but, are we, therefore, called upon to admit the conclusion? Namely, that the time will come when every man can reach the moon and cut a slice for himself; and, therefore, when dairy farms are no farther necessary than barely to supply us with butter to our bread, and cream to our tea? No, Sir, according to the rules of our courts of law, and I believe of common sense, it is those who lay down positions, or make charges, that are bound to prove the truth of them, and not those who deny or question it. According, then, to these rules, and admitting, for the sake of argument, that the ideas of the moon being made of green cheese, and the assertion that the time will come when the surface of the earth will prove insufficient to supply its inhabitants, are *not equally* visionary ideas, or the fictions of a disordered imagination, it is Mr. Malthus and the advocates of his position that are bound to prove the truth of it, and not us who question it; and who, if we did not question it, deny the necessity of applying the remedy which they propose, *virtual murder*, while one half of the earth, perhaps, remains yet uncultivated: though it has been near 6000 years in cultivation, according to our own calculation of years, and near 6000 years more, if we reckon by the Chinese estimate of time. It appears to me, Sir, who have not seen the data of their calculation, that they have but only one way in which they can prove the truth of their position; and that is, by stating, upon unquestionable grounds, the number of inhabitants that occupied the earth 6000 or 12,000 years ago, or at some distant period, and that of its present population. And how they can make out such statement, deficient, as I conceive, they must be of the necessary records, and ignorant, as I think they are, even of the present population of Asia, Africa, and America, with that of the islands to them belonging, I am totally at a loss even to conjecture. But, if they could make out such statement, I hope, Mr. Cobbett, it would be labour lost upon you and I; because, I trust, you agree with me that the case which they might thereby make out is one of those in which the maxim applies, of "'sufficient for the day is the evil there-"of;" that it is time enough to act upon the principle which, in such case, they lay down, when a symptom of the evil to which it applies as a remedy, makes its appearance; and that there are many evils pressing themselves upon us, both individually and collectively considered, which require no other principle to remove them, than that our oppressors should do to us as they would be done by us, thinking and feeling as we feel and think. These evils are numerous, Sir, and at the hazard of subjecting myself to the humoursome animadversions of your old Harlequin, or Punch, *the Morning Post*. I compare them to as many individuals who throw a stone each into a heap, upon the back of the party who provides for their wants; and that heap I again compare to the number of idlers who subsist upon the labour of the industrious; and, then I conclude, that no principle can ease the industrious of the burden, but that which compels the idlers to support themselves, by its conversion of them into useful labourers. The simile may be low, but is the logic false? The argument, however, as a rule of action in the removal of them, is incomplete till all the evils which fix an idler on the shoulders of the industrious are collectively and individually specified. Collectively, they may be expressed in few words, *luxury*, and the *ability* to command it, if it be not a distinction without a difference. But, individually viewed they are so numerous, and spring so out of each other, that I shall only attempt a definition of the few which, in my former communications to you, I have so often described; and which I shall as often point out, as I may meet with schemes, such as those of Mr. Whitbread's, that are either useless or injurious as they affect the state of the poor, and operate against the security of my country, as it rests exclusively upon the loyalty, industry, and comfort of the lower and middling classes of the people, and not *in any degree* upon those of the idlers who necessarily reduce them to poverty, wretchedness, and discontent. The most remote of the evils to which I allude, and, perhaps, the parent of them all, is the monopoly of land, or, rather, the extent to which the monopoly is carried; for I am no advocate for Agrarian laws. Out of this evil as many idlers arise as there are large proprietors, large occupiers, and individuals employed to furnish them with the ease and luxury which they enjoy, such as men-milliners, pastry-cooks, livery servants, &c. &c. who, though they labour, contribute nothing towards the prevention of that famine which alarms Mr. Malthus, but much towards the vice which he dreads. 1b. The "*freedom of trade, or, the right of every man to do as he pleases with his own property*". I mean the less than a tenth of it which is not yet taken from him in tythes, taxes, and poor's rate. For I have submitted to Mr. Fox, that de-

ducting these imposts from the whole income of the nation as stated by Lord Sidmouth, when he introduced the property tax, one-tenth of it is not left to the proprietors, and the labourers that create it. (Vide Political Register, 19th April, 1806). Out of this evil as many idlers arise, as gain their subsistence by speculation, monopoly, forestalling, and regrating; and as are employed by them in the capacities of *men-milliners*, &c. &c. &c. III. Taxes and tythes: out of those evils as many idlers arise as form our fat list of doctors; our lean list of curates; our long list of placemen and pensioners; our intolerable swarm of tax-gatherers, excise, and custom-house officers; our immense naval and military establishments; the immenser number still to whom all of them put together give employment, as men-milliners, women-tailors, boot and shoe-makers, epaulet and accoutrement-makers, gun-smiths, lock-smiths, cooks, confectioners, servants, &c. &c.; and the million and a half, that are doomed to receive their scanty allowance from the cold hands of parochial and accidental charity. And IV. The National Debt. To apply its proper remedy to this evil, it is as necessary to know its rise and progress, as it is to be acquainted with the result of it. It originates in the *freedom of trade*, and the *boasted* right of every man to do as *he pleases* with his *own property*. In consequence of this freedom every man secures to himself what he can, no matter how, if he will not violate the *cobweb* laws that modify the freedom. In virtue of this right they charge what they please for what they are free to secure. And as they are pleased to charge for it more than they want for immediate use, they lend the surplus to the ministers for the time being; who, in gratitude for the ease with which it enables them to promote the welfare of the nation by pensioning their friends, and persecuting their enemies, come in their turn, upon the very party so charged for interest to the loan-mongers, upon the very surplus which was thus *freely* and *rightly* extorted from them by the loan-mongers. The action and reaction of the national debt, then, must create as many idlers as subsist upon its interest, and the annual loans which form its capital; as are employed in stock-jobbing and stock-broking, that is, in buying and selling as many of their fellow subjects and fellow creatures as furnish not only the necessaries that they consume, but the ease and luxuries in which they indulge themselves; and who, as dealers in luxury and furnishers of ease, though they do labour, and labour hard too, contribute nothing, as before observed, towards the maintenance of themselves, or the prevention of the famine, to guard against which, Mr. Malthus would check the population, and seemingly justify the pauper system, paper system, and all the other systems of which instinct itself compels us to complain. From these different sources of idleness, allowing for infants, aged and infirm, I have calculated that about four-fifths of the population of England and Wales, are literally idlers, exclusive of the labouring idlers that are employed in the production of luxury, and to whom luxury gives employment *. And knowing from the statistical reports of the agricultural society, that there are above 51,000,000 of acres of land in cultivation in Great Britain, which had they not been wasted, to a great extent, in parks, pleasure-grounds, and pasture for mere animals of pleasure, might be made, perhaps, to maintain as many inhabitants; and that there are above 73,000,000 of acres more uncultivated, which, with proper management, might, probably, be made to maintain as many more, I am not only of opinion, that none but a madman like Brothers would even allude to the time when we ought to murder our children to save them from starving, but that no human scheme can better the condition of the poor, but that which will convert idlers into useful labourers, and furnish them with land to labour upon. W. F. S. will certainly set me down either as a member of the Virtue Rewarding Society at Lloyd's, or of the Vice Suppressing Society in Bell Yard; but, I can assure him, I am neither the one nor the other. I never was at Lloyd's but once, and then I had my pocket picked; and as to the suppression of vice, the little time I have to spare after suppressing my own, I generally employ it in endeavouring to suppress the most unparalleled, and parent vices of the political system which both the societies cherish and support, as the most singular and amiable of virtues: virtues which none but jacobins and levellers durst call in question. "Who, in the name of good luck are you then?" I think I hear him say. I shan't tell him, but I'll state how I have been used. I have kept a house; for Mr. Fox's financial schemes would not suffer the house to keep me; and, therefore, they sent me to the first floor; and without giving me time to crawl to the second floor, and from the second floor to the garret, where authors generally starve, they plunged me at once headlong into the Cellar, not 100 miles from the Morning Post, where I date this letter on the 22d of May, 1807.——C. S.

* Vide Political Register, 23d Aug. 1806, for the data.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 23] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 6, 1807. [PRICE 1OD.

"A CERTAIN GREAT ASSEMBLY.—Fourteen Hundred Guineas per annum will be given for a Seat in the "above Assembly.—Letters addressed to C. B. Turk's Head Coffee-house, opposite Catherine-street, Strand, "will be immediately attended to."—MORNING CHRONICLE, May 21, 1807.

TO THE

RT. HON. SPENCER PERCEVAL,

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, &c.

LETTER II.

SIR,

Before I proceed to an examination of the proposition, relating to the danger, in which the church of England would have been placed by the Catholic Bill, brought into the House of Commons by the late ministers, whom we may, I think, call the *Pledging* Ministry, I must beseech you to bear with me yet a little, while I make a few further remarks applicable to the question mooted in my former letter (page 859), namely, how far the late dissolution of parliament, or any dissolution of parliament, can, in the present state of the representation, be called "a recurrence "*to the sense of the people*," and, of course, what opinion we ought to entertain of the *sincerity* of those persons, who advised the use of this phrase, in the speech, delivered to both Houses by order of the king, on the day previous to the late dissolution.

I before reminded you (page 863) of the advertisements, which we daily see in the public prints, offering to sell, or to purchase, seats in the House of Commons. As a motto to this letter, I have taken one of those advertisements; and, Sir, I again remind you, that, for the publishing of such, no man is ever punished, or in anywise called to account, though we are continually told of the great blessing which the people possess in the being able to send representatives to parliament, and, though we know, that there are several laws, made for the express *professed* purpose of preventing seats in parliament from being obtained by any other means than that of a free election, and also for the punishing of every person concerned in the procuring of such seats by the means of money.——Shall I be told, that the *House of Commons* is not *named* in these advertisements, and that there are many *other great assemblies* besides that House? Not by *you*, Sir. You, who know well the extent of the law of libel; you, who know, that *innuendoes* are quite upon a level, in such cases, with plain appellations and assertions; you, who know, that the *meaning* is to be left to the jury, enlightened by the directions of the judge, and that, if the meaning be libellous, the words are of no importance; by you, I am sure, that this miserable subterfuge will not be set up as a reason for forbearing to punish the publishers of such advertisements as the one above quoted. What, then, give me leave to ask, is *the real cause*, that such publishers are not punished, and are never reproved, but proceed with these their publications coolly, and in as much safety, as if they were publishing advertisements relating to the sale of lands or merchandise? In other matters, apparently of trifling importance, we find the House of Commons extremely jealous of their authority and *dignity*. What, Sir, can be the reason, then, that, upon this point, they are so astonishingly lenient and careless?—— "*Fourteen hundred guineas a year* for a seat "in a certain great assembly!" Precisely what motive the tenderer might have, it would, perhaps, be difficult to discover; but, that his motive must be powerful, that a compensation was in his view, and that he expected that compensation out of the public purse, are positions, which, I am persuaded, no one will attempt to deny. Yet, Sir, by Blackstone and Paley, and still more roundly by that German sycophant, De Lolme, we are assured, that the House of Commons are the true representatives of the people, and the guardians of the public purse!——It is useless to rail against me, and others who think and speak as I do. Statements and reasoning, such as I have here made use of, are proof against all railing. They set all nick-names and all abuse at defiance. They must be *answered*, or they must produce conviction.

But, if the advertisement, which I have quoted above, and others resembling it, leave any thing wanting in the way of appellation, the same cannot be said of almost any one of the numerous party publications, which have appeared of late, relative to the return of members to parliament. The hireling prints, on both sides, seem to have thought it un-

necessary any longer to attempt disguise upon the subject. Each has accused the opposite party of rendering that constitution, which both extol to the skies, a dead letter, or, which is much worse, a mere shew, whereby to cheat the people. From the numerous articles of this description, which have been published in the daily papers, within the last month, the following one, entitled "A "HOG OR A HORSE," in the Courier newspaper of the 29th of May, seems to me to be worthy of selection; and, I think, that, a few years hence, it is likely to be regarded as a great curiosity.—"On the 13th of "April, the Morning Chronicle shewed "the small number of the constituents who "send the chief members of the present "ministry to parliament, and desired they "might be contrasted with the extensive "numbers of the constituents of the late "ministry. Transitory triumph! Lord "Howick did represent a populous county, "it is true; but now, alas! he is obliged "to sneak into the House of Commons as a "representative for one of the most con-"temptible of boroughs. The right of "voting in Appleby, is in the burgage-"holds, one half of which belong to Lord "Thanet, the other to Lord Lonsdale. *These "two noblemen make whom they please bur-"gesses for the day of election, and deprive "them of the privilege next day.* The two "lords, by compromise, send each one "member, and Lord Howick is of course to "be Lord Thanet's man. Hogsties being "burgage freeholds in Appleby, have been "purchased by the Thanet family at prices "exceeding all belief, and the electors of "this place *sit down quietly to be repre-"sented by a Hog or a Horse, as the noble "proprietors think most proper.* What! "Lord Howick the substitute of a hog "or a horse! Mr. Windham, lately the "proud representative of the populous "county of Norfolk, finds it necessary to "sneak in for a rotten borough, as the "substitute also of a hog or a horse. High-"am Ferrers is under the sole influence, "and at the entire disposal of Earl Fitzwil-"liam, *who might of course send a hog or "a horse to parliament for it*, as well as "Earl Thanet might for Appleby. Lord "Henry Petty also represented a populous "place, and had a very honourable seat as "the successor of Mr. Pitt, at Cambridge. "He too is forced to become the substitute "of a hog or a horse, as one of the mem-"bers for Launceston, where the electors "are but twenty, *and all at the nod of the "Duke of Northumberland, who could send "to parliament a hog or a horse for this bo-"rough*, as well as the earl of Thanet could for "Appleby. These were the only three ca-"binet ministers of the late ministry who "sat for populous places in the House of "Commons. They are all turned out; and "obliged *to sneak in for rotten boroughs, "which the owners could compel to elect "hogs and horses as representatives.* "All "the talents" reduced to the situation of "hogs and horses! How degrading!—— "There is but one of the members of the "late cabinet who resumes his seat in par-"liament, and that is Thomas Grenville, "who represents Buckingham, a borough, "*in the close grasp of his brother the Mar-"quis*, and for which the electors are no "more than thirteen. Of course it will "not be disputed that the Marquis of Buck-"ingham *might send into the House of Com-"mons a hog or a horse for this borough*, as "well as Lord Thanet might for Appleby."

——Such, Sir, is the language openly made use of; such are the assertions daily published; such is the description of the House of Commons, not only *tolerated*, but given with exultation by those, who, in other columns of the very same newspapers, prove themselves to be the devoted tools of one or the other of the two parties, who are contending for the powers and emoluments of the state. Much has, at different times, been said about the representation in parliament by Sir Francis Burdett and others; but, I defy even the indefatigable John Bowles to produce me, even from the records of the Corresponding Society, any thing so degrading to the House of Commons as what I have here quoted from the writings of a man, who is devoted to the ministry of the present day, and who, while he is thus writing in one column, represents, in another, Sir Francis Burdett as aiming at the total destruction of the constitution, because *he, in language less degrading to the House of Commons, expresses his abhorrence* of the means by which the members of that House are returned. Why, Sir, should *his* words leave such a sting, while those of the Courier produce no sensation at all, especially seeing that the former is held in "*contempt*?" Is it because Sir Francis *is not* "*in the regiment*?" Is it because the Courier is known to be hostile to the *man* merely, and that Sir Francis is as well known to be hostile to the *thing*? But, Sir, is this picture of the Courier *true*, or is it *false*? If false, why is not the seditious libeller punished? If true, why is Sir Francis Burdett abused? I know, Sir, that you are one of those, who have been amongst the loudest in condemning his language and his

views. You were amongst those, who subscribed against him, in his election for Middlesex; and, we were informed in the public prints, that you gave, as a lawyer, your advice for the raising of that subscription. Now, then, Sir, I beseech you to lay aside all reviling terms, as of no use, and to answer me, in words which you would wish the world to hear and to remember: *if the picture of the Courier be true, why is Sir Francis Burdett abused?* To this question I should like much to obtain an answer; and, however the people may have been worn down, and even corrupted, you may be assured, Sir, that, until a satisfactory answer is given to it, the revilings of the hired press will be of little avail. This press, which speaks the thoughts of both the factions, is undivided in its abuse of him. The factions hate, good Lord! how mortally do they hate each other; but, though they agree upon no one other point; though, as to all other matters, whether great or small, they are in direct and unvarying opposition; though, as to every thing else, the approbation of one faction is synonymous with the disapprobation of the other; on this one subject they perfectly agree in sentiment, in language, and in motive. There are, indeed, some few other men, whom they both hated; but, for him their most pure and cordial rancour is preserved. If from his pen, or his lips, such a picture as that drawn by the Courier had proceeded, what an outcry, what a yell, what an infernal howl would the all devouring wolves have raised? "Aye, but *he* is not "actuated by *fair party motives*. He is not "running the fair race. He is not for any "division or compromise. He is not at "war with the men merely, but with the "accursed thing. He is in *earnest* when he "complains of abuses, and calls for reform." This is his sin. It is this for which the factions *hate him, and for which the people love him. There need no pledges from him.* He has never given any pledges. There is a confident reliance upon him, which nothing can shake. He is distinguished above all other men in the kingdom in this respect. He is reviled by villains, blamed by some honest men; some hate him, from the same cause that thieves hate a judge, some fear him from mistake or from weakness; but, amongst all those who speak respecting him, not one, the notorious hirelings excepted, is to be found who even pretends to suspect the purity of his motives. "It is reported," says the hireling of the Morning Post, in his paper of the 30th instant; "it is *reported*, and *happy shall we* "*be to find the report confirmed*, that the "most *respectable* part of Sir Francis Burdett's *friends*, not content with a private "condemnation of his late infamous Address, now that he has so far removed the "mask, mean to proceed to some public "measure, either to induce him to disavow "the sentiments to which he has been led "to subscribe his name, or to require that "he will vacate his seat, and give them an "opportunity of electing another member, "who, whatever his political attachments "may be, is actuated by constitutional principles, and resolved to maintain that system to which we have been so long indebted for the blessings of freedom and "security. Should such an expedient be "resorted to, those who now find themselves so grossly deceived in the opinion "which their unsuspecting nature led them "to entertain of the principles of the pupil "and creature of Horne Tooke, the friend "of Arthur O'Connor, and the associate of "Colonel Despard, *may depend upon justice being done to their motives by the* "*Morning Post.* We wage war only "against the enemies of the constitution; "and those who, having discovered the "cheat, which, under the specious mask of "patriotism, has been practised upon them, "honestly acknowledge their error and renounce the mischievous impostor, will "not only receive *our warm approbation*, "*but be entitled to our full and firmest* "*support.*"——I do not say, that this poor hireling might not have *hoped* to be able to inveigle some weak man into the infamy of being applauded by him; but, I assert, with full knowledge of the fact, that all those, to whom he here alludes as "the *friends* of "Sir Francis Burdett," laugh to scorn his miserable device, which in point of contemptibleness, is surpassed by nothing but the clamour of the well-dressed rabble, who *read his columns, and who, for the far greater part, share with him, either directly or indirectly*, in the public plunder. No, Sir, we, the people of England, feel that Sir Francis Burdett is our best friend. We participate in his principles, we rely on his talents and integrity, we approve of his declarations, we despise the circulators of the a-hundred-times refuted calumnies against him, and we look forward, with renovated hope, to the day, when those calumnies will be drowned in the unanimous applause of a no longer besotted people. Indeed, to suppose that this will not be the case, would be to libel human nature; for, is it not to set the people of England down for brutes, to suppose that they can approve of a system such as that

described by the Courier? And, again I ask; if that description be not true; if seats in the House of Commons be not bought and sold; why are not these writers and publishers punished, by that law, which, as to matters of libel, is so watchful, so jealous, and so severe?

I now come to the proposed subject of my letter. I said, that I thought myself able to prove, "that Lord Howick's bill, if "passed into a law, would not have tended "to re-exalt the Roman Catholic Church, "and thereby sap the predominance of the "Church of England;" and this I shall now endeavour to do. But, first of all, let me observe, that there is one question, very material in this discussion, which seems to have been entirely overlooked, namely, *whether the sapping of the predominance of the Church of England would be a national evil?* I, for my own part, should regret to see it sapped, and overthrown, because I am persuaded, that it might easily be restored to its former purity and utility; but, when we see in what manner its benefices are but too generally bestowed; when we look at the endless list of non-resident incumbents; when we see the fruits enjoyed by those of its ministers who perform none, or very little of the labour; when we compare the solemn promises of the incumbents with their subsequent practice; when we see more than half of the people, who frequent any place of worship at all, turning from the church to the meeting-house: when we see all this, we must not be very much surprized, if there should be found many persons, who entertain doubts, at least, upon the question above stated; and, therefore, previous to the clamour against Lord Howick's bill, as tending to sap the predominance of the church, those doubts should have been removed.——Viewing the church establishment as connected with the political state of the country, it should, in like manner, have been previously shown, that this establishment has been, and is, conducive to the greatness of the nation, the permanence of the throne, and the freedom and happiness of the people. It should have been shewn, that the several persons embodied under the church establishment, are more jealous of the national character, than a Roman Catholic clergy would have been; we should have been referred to a time when the Roman Catholic clergy taught political doctrine more slavish than that which has been, and is, taught by the clergy of the present day; we should have been convinced, that, if the Romish church had been re-exalted, its priests would, in general, have exceeded our priests in political sycophancy and election jobbing; we should have been assured that an instance, *of which I myself was a witness*, of a Doctor of Divinity offering for sale *two seats in parliament*, if not previously disposed of, *as the price of some dignity in the church*, is only a specimen of what we should have seen in gross under the re-exaltation of the Romish church; we should have been reminded of a time, when, under a Romish hierarchy, a state of parliamentary representation would have been justly described in something worse than the "Hog or Horse" article of the Courier; we should have been brought back to Romish times, and shewn, that then men like Mr. Sheridan were members of parliament; something should have been said, some effort should have been made, to prove to us, either from experience or from reason, that, under a Romish hierarchy, Englishmen would have experienced something more than the income tax, than the seven-years suspension of the habeas corpus act, than the introduction of foreign troops, something more than what, for these twenty-three years past, they have experienced; it should, if possible, have been shewn, that, at some time or other, when England was under a Roman Catholic church, England was in greater peril from without, or in greater misery within, than she is at this moment. All this, Sir, or some of it, at least, should have been shewn, previous to the raising of an outcry against Lord Howick's bill, as a source of danger to the church; because, to put reasonable men on your side, it was necessary to convince them, that the thing, said to be in danger, was a thing the protecting and preserving of which was of some importance to the good of the nation.

Taking it for granted, however, that the church establishment, even as it now stands, with all its pluralities and absentees, is a thing worth contending for, I cannot see how that establishment could possibly have been affected by Lord Howick's bill, if that bill had passed into a law. It is now matter of general notoriety, and it is matter of fact not to be denied, 1st, that in 1793, the power of granting commissions to catholics, in the Irish army, was, by law, given to the king, and that this law was passed with the approbation of Mr. Pitt, and of almost the whole of those who are now in the ministry with you; 2d, that, in 1801, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas went out of office, being followed by Mr. Canning, Mr. Rose, and others now in the ministry with you, because the king would not consent to the bringing

in of a bill, intended to give the Roman Catholics even seats in parliament, upon the bench, and in the privy council; 3d, that in 1804, a law, brought in by Mr. Pitt, was passed, authorizing the king to raise regiments of Roman Catholic *foreigners*, to grant commissions to *foreign* Roman Catholic officers, to dispense with all oaths from them, except a simple oath of fidelity, and to quarter and station these regiments in the heart of our country; 4th, that *all this the king had done without any act of parliament to sanction it*, and that the act of 1804, was, in part, an act to indemnify those who had advised him so to do; 5th, that, at the time when this bill passed, every person now in the ministry was in power, and that you, as attorney general, must have examined, if not actually have drawn up, that bill. Greatly puzzled, therefore, must the world be to discover any thing in the bill of Lord Howick more dangerous to the church than what was contained in the bill actually passed with your and your present colleagues' approbation. Am I told, that, to admit Roman catholic *foreigners* was not dangerous, because they could have no connection, or community of interests, with the Roman Catholics, whether priests or laity, in this country? My answer is, that this distinction is done away by the act of 1793, which authorised the king to grant commissions to Roman Catholics serving in the *Irish* army; so that, if the acts of you and your colleagues were not hostile to the established church, it is impossible that the bill of Lord Howick could have been so.

But, waiving all argument drawn from the example of Pitt and of yourself, what did Lord Howick's bill propose to do? To render it *lawful* for the king to grant, *if he pleased*, commissions to English and Irish catholics, through the whole of the several ranks of the army and the navy, and to insure, by law, the free exercise of his worship, to every Roman catholic soldier or sailor. It is, Sir, beyond my powers of penetration to discover any danger, even the most remote, that could, from such a law, have arisen to the church of England; and, especially when I take into view the well-known facts, that the king, without any such law, has long granted commissions to his Roman catholic subjects, and that the Roman catholic soldiers and sailors are, and long have been, freed from all restraint as to the exercise of their worship. Besides, suppose the bounds to have been extended by this law, *it rested wholly with the king* to appoint or not appoint, to promote or not promote, to cashier or not cashier, any, and every, Roman catholic, either in the army or the navy; so that, if there was any danger at all in the extension, it must have consisted solely in the possibility of the king's not being guided by wisdom in the choice and promotion of his officers. But, even in this case, where shall we look for the source of danger to the *church*? In what way could this bill, a bill intended merely to extend the operation of the king's pleasure, as to promotions in the army and navy, or rather, to render the operation of that pleasure legal; in what way could such a law endanger the safety of the church establishment? It gave nothing to the Roman catholic priests or bishops, either in authority, in name, or in money. It took nothing, either of power or emolument, from the church of England. It left both churches just as they were before; and, if the church of England has experienced any danger from it, or does experience any danger from it, it is that danger which a false and hypocritical clamour seldom fails, first or last, to bring down upon the heads of its inventors and promoters.

"What, then," some one will say, "induced so many of the clergy of the church "of England to send *addresses* against Lord "Howick's bill?" That, Sir, which induces the crowds, that beset Whitehall, to address letters to the minister of the day: a desire to obtain money for doing nothing. If the motive had been other than this; if any thing but the goal of preferment had been in view, the clergy would not have been so tardy in their opposition to the bill. If they had been animated by an anxiety for the preservation of the church, and had regarded the bill as dangerous to it, how came they not to petition the parliament the moment the bill was brought in? They never thought of any such thing. They let the bill go quietly on; nor was it until the bill had been *withdrawn*, that they began to issue their godly fulminations against it. Nay, Sir, even this was not enough to overcome their propensity to be cautious; for they saw the ministry safely turned out, and even after that *they waited to see you with a majority on your side*, before they ventured to address their gracious and pious sovereign for his care in preventing the overthrow of the church. It would be curious enough to see the list of those, who took the lead in these addresses; but, there needs no such list to make their motives evident to the world.

Hypocrisy, detestable in any man, is peculiarly so when met with under the garb of a minister of religion; and, therefore,

the cry of "NO POPERY," set up, or propagated, by too many of the clergy, must, first or last, receive its just reward, in the natural consequences of general detestation. This is not the first set of priests, who have kindled a flame in the multitude; and, as the usual consequence has, heretofore, been the destruction of the kindlers, let them beware. It is, upon this occasion especially, well worthy of remark, that there has been no savage, no mischief-doing mobs, in this country, for many years, except those who have been led by a cry of "*church*" or "*king*," or both together. Amongst all the hundreds of thousands of persons, who have, at different times, and at some times under circumstances extremely irritating, assembled round Sir Francis Burdett, not one man, or woman, has ever committed an act of violence. Upon several occasions what mischief has been anticipated! What preparations have been made for resistance! And what disappointment has been felt at perceiving that all these preparations were unnecessary! "Church and king" mobs have assaulted and killed many people; have rescued prisoners from jail; have burnt and otherwise destroyed houses and goods; and many acts of violence, including one breaking open of a jail, have been committed by "*loyal* volunteers." But, amongst all the assemblages of the people, the cause of which has been their attachment, real or expressed, to the cause of freedom, not a single act of violence, that I remember, has ever been committed. Is it, Sir, that the latter are less brutish than the former; or is it, that the former think themselves sure of impunity? Nevertheless, John Bowles and his clamorous comrades cease not to cry Jacobin and Leveller against every man who is too wise and too just to join them in the cry of "*No Popery!*" Every man, who wishes to see the burdens of the people lightened; every man who wishes to see the public money fairly and fully accounted for; every man who wishes to enjoy, whether in body or estate, the same degree of freedom that his father enjoyed; every man who wishes the church to be supported by the piety and diligence of its pastors, and who, therefore, expresses his dissatisfaction at seeing one half of the churches left to the care of those who receive not the revenues arising from them; every such man is sure to be marked out, by the "loyal" crew, as a Jacobin and Leveller; as an enemy to the church and the king.

It is, however, pleasing to perceive, that this outcry has, on the present occasion, produced little effect, and, upon the whole, no effect at all in favour of those, by whom it was set up. Here and there a set of brutish, or hired, ruffians have made the streets resound with the hypocritical cry; but, in most other places, as in Westminster, it has been regarded as the cry of the crocodile; and, though the selfish *Whigs* have been humbled in the dust, their not-less selfish adversaries have made little progress, except in the hatred of the nation. Praised without ceasing be the king for dissolving the parliament; for this his "recurrence to the sense of the "people;" than which nothing could possibly be more advantageous to the country, unless, indeed, it were another dissolution, another "recurrence to the *sense of the* "*people*," in two or three months' time. What light, through the yawning cracks made by this sudden and delightful shake, has broken in upon those who were before in comparative darkness! The idiot now begins to perceive, and those who were half fools, as to questions of politics, are now men of understanding. All the slang of party, all the trickery of debate, all that amused, lulled, deluded, or defrauded, is now laid bare, is now exposed to the criticism of returning good sense, and excites, by turns, hatred and contempt.

That these feelings, thus directed, may live and gather strength in the minds of Englishmen, and that the consequence may be the restoration of the honour and happiness of England, is the constant prayer of,

Sir,

Your &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 4th June, 1807.

PUBLIC MEN.

Being CIVIS's *2d Letter.*

SIR,——When history, the faithful interpreter between distant ages and nations, shall have recorded the transactions of the last three months, posterity will learn with astonishment and regret, that an age of science and philosophy, of cultivated reason and rational religion, has been disfigured and disgraced, by the existence and avowal of prejudices and bigotry, so rank, that they would be a reproach even to the darkest periods of superstition and barbarism. In the progress of the human mind, individuals of extraordinary genius have sometimes outstripped the tardy advances of general reason, and anticipated the result of centuries of gradual improvement; but this is the first instance, in which, amidst the general progress of cultivation, individuals of enlightened minds have started back from the actual

state of the public intellect, to retrace the steps of reason, and revive the errors of less cultivated times The melancholy, though perhaps inevitable, ignorance of the great mass of the inhabitants of every nation, has at all times rendered them most prone to error, and least capable of resisting the artifices of men interested in imposing upon them. It will, however, be recorded, to the everlasting honour of the people of this country, that, whilst statesmen and legislators have adopted the language of prejudice and bigotry, and sought to rekindle the flames of religious animosities and intolerance, the steady and enlightened reason of the British public has shrunk from the illiberal contagion; and, except in a very few instances, triumphantly resisted the attempted delusion. This remarkable instance of public liberality and popular moderation will be contemplated by future generations, as a most auspicious epoch in the progress of public opinion and national reason. Too long has the legislature of this country, been slowly following the progress of reason, humanity and justice, and suffered itself to be led by the course of events, which it was its proper province either to anticipate or to controul. It is a deplorable condition of a state, when any considerable portion of its subjects is justified by experience, in forming the unhappy association between the alleviation of their grievances and the distress of the whole state. Yet, it is no less true than lamentable, that every relaxation of the penal statutes, against the Catholics of Ireland, was opposed with the same arguments, and on the same grounds, as the late bill, though the urgency of the crisis successively stifled the voice of conscience, and precluded all reasoning against the question. Folly, or a too fatal security may, perhaps, consider the present circumstances of the country less urgent; but, it does not require much political sagacity to perceive, that, whatever may be the termination of the war on the Continent, such an order of things has arisen in Europe, as will require the immediate and complete union and consolidation of all the energies of this empire, in order to enable it to cope, or keep pace, with the strength and establishments of the other nations of Europe. Though the French army were annihilated, the French nation revolutionised, aggrandised, and, what is still more formidable, familiarised with the military conscription, it would not descend from its commanding rank in the scale of nations. But, if the fortune of war should prove favourable to the arms of the French chief, if victory should again attend his career, the difficulties of this country would be so greatly multiplied and enhanced that it might be reasonably questioned, whether concessions would not then come too late, and the project of effecting a consolidation of the whole physical force of the empire prove unavailing. It is a melancholy defect in the administration of our public affairs, that the factions of public men, who are successively entrusted with the government, uniformly profess principles of patriotism, but ever act as partisans. They temporise with their opponents to keep them out, and they temporise with their own professed principles to keep themselves in. They become invariably ministers of expedients, and govern according to events, which, upon every principle of sound policy, they ought to guide. The man, who neglects to provide against the hour of peril and distress, abandons his prospective security for his present enjoyment. An administration that does not adopt every obviously wise precaution to secure the future prosperity of the nation, may govern with less danger to its own continuance in office, but sacrifices the permanent interest of the state to that most selfish and unworthy object. Ministers should divest themselves, on entering upon office, of all selfish, party, or partial feelings. The executive power of a great empire never appears to more advantage, than when imitating the universal and indiscriminating bounty of Providence to all its creatures. It is not matter of reproach against a public man, that he is attached to his religion; but it is a subject of just complaint, that he should make the rule of his faith the standard of his public administration. The man who studies creeds and polemical theology, not maxims of wise government and the science of legislation, may make a good recluse, but must be a bad politician. Very different talents and qualifications are necessary for the government of a fraternity of monks, and the administration of the affairs of a great nation. The system that would be wise for a body of men, associated upon principles subversive of every natural and social duty, would be ill suited to the government of a great nation, where it is so much the interest of the state to strengthen the one and enhance the other. Indeed, in a political point of view, it would be much more desireable, that a minister of a great empire should have too little, than too much, of a religious bias. The father, who feels alike towards all his children, shares his paternal solicitude impartially amongst them, and provides equally for them all; but he that suffers himself to be influenced by a

predilection for one, is guilty of perpetual injustice to all the rest; and, too often sacrifices the interests of the whole family to the capricious gratifications of his favourite. Considerations of religion never interfere with our system of relations with foreign powers; as, otherwise, we should not have been at the same time, the allies of Protestants, Pagans, Greeks, Papists, Turks, and even of the Pope himself. Intimate alliances with foreign states, no less than the internal and perfect union of all descriptions of its subjects, constitute the strength and security of a great empire; and, when the object is the same, it may well seem extraordinary, that the means should be so different, for the external and internal accomplishment of it. I am aware, that to this it may be answered, in the idle cant of the day, that the preservation of our church establishment depends upon the continuance of that internal policy, which excludes papists and dissenters from the possession of political power. But, if the undisturbed and undisputed possession for a century and a half, and the certain and decided protection of the legislature, were not a sufficient security for our national establishments, they would find a most effectual shield in the insensible but accumulated improvement of the human mind. The materials of which the intolerance and fanaticism of former times were made up, no longer exist: and it would be to belie the evidence of science, philosophy, and reason, to deny the civil, moral, and religious amelioration of the nation; to reverse the order of intellectual progress, and reascend the current of time and experience, for a moment to suppose a British public of the present day, capable of renewing the scenes of phrenzy, folly, and enormity, which darken so many of the pages of our past history. It is the invariable character of imbecility to neglect measures of precaution or defence, till overtaken by danger, and to augment its efforts in proportion as it recedes from the peril that rendered them necessary. If we regard the subject with the eyes of reason, not through the medium of bigotry, it will be incontestibly obvious, that the policy of penal statutes on the subject of religion, had survived the necessity of forming them, and that the penalties have outlived even the semblance of policy, for continuing them. The fluctuating state of the national religion pending the reformation, and the unsteady maxims of government both in church and state, for some time after, produced those convulsions and revolutions, that rendered the enactment of the penal statutes indispensible. The zeal of the sectarists, that sprung up from the ruins of the old religion, was goaded on by mutual opposition to fury and fanaticism But the acrimony of the contending parties has long since subsided, and the bitterness of their contests, and the religious animosity, with which they prosecuted them, are now lost in the mild spirit of the gospel, and the devout exercise of all the social and religious charities. The confluence of many streams is inevitably the scene of great agitation, but as their respective waters advance from the point of concussion, they insensibly subside into the same smooth and unruffled surface. The code of penal laws was something more than a century, from the reign of Elizabeth to that of George I. in progress; it has now been near a century on the decline; and, as a new æra has arisen in the political system of Europe, let us hope, that we may date from its commencement the total abolition of all religious distinctions, so far as regards the indiscriminate employment of all classes of subjects in the service and defence of the state. When the last penal laws were enacted, there was a popish pretender to the throne, whose claims and avowed designs rendered the establishment of such distinctions indispensible to the quiet, if not to the safety of the state. That danger is now long past, but there exists another and more formidable danger, in the person of an implacable enemy, whose gigantic pretensions are to be defeated, not by the distinctions, but by the complete union of all classes of the subjects of this realm. When the vessel is in danger, every body on board should share in the peril and glory of preserving her. It is idle, it is wanton, it is wicked, to reject or relax those efforts that can be given, and are necessary, to the great purpose of present preservation. How bitter would be the pangs of reflection, how severe the stings of remorse, in the moment of common ruin, to those who should look back upon their own headstrong folly, and too—too late become sensible, that the catastrophe might have been prevented, if they had not stifled the voice of reason by the clamours of prejudice, and spurned at security, that was to be purchased by the practice of justice and humanity towards their fellow subjects and sufferers? But the church would thereby be endangered! Whence, and from whom is the danger to arise? What danger has arisen from the relaxations that have already taken place? Is it not a gross perversion of reason and common sense, to suppose, that any body of rational beings will be more discontented with less cause, or less loyal and attached to the existing constitution

in all its branches, the more interest they have in maintaining it? The absurdity of such an opinion is too gross to bear the slightest consideration. The champions of the church militant may quiet their fears: the clergy, or the established religion has nothing seriously to apprehend from even the total repeal of all the test laws; laws practically obsolete, with respect to the great civil and military departments of the state, and which are efficient only in limiting the elective franchises and municipal rights of venal corporations and boroughs. The general reason of the question, therefore, is in favour of the policy of removing all those distinctions that have so long survived the occasions which called for them. It is time to abolish them, when the most strenuous advocates for their continuance can urge nothing in their defence but unqualified invective, misrepresentation, and falsehood. Opinions are imputed to the Catholics, which they deny upon their oath, and they are represented as holding odious tenets, with respect to persons differing from them in religion, and the power of the Pope, which, upon the authority of the most learned of their Universities, they have publicly and solemnly disclaimed as any part of their religion or belief. After such satisfactory attestations of their freedom from the detestable doctrines, falsely, but incessantly urged against them, it is really extraordinary to hear persons, who make oaths the test of truth and sincerity, still charging them upon these heads. By refusing to take the tests, which they cannot do with a safe conscience, they shew their reverence for the sanctity of an oath, and intitle themselves to credit on the oaths they have taken. But the clamour and opposition which was raised against the late bill, and the fanatic cry of "the Church," and "no Popery," were, if possible, more monstrous and extravagant, than the ridiculous absurdities urged against the general question of Emancipation. That bill was to give to the Catholics nothing which they had not possessed before; but it would have given to the state, what it cannot have without such a measure, an inexhaustible supply of *native* troops for the regular army. If it gave to the King the power of advancing Catholic officers to the highest ranks of the army and navy, it was a power, that in the exercise of it, was to be subject to his royal discretion, and to condemn that part of the measure, because the power might be improperly exercised, was to insinuate a direct accusation against his Majesty, that he was not fit to be trusted with such a power. The bill was also to restore the consistency of the laws of the empire, and to vindicate the character of parliament. It is wholly unworthy of an enlightened legislature to suffer that, by connivance, which should never be done but by the authority of law, and there is little magnanimity in the subterfuge, that would take advantage of the clandestine service for the purpose of withholding the public reward, and honourable distinction of professional eminence. Every body knows that there are numberless Roman Catholics in the army and navy, and every person acquainted with the subject must be convinced, that there are no better officers nor soldiers in the service. They have fought, they have bled, they have conquered in the cause of their country; and yet, these are the men, to whom it has been said in parliament, that "the sword" was not to be intrusted. I must confess I do not like these canting politicians, who speak unmeaning jargon for the sake of a sounding and pretty phrase, who embarrass government, till they get into power, and take the first opportunity after to desert the cause they had before advocated. Neither do I admire the sanctimonious sect of public men, who, in the ostentation of universal philanthropy, consult the civilisation and happiness of mankind in every region of the globe; but who, in the true and bigotted spirit of narrow minded sectarists, object to a grant of five thousand pounds for the augmentation of the Catholic seminary in Ireland. I shall not say any thing now of the measure for confiding that sword to foreign Catholics, which, it seems, ought not, and is not to be intrusted to native Catholics, because it is a disgrace to the author, and a recorded libel upon the loyalty of our Catholic fellow subjects. It appears, however, to be only a part of the great evil, of which the nation has to complain. Our public men seem either afraid, unable, or ashamed to look boldly into the circumstances of the internal condition of the empire, though, in the activity of their benevolence or politics, they seek for objects of compassion or recruits for our armies, in distant regions, whilst better might be found in great plenty much nearer home. Yet, I will venture to predict, that things will never go well till much more attention shall be paid to the domestic and local interests of the empire; and, if ever that period, which, I trust, is not far distant, shall arrive, that in the defection of foreign mercenaries, and the failure of visionary schemes of distant civilisation, the security and happiness of this empire shall be immoveably supported by its own industrious, enlightened and free population.—— Cevs. —— *May* 25, 1807.

POOR LAWS.—MR. MALTHUS.

Being C. S.'s Third Letter.

SIR,—Whatever may be the degree of discredit which Mr. Malthus may have incurred by the broaching of doctrines, which, if brought into practice, because they may be true in theory, would make it morally unjust, and politically wrong, to check the vices and imperfections to which man and his institutions are naturally liable--nay, which would render social order and religion themselves, as the means of human happiness, crimes of the first magnitude; still every merit must be allowed him for having placed the subject of political economy upon the only principle on which it can be discussed with advantage, namely, that of *labour as applied to the cultivation of the earth.* Fatally, it is but too generally the opinion, that if we will but follow up our different callings with industry and economy, then we have performed our duty, and every thing is done for our welfare that labour and prudence can do. A moment's reflection, however, must satisfy even the shallow-thinking advocates of this sophistical doctrine, that if the labour which should cultivate the ground be otherwise directed, no other description of toil, or exertion of prudence, can supply our wants, or avert the famine, misery, and vice which Mr. M. prognosticates from a deficiency of soil. Mercantile industry, for instance, has crept into the highest esteem with the well-dressed, as well as with the ill-dressed rabble; and as merchants have slily seized upon the wealth of the modern world, boldly usurped its governments, and spread the flames of war from pole to pole, there is nothing which it is thought beyond their reach to do. But, stop, rabbles, even you rabbles of state; what is the industry of merchants, by comparison with that of the agriculturist? Just what the industry of those beasts of burden called mules and asses is to the labour of those who load and feed them, and neither more nor less. Mules and asses, however, are useful animals in their places: like merchants, they fetch and carry the loads which the husbandman and manufacturer prepare for and lay upon their backs; but more of them are not therefore to be bred and fed, than can be maintained without starving and distressing those who feed them. And the principle applies not only to merchants, but to all those who are not employed in the more innocent and permanently lucrative pursuits of agricultural industry;—but it applies particularly to idlers of all descriptions; because, characteristically speaking, they are more daring thieves, and more unrelenting robbers, than those are whose labour is misapplied. Considering idlers, therefore, as the greatest bane of social happiness; and as it is my duty, as one who complains of their number, to detail, in some measure the means of reducing it with advantage to the state, I will, in substance, quote that part of my letter in the Register of May 30th, 1807, which states the leading evils of which idlers are the natural offspring. These evils are, 1st, the Monopoly of Land; 2d, the Freedom of Trade, including the right of every man to do as he pleases with his own property; 3d, Taxes and Tithes: and, 4th, the National Debt. If it be true, as stated by Mr. M. that the establishment of the Utopian system of happiness and virtue would be the means of aggravating the misery and vice which it was intended to eradicate, so it shall appear that these grand schemes of the *infallible* wisdom of our forefathers, but particularly the last of them, have terminated in a similar effect upon our comforts and virtue. I. Out of the Monopoly of Land, as many idlers arise as there are large proprietors, large occupiers, and individuals employed in furnishing them with the luxury in which they wallow; such as servants in and out of livery, men-miliners, and the long train of trades-people to whom their luxury and ease give employment; who, though they labour as hard as those who cultivate the soil may do, yet give no aid in the cultivation of it, and therefore furnish no part of their own supply of its produce. II. Out of the Freedom of Trade and the right alluded to, as many idlers arise as gain their subsistence by the means of merchandising, banking, speculation, monopoly, forestalling, and regrating; and as are employed by them in the ways above stated. III. Out of Taxes and Tythes as many idlers arise as form our fat list of doctors; our lean list of curates; our long list of placemen and pensioners; our intolerable swarms of taxgatherers, excise, and custom house officers; our immense naval and military establishments; and the immenser number still to whom these lists, swarms, and establishments give every other but agricultural employment. And, IV., the National Debt. As this is a scheme for creating and supporting idlers, which originated in the sacrilegious-to-doubt wisdom of our fore fathers of the Whig tribe, and which, coupled with the other offsprings of their patriotism, namely, the freedom of trade, and the right of every man to do as he pleases with his own property, it would be worse than sacrilege to deny as a proof that they are exclu-

sively the men of the people; that R. B. Sheridan and Peter Moore, as Whigs, are the only men that ought to represent Westminster and Coventry; it is a scheme, the rise and progress, the bearings and operations of which it is not less necessary to know, than it is to be acquainted with its consequent increase of idlers. It rises out of the freedom of trade, and the right of every man to do as he pleases with his own property. Let it be remembered, however, though I do not disapprove of the principle, that the Whigs, any more than the Tories, will not allow this right to extend to any part of our property but that which is not absorbed in tithes, taxes, and poors rates; and which point, I have shewn does not amount to 1-10th of the whole. But, nevertheless, in consequence of this freedom, every man secures to himself what he can of land and of every thing else; and no matter how, or what will be the result to others, if so be that the *old-wich laws*, by which the Whigs modify the freedom, are not violated. Then, in virtue of this right, they charge what price they please to the occupier and consumer; and as they are pleased to charge a greater price, or to hold more property than they want for their own immediate use or can otherwise employ with equal advantage, so it pleases them to lend the surplus to the ministers for the time being; who, in gratitude for the ease and facility with which the loan enable them to promote the welfare of the nation, by persecuting its enemies and pensioning their own friends, take, in their turn, from the occupier and consumer interest for the very surplus which was thus *freely* and *rightly* extorted from them by the loanmongers. The occupiers however, and that part of the consumers who are dealers in the produce of labour, have on the first view of the case no reason to complain of the extortions either of the loanmongers or of ministers: for, if they are skinned by these parties, they have a right to skin others, because they are free to add the amount of the surplus extorted by the one and the interest by the other to the price of the articles in which they deal, and so skin others and each other. The right of complaining, then, it would appear devolves upon those classes only of the consumers who are limited annuitants, and dealers only in their own labour. Such annuitants cannot increase their incomes, as prices are thus advanced, consequently as prices advance, their allowance becomes short; and if the *idle* magistrates were disposed to permit the labourers to demand wages which would secure the necessary comforts, whatever might be the price of the articles that compose them, their poverty is too pressing to enable them to stand out, till their employers fall in with their terms. Necessarily, therefore, the labourers first, and next the annuitants, are crushed into paupers; and up starts the poors rate; in the exact proportion in which the combined operations of the Monopoly of Land, the Freedom of Trade, the Tithes and Taxes, and the National Debt, create idlers, enhance prices, and stock the workhouses with paupers, with wretches amounting to more than one-eighth of the population!!! Will the Whigs deny these facts, or, that "Hampden in the field and Sidney "upon the scaffold" had any hand in them? Or, will Mr. Malthus, and those who would wish to have his theories brought into practice, justify them as necessary to ward off more malignant causes of wretchedness and vice? Let us, Sir, keep their attention to those facts, and their notes to these interrogations until the question is fairly decided who are the Jacobins and Levellers. But, with respect to the National Debt, it creates not only as many idlers as subsist upon its annual interest, and the annual loans which form its capital, but, also, as many as are employed in stock-jobbing and stock-broking, that is, in substance, in buying and selling as many of their fellow subjects and fellow creatures, as are allotted by ministers to slave into being that portion of the luxuries and necessaries of life which their employers, themselves, and the idle dependants of both, waste and consume. From the return made to parliament, under Mr. Abbott's act, of the numbers employed in trade, agriculture, and mechanism, I have calculated, that, including infants, aged, and infirms, the action, and reaction of these Whig establishments, principally, have created idlers to the incredible amount of 7,163,082 out of the 9,343,578 persons that form the population of England and Wales; leaving only 2,180,496 to perform the labour and supply the wants of the nation. And, when we consider, that all the tradesmen and mechanics to whom luxury gives employment are included in that number, and even if it were not that their labours must be unjustifiably excessive, we must either admit that the productions of agriculture and manufacture, are scarce to the amount of the deficiency of them, which is felt by the lower and middling classes of the people, or, that their produce to the amount of that deficiency is literally wasted. There are instances of waste in many cases, and at different seasons, particularly in those of animal food and malt

liquor in hot weather; but as such instances, cannot, I think, be supposed to affect, perceivably, the consumption of so large a portion of the community; and as the number of consumers appears to be too great by comparison with that of the producers, I hold no doubt but that it is on the right side of the question, we err in setting it down as a matter of fact, that the deficiency is real. And therefore, 1st. as there are above 51,000,000 acres of land in cultivation, in Great Britain, which, if not wasted, to a great extent, in parks and pleasure grounds, and in yielding food for mere animals of pleasure, might, perhaps, be made to maintain as many inhabitants; 2d, as there are above 73,000,000 of acres more uncultivated, which, if properly managed, might, possibly, be made to maintain as many more; and, 3d, as the number of our idlers is unjustifiably great, on the ground of any other right, than the right to plunder and enslave the nation, I do not only declare it as my unalterable persuasion, that none but *men of the Moon* would look to the time when the surface of the earth will be insufficient to maintain its inhabitants, but, also, that no other earthly scheme can remove the deficiency of which we are compelled by reason and instinct to complain, but that which will convert the necessary number of idlers into useful labourers and furnish the land and materials required to employ them: for, until the cause is removed, it is naturally impossible that the effect can cease. And I shall consider the monopoly of land, the freedom of trade, the tythes and taxes, and the national debt as the leading cause to be removed, until some one of the contrary opinion, prove, by clear and incontrovertible arguments, that they do not operate in the manner I have stated, and convert useful labourers into useless idlers and wretched paupers. To convert idlers, however, into useful labourers and to furnish them with the subjects required to labour upon is one thing, but to secure a sufficiency of the produce of their own labour to support their healths, and prolong their lives, for I claim no more for them, is another thing. The principle, therefore, which I propose to secure this sufficiency, and to preserve that ascending gradation of wealth on which alone, perhaps, the real interest of all depends, is not a new-fangled principle, but that which was in full practice when pauperism formed no part of the public grievances; namely, that of making all payments in kind, or if more convenient, as I think it would, in money, regulated by the price of corn, at or for a given time prior to the time of payment. Corn being the first article of necessity, is therefore the most perfect and unchangeable standard of value. But, as labour is generally paid by the week, its wages can be regulated by no better criterion than the weekly price of bread: first ascertaining the number of quartern loaves to which the labourer is entitled, to secure that relaxation from labour and portion of comforts which, on the principle of fellow feeling, or, the great moral rule of doing as we would be done by may be thought necessary to the preservation of his health, and the prolongation of his life. These, Sir, are the principles of the plan which I have to propose for the relief of the poor, and the well being of the state as it rests upon their exertions and loyalty, in lieu of Mr. Whitbread's funding and literary schemes, and of Mr. Bone's scheme of "withholding labour from "market, as merchants do their goods, and "farmers their stock, until the labourer is satisfied with its price." And if they have the same views with me of the *causes* of the evils, which I have no doubt they are sincere in their endeavours to remove, I indulge the hope that their future plans will demonstrate that they are themselves sensible, that their present schemes are no more applicable than a salve would be where the caustic is required. As to Mr. Whitbread's schemes, they are only hurtful as they delay the application of the remedy that belongs to the case; but as to that of Mr. Bone, there is nothing horrid in a combination of labourers to raise wages, or in the progressive depreciation of money, as it would attend a progressive advance of nominal wages, which does not, to me, appear contained in it. Mine, however, strikes at the root of these evils. Men are less prone to combine, when their rights are defined and secured with the clearness and justice which I have attempted; and as to the depreciation of money, arising as it evidently does from the right, inclination, and power of one party to withhold their goods from market till the price comes up to their liking, and of another to issue money to meet the demand, whatever it may be, it is an evil that will be greatly if not completely removed, when all the payments to be made by the party demanding a high price, are regulated by the price they receive, as I propose. Then they shall have no interest in a high price, but the contrary; naturally, therefore, they shall have no desire for it, but the contrary. And as this desire ceases on their part, a multitude of bankers, rag-money coiners, and accountants, would, as natu-

rally, leave their strong holds and betake themselves to the field. Yet they cannot complain that their right to do as they please with their rag property is infringed; because they may stay in their banks and eat it, if they do not like to come out and earn what they eat. But there is another negative mode of putting some stop to the depreciation of money, namely that of leaving no right of action at law, with those who give credit, against those to whom they give credit. This is not taking from them the right of doing as they please with their own property for they may still give credit if they will, but it would make them more cautious in taking promises for cash, in giving currency to the bank-notes, bills of exchange and promissary notes of *idle* idiots or active swindlers. Sir, having thus, upon the principle that "whatever may be the state of the dexterity, "skill, and judgement with which labour "is applied in any nation, the abundance "or scantiness of its annual supply must "depend, during the continuance of that "state, upon the proportion between the "number of those who are annually em-"ployed in useful labour, and that of those "who are not so employed," endeavoured to shew at once the bane and antidote of our system of political economy, I hope it will appear that, a leveller as I may be called, I have no desire to carry the principle farther—no intention of meddling with the freedom of trade and the right of every man to do as he pleases with his own property, farther than just to leave a right with no man, or body of men, to do, or leave undone, any thing that has the effect of half starving one part of the community and imprisoning another. C. S.—*Cellar, 29th May* 1807.

CATHOLIC BILL.

SIR,——I feel myself under no slight obligation to your correspondent Anti-Catholicus for the opportunity which he has afforded me of again defending from misrepresentation the peculiar tenets of the Catholic church, and vindicating the purity of principle and integrity of conduct of its disciples. I agree with him, that "the Ca-"tholic Question is of all others the most "important for an Englishman's considera-"tion; and, therefore, the more necessary "to be well understood;" and if, as I am willing to persuade myself, we have reason and justice on our side, every discussion of the subject, by enabling us to form a correct judgment as to its nature and tendency, must serve to dispel error, to confirm and elucidate truth, and to enforce conviction. It will be proper, therefore, in the first instance, in order thoroughly to comprehend this important question, to state unreservedly what are the claims of the Catholics; and next to consider the objections which are adduced, in order to justify the refusal to acknowledge and admit them. The Catholic Claim has been differently denominated according to the different views in which the question has presented itself. It was first debated under the head of Catholic Toleration; latterly, the term Emancipation has been more generally adopted; but, as neither of these expressions exactly corresponds with my idea of the subject, I have chosen to denominate it a Liberal Toleration of the Catholics. This diversity of expression is asserted by Anti-Catholicus to imply "an "artful disguise to mislead the Protestants, "as it does not convey the smallest idea of "what the Catholics really aim at." It however, appears to me, that, taking the words in their general acceptation, we mean by Toleration, the undisturbed profession and exercise of our religion; by Emancipation, a freedom from the galling penalties and disqualifications which such profession entails; and by Liberal Toleration, so to blend together and modify the sense of both the preceding expressions, as to denote the liberty of exercising our religion without its being pleaded against us to our exclusion from any of our birthright privileges. But to make the matter more intelligible, and to place it in a still clearer and more distinct point of view, the Catholics acknowledge, that their claim comprises a full and free admission, in the same manner as is granted to men of the established church of England, to the participation of all the rights, as they acknowledge themselves bound to observe all the duties of British subjects. Consequently, we think it but just, that Catholic noblemen should resume in the House of Peers the seats of their ancestors; that Catholic commoners of every class should have free admission into all posts and places of trust, dignity, honour and emolument, on the same terms as men of the predominant and favoured sect. "But," says Anti-Catholicus, "let me ask the men who wish to "make Catholics legislators, Catholics the "king's advisers, Catholics commanders of "our army and navy, upon what principle "the Catholics should be excluded from "the throne?" The question is insidious; but, though I perceive its drift, I shall answer it undisguisedly. Liberty of conscience is the privilege of the monarch no less than of the lowest of his subjects. James the Second was not presumed to abdicate the

throne, merely because he professed himself to be a Catholic. He infringed upon the constitutional liberties of his subjects, and therefore, his sceptre was wrested from him by a power to which even kings must submit. An ignorant and bigotted people require from their temporal sovereign, whatever may be his private opinion, a conformity to the rites and ceremonies of their established predominant religion; as Catherine the Empress of Russia, though a Protestant by education, and an unbeliever in revealed religion by principle, submitted throughout her reign to the doctrines, and outwardly complied with the discipline, of the Russian church, so as never even to be suspected of non-conformity: whereas the Electoral House of Saxony, on the election of Augustus to the crown of Poland, embraced the Catholic religion without alienating by this measure the affections of the Saxons, their hereditary subjects, who were universally Protestants. I refer Anti-Catholicus to these examples for a reply to his question. In a state of society such as that of Russia, I admit the necessity of the sovereign's appearing attached to the forms of the national church; but an enlightened nation does not less feel and acknowledge the blessings of virtuous administration, because the sovereign differs from his subjects on questions unconnected with the temporal government of the state. Hence, then, Anti-Catholicus may learn the very extent of our claims: they are comprised in one short sentence, UNIVERSAL LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE. Nor let it be objected, that, when the Romish power was at its zenith, the Catholic church refused to grant what we now claim; and, on the contrary, persecuted even to death the seceders from its established doctrines. The progress of philosophy, which has unfolded to us clearer apprehensions of the true spirit of religion, has shewn the enormity of such conduct. Catholics of the present day sincerely detest the remembrance of it, and renounce and abjure the sophistry which sanctioned it. It is illiberal to reproach us with the errors of the dark ages. Were they peculiar to the Catholics? Did not Calvin condemn Servetus to the stake? And did not the Huguenots of France and the Catholics alternately murder each other as either party obtained advantage?—To judge from the language of our opponents, it would appear that we aim, not at a fair and equal participation of the rights of Englishmen, but rather, at universal dominion. We wish that the king should have the legal prerogative of appointing Catholics, according to their merit and services, to all posts in the army and navy; and this is represented as an ambitious desire of engrossing all the power of the state. Do Protestants then apprehend that Catholics are men of such transcendent abilities, that they would immediately outstrip their rivals in the career of glory? Is their address so courtly, their manner so insinuating, their reasoning so irresistible, that, if they can once obtain access to the royal ear, they, who "like the Turk, can "bear no brother near the throne," will immediately, like the cuckoo, dislodge from the nest all their competitors, and monopolize the royal favour?—Elegibility to the representation of certain portions of the people in parliament, is comprehended in the emancipation we solicit; and it is thence concluded by Anti-Catholicus, that we are then exclusively to legislate for the people of the United Kingdom. It is predicted, that we shall then introduce what Anti-Catholicus emphatically terms "the *attendant excellencies and embellishments* of our religion, that we shall pass laws to authorise "English Catholic bishops to fulminate "bulls *ex cathedra*, that by act of parliament "we shall enact the exercise of auricular "confession in the cabinet of the monarch, "that all the liberal policy of our revered "Queen Mary will be again revived, and "Salisbury Plain or Smithfield Market, be "possibly appropriated for that delicious "repast an *auto da fé*." These, however, are vain fears; for, even on the hypothesis of a fair and equal representation of the people, the Catholics, whether considered with respect to their numbers, their property, or their influence in the state, will return but a small proportion of members: (nay, Anti-Catholicus himself, with some little inconsistency, admits only the possibility of our sending *four* members to parliament) and if the House of Commons continue to be constituted as it is at present, does Anti-Catholicus seriously apprehend that the members of it will cease to be influenced by motives wholly unconnected with the religious persuasion of their constituents? Anti-Catholicus fears, that the emancipation of Catholics will undermine "the valuable fabric of "regular government, social order, and our "holy religion." But, I appeal to common sense and universal experience, whether such fatal consequences need be apprehended, even if Catholicism were to become the predominant religion of the state. Does not, however, Anti-Catholicus reason in absolute contradiction of every principle which actuates human conduct, when he argues, that because Catholics will then have a greater interest in the preservation of so-

cial order, they will therefore labour to introduce confusion? That, because they will more experience the blessings of regular government, they will therefore feel greater disposition to subvert it? With respect to our situation as Catholics, considered in a religious sense, abstractedly from our civil and political situation, emancipation itself will make little or no difference. We enjoy at this time religious toleration almost to its full extent. We are unmolested in the exercise of public or private devotion, our churches are open, and our doctrines are preached without concealment or prevarication. How, then, will the religion of the church of England (which I presume to be the holy religion alluded to by Anti-Catholicus) be exposed to greater danger than it is at present? Will our power of making converts be increased, or will not rather our motives for strengthening our party be diminished? If our religion be really a composition of such farcical doctrines and ceremonies as Anti-Catholicus asserts, can men of the church of England seriously apprehend, in this enlightened and philosophical age, that their national establishment will be eclipsed by the unclouded lustre of the Catholic church? I am compelled, however, to draw this conclusion, and unless the advocates of intolerance can shew some plausible ground for their apprehensions, I can but interpret those very apprehensions as a confession, that their predominance would immediately sink, if it were not buoyed up by the strong arm of temporal power.——I come now to consider Anti-Catholicus himself, and to point out how uncandidly he has animadverted on certain passages of my letter. I have explained the Catholic opinion respecting transubstantiation, auricular confession, and the infallibility of the Pope:—summarily indeed; because I did not wish to abuse your goodness in requiring the insertion of discussions unconnected with, or ill-suited to, the general plan of your work. Anti-Catholicus, in his review of my letter, does not even condescend to notice what I have written on these subjects, but passes over my remarks on Simplicius's letter to tell you, Sir, "that your correspondent "Simplicius has his thanks for a very ex-"cellent and instructive letter, in which he "has unfolded some of the principal tenets "of the Catholic faith;" and he calls upon the same Simplicius "to continue to point "out the fallacies of the Romish religion;" although I have already shewn, that this very Simplicius, instead of unfolding, has misrepresented our tenets; and, although I have exposed *his* fallacy in his attempt to calumniate our church. I trust that the common sense of your readers will justify my pointing out, without requiring from me any reply to, such illiberality. For my own part, I consider Anti-Catholicus's abuse of our tenets, and his appeal to his able coadjutor Simplicius, as a confession of his inability to controvert my arguments.—A. B.—*Hampstead, May 12, 1807.*

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

CAPTURE OF MONTE VIDEO.——*From the London Gazette Extraordinary; dated Downing Street, April 12, 1807.*

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was received this morning at the Office of Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from Brigadier General Auchmuty, to the Right Hon. W. Windham:

Monte Video, Feb. 6, 1807.

SIR,——I have the honour to inform you, that his Majesty's troops under my command have taken by assault, and after a most determined resistance, the important fortress and city of Monte Video.——The Ardent, with her convoy, arrived at Maldonado on the 5th of Jan.; and I immediately took under my orders the troops from the Cape, commanded by Lieut. Col. Backhouse. On the 13th I evacuated that place without opposition, leaving a small garrison on the island of Gorriti.—On consulting with Rear Admiral Stirling, it was determined to attack Monte Video; and I landed on the morning of the 18th, to the Westward of the Caretas Rocks, in a small bay, about 9 miles from the town. The enemy were in great force, with guns on the heights, when we disembarked; but they did not advance to oppose us, and suffered me to take a strong position, about a mile from the shore. A trifling cannonade, and some firing at the outposts, commenced in the afternoon and continued occasionally during our stay on that ground. —On the 19th we moved towards Monte Video. The right column, under the Hon. Brigadier General Lumley, was early opposed. About 4000 of the enemy's horse occupied two heights to his front and right. As we advanced, a heavy fire of round and grape opened upon us; but a spirited charge in front, from the light battalion under Lieut. Col. Brownrigg, dispersed the corps opposed to him, with the loss of a gun. The enemy on the flank did not wait a similar movement, but retreated. They continued retiring before us, and permitted us, without any further opposition, except a distant cannonade, to take up a position about 2 miles from the citadel. Our advanced posts oc-

cupied the suburbs, and some small parties were posted close to the works; but in the evening the principal part of the suburbs was evacuated.—The next morning the enemy came out of the town, and attacked us with their whole force, about 6000 men, and a number of guns. They advanced in two columns; the right, consisting of cavalry, to turn our left flank, while the other, of infantry, attacked the left of our line; this column pushed in our advanced posts, and pressed so hard on our out-picquet, of four hundred men, that Col. Browne, who commanded on the left, ordered three companies of the 40th, under Major Campbell, to their support: these companies fell in with the head of the column, and very bravely charged it; the charge was as gallantly received, and great numbers fell on both sides; at length the column began to give way, when it was suddenly and impetuously attacked in flank by the rifle corps, and light battalion, which I had ordered up, and directed to the particular point. The column now gave way on all sides, and was pursued, with great slaughter and the loss of a gun, to the town. The right column, observing the fate of their companions, rapidly retired, without coming into action.——The loss of the enemy was considerable, and has been estimated at 1500 men; their killed might amount to between two and three hundred; we have taken the same number of prisoners, but the principal part of the wounded got back into the town; I am happy to add, that ours was comparatively trifling.—The consequences of this affair were greater than the action itself. Instead of finding ourselves surrounded with horse, and a petty warfare at our posts, many of the inhabitants of the country separated, and retired to their several villages, and we were allowed quietly to set down before the town.—From the best information I could obtain, I was led to believe that the defences of Monte Video were weak, and the garrison by no means disposed to make an obstinate resistance; but I found the works truly respectable, with 160 pieces of cannon; and they were ably defended.—The enemy, being in possession of the island of Rastones, commanded the harbour; and I was aware that their gun boats would annoy us, as we apprehended. A two gun battery was constructed on the 23d to keep them in check, and our posts were extended to the harbour, and completely shut in the garrison on the land side. Their communication was still, however, open by water, and their boats conveyed to them troops and provision: even water for the garrison was obtained by these means; for the wells that supply the town were in our possession.—— On the 25th we opened batteries of four 24 pounders and two mortars, and all the frigates and smaller vessels came in, as close as they could with safety, and cannonaded the town. But finding that the garrison was not intimidated into a surrender, I constructed, on the 28th, a battery of six 24 pounders, within a 1000 yards of the south east bastion of the citadel, which I was informed was in so weak a state that it might be easily breached. The parapet was soon in ruins, but the rampart received little injury, and I was soon convinced that my means were unequal to a regular siege; the only prospect of success that presented itself was, to erect a battery as near as possible to a wall by the south gate, that joins the works to the sea, and endeavour to breach it. This was effected by a six gun battery within 600 yards, and though it was exposed to a very superior fire from the enemy, which had been incessant during the whole of the siege, a breach was reported practicable on the 2d instant. Many reasons induced me not to delay the assault, though I was aware the troops would be exposed to a very heavy fire in approaching and mounting the breach. Orders were issued for the attack an hour before day break the ensuing morning, and a summons was sent to the Governor in the evening to surrender the town: To this message no answer was returned.——The troops destined for the assault consisted of the rifle corps under Major Gardner, the light infantry under Lieut. Col. Brownrigg and Major Trotter, the grenadiers under Majors Campbell and Tucker, and the 38th regiment under Lieut. Col. Vassal and Major Nugent.—They were supported by the 40th reg. under Major Dalrymple, and the 87th under Lieut. Col. Butler and Major Miller. The whole were commanded by Col. Browne. The remainder of my force, consisting of the 17th light dragoons, detachments of the 20th and 21st light dragoons, the 47th regt., a company of the 71st, and a corps of 700 marines and seamen, were encamped under Brigadier Gen. Lumley, to protect our rear.——At the appointed hour the troops marched to the assault. They approached near the breach before they were discovered, when a destructive fire from every gun that could bear upon it, and from the musketry of the garrison, opened upon them.

To be continued.

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"When rogues fall out, honest men get their due."——OLD PROVERB.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE WRANGLING FACTIONS.——The capture of Dantzic by the French having given a new feature to the war upon the Continent, and enabled us to reason, upon something like grounds, with respect to the result of that war, and particularly as far as may relate to this country, it is time now to take a view of our situation as connected with foreign nations, and to ask a question or two respecting the object of the expedition, now said to be preparing. But, as we shall, at last, find, that our sole hope of an escape from the fate of Prussia, Holland, Naples, &c. &c. must rest upon the measures to be adopted at home, I cannot refrain from making, before I proceed to other matter, one more record of the waste of the public money, as stated and exposed in the mutual accusations of the *wrangling factions*. Sir Francis Burdett complains of the RED BOOK; he uses the simile of the robbers; he calls for a destruction of the system of corruption. What is the consequence? The hirelings of *both* factions fly on upon him with the yell of wolves, and want not the will to use the fangs of that ravenous and vindictive animal. Now, then, let us hear their *own account* of the manner in which the Red Book is filled, and the motives by which the fillers are actuated. I have had my eye upon them for some time. I have heard their railings against the "Jacobins and Levellers;" and now I shall put their own exposures upon record. The are long and full in their statements; but, these statements should be read, and well remembered. They perish too soon in a loose open sheet. They ought to be bound up in a book, and frequently referred to. I beg every reader to peruse them with attention; and, when he has so done, to ask himself this question: "if this be true, is not Sir, "Francis Burdett's address perfectly pro-"per?"——We will begin with an extract from the Morning Chronicle newspaper of the 3d instant.——"A gross misrepresen-"tation of the conduct of Mr. Fox and "Lord Howick, with respect to their under "secretaries, having appeared in several "newspapers, we are induced to lay be-"fore our readers the following Statement "of Facts, to the accuracy of which we "pledge ourselves: Mr. Fox has been "blamed for dismissing Mr. Hammond, to-"gether with Mr. Ward; and this removal "has been represented as inconsistent with "the censure which he himself bestowed "upon the dismissal of Mr. Aust, in 1796. "The cases were, however, entirely dif-"ferent. It had always been the practice "for a new secretary to appoint his under "secretaries; and if he continued those "in their places whom he found there, it "was to be considered equivalent to a re-"appointment; for nothing can be more "essential to the public service than that "the principal and the under secretaries "should be on confidential terms. But "Mr. Aust was removed without any change "of the principal Secretary of State, mere-"ly in order to make room for Mr. Can-"ning, whom Mr. Pitt patronized and "wished to have near him. For no other "reason was Mr. Aust obliged to retire. "Of course a provision was made for him. "He was appointed Commissary General of "Musters and Secretary and Register of "Chelsea Hospital. These two offices, "thus united in his favour, had been held "by two different persons; of course a pro-"vision was required for them. Now, it "was to this traffic in places, and to a prac-"tice which must encrease the expense of "the service, by multiplying unnecessarily "the pensions to those who quitted the of-"fice, that Mr. Fox decidedly objected. "That the Secretary of State should be "forced to retain in the confidential place "of under secretary one who would not "posses his confidence, is a position never "maintained by Mr. Fox, or indeed by any "rational man. Mr. Hammond, who had "made himself a party man, in every "sense of the word, and whose whole con-"nections were with the avowed enemies "of Mr. Fox, could no more have been "allowed to remain in the foreign office "than to hold a seat in the cabinet. To "remove him was a matter of absolute "necessity. Accordingly, he and Mr. Ward "were succeeded by Gen. Walpole and sir "F. Vincent. When Lord Howick came "to the foreign department, upon Mr.

" Fox's death, he continued these gentlemen " as under secretaries, because they possessed " his confidence; and when he left the of- " fice, they retired also, without any " pension or sinecure whatever.—If Mr. " Fox had followed the example of his " predecessor, he would have pensioned " Gen. Walpole or sir F. Vincent, on co- " ming into office. And if Lord Howick " had availed himself of the precedents left " him both by Lord Hawkesbury and Lord " Mulgrave, he would even in succeeding to " a friend, have removed at least one of the " under secretaries, and pensioned him, to " make way for a dependant or relation, whom " also he would have pensioned before he " retired from office. We assert, as a known " fact, that when Lord Harrowby retired " early in 1805, Mr Elliot was removed " to make way for Lord M.'s brother-in-law, " Mr. R. Ward; and that one of the last " acts of Lord Mulgrave, before quitting " the foreign office early in 1806, was to " grant Mr. Ward a large pension for less " than a year's service, in a manner the " legality of which was so much doubted " that it was inquired into by the late mi- " nisters, with the determination of setting " it aside. This Mr. R Ward knows " would have been done, had it not, un- " fortunately, been found that the grant, " however unprecedented, both as to the " grounds and manner of it, was nevertheless within the strict formalities of law. " Mr. Fox and Lord Howick can certainly " claim no praise for having avoided this " example of Lord M. But that Lord M's " friends and defenders should venture up- " on the discussion of any thing connected " with this subject, is a matter of wonder, " even to those who know the rashness of " the new men."—The next article is the answer of the *Courier* newspaper of the same day.—" There is a long article to- " day in the Morning Chronicle on the " subject of pensions to under secretaries of " state. We have not time to comment " now upon the general subject of sinecures " and pensions, though we pledge ourselves " to unmask the hypocritical pretensions " of the late men to superior purity, in any " respect whatever regarding the grants of " public money. As, however, it has " more than once been boldly stated, that " the pension to Mr. Ward was granted on " a fund never before applied to such uses, " and as it is insinuated that it was given " merely for a year's service, we will state " the real case. With respect to a provi- " sion generally to under secretaries on " retiring, it is a very gross misrepresenta- " tion to say that it has not long existed, " or that it ought not to exist. Mr. Aust " was rewarded by Lord Grenville himself " with sinecures to the amount of £2000 " a year; sir J. Burgess, under the same " Lord G., with a pension of £1200, " a year; Mr Canning, by the same " Lord G., with £1200, a year; Mr. " Fisher, by the same Lord G., with " 600*l.* a year; Mr. Hammond, by the " same lord G., with 600*l.* a year, having " then 1200*l.* as a foreign minister, and " 600*l* a year besides, added to it last year " by Mr. Fox Mr. Huskisson, by lord " Melville (then in the cabinet with lord " G.) with 1200*l.* a year; Sir G. Shee, in " the home department, with 1200*l.* a " year. So much for the novelty of an " under secretary's pension! Now as to " the fund, namely the office: the con- " stitution by which the right to recom- " mend to allowances for officers retiring " was settled, was the work also of lord " Grenville himself, in conjunction with " the other secretaries of state, so far back " as the year 1795, as appears by the order " of his Majesty in council. And how " often have allowances been granted? " Was Mr. Ward's the first instance? No " —it was the tenth in succession, in the " course of 11 years! and of the 9 preced- " ing instances, 5 were the work also of lord " G. If the writer in the Chronicle wishes " to know them, he will find them in the " office, under the heads of allowances to " Mr. Money, 380*l.* a year; Mr. Jenkins, " 400*l.* a year; Mr. Hinchcliffe, 600*l*; Mr. " Hammond, 600*l.*; Mr. Fisher, 600*l.* " The object of the last grant was the pecu- " liar follower, protegé, and we believe " connexion, of lord G.; the grant was " made to him after a service of exactly 5 " months and about 14 days, and was " one " " of the last acts of lord G. on quitting " " the foreign office." It was held also " by him during his life, together with a " commission of excise, worth 1200*l.* a " year more! Do we blame lord Grenville " for this? No; nor do we believe that " the misrepresentations on which we are " commenting proceeded from his authority. " We know at least, in answer to another " part of that misrepresentation, that he " professed his opinion in favour of the " legality of the grant to Mr Ward, to " which he also disclaimed all idea of hos- " tility. Four other instances of allowances " from the same fund in the office of secre- " tary of state, occur before Mr. Ward's, " viz. Mr Colquhoun, 300*l.* a year; Mr. " Moore, 800*l.* a year; Mr. Higden, 500*l.*

" a year; Mr. Hay, 500*l.* Now as to the " motive of granting it!. Was it a job to a " relation, or a compensation to a man in- " vited from a profession in which he was " advancing, and from the benefit of a study " of the Law of Nations, into an office in " which that law was daily and hourly an " object of discussion? We can state with " accuracy that the chancellor was ready to " put the seal to the vacant Welch judge- " ship in favour of Mr. Ward, when he " was desired to give his labours to another " department in the state. This is not only " a great professional honour, but a place " for life; and this, together with his " practice, Mr. Ward reliaquished, to at- " tend the call of Mr. Pitt and lord Mul- " grave, where it was thought his service " might be of particular use. We ask the " world, if a man foregoing such advantages " to obey such a call, is either to have no " compensation at all, or to have his " compensation after the precedents addu- " ced, stigmatized wholly unprecedented, " and proceeding from favour alone? As " to a former article in the Chronicle, that " Mr. Ward retired to a commission of bank- " rupts, besides his pension, it is neither " more nor less than a very foolish and wholly " unfounded assertion, and as such we shall " leave it. And so we also leave the " public to judge of the justice, the vir- " tuous accuracy, and purity of motive, " which characterise this creditable, party, " true, and most impartial statement."—— The MORNING CHRONICLE's reply, on the 9th instant, starts new and valuable mat- ter.—— " We have already exposed the " unfounded calumnies of Mr. Canning's " journalists, respecting the conduct of " his immediate predecessors in the " foreign office; and have demonstrated " by a plain statement of the facts, that " in arranging the appointments of this " department, Mr. Fox and lord Howick " were guided by a strict adherence to " those maxims of economy which no " one, save only the partizans of lord Mel- " ville, ever dared to treat with open con- " tempt. Attempts have been made, also, " to charge the same distinguished chara- " ters with removing English envoys in " order to make room for their own friends. " As this accusation is false beyond the or- " dinary measure of party misrepresenta- " tion, we shall here again narrate the " facts in question.——Soon after the " change of Administration in 1806, lord " G. L. Gower was allowed to return from " St. Petersburgh at his own desire. An " offer was explicitly made by Mr. Fox, " with a kind attention which lord G. L. G. " has not forgotten, that he might remain, " if he pleased, at a court where his con- " duct had given satisfaction. His lordship " consulted his own convenience and pre- " ferred coming home.——Mr. Pierrepont " solicited leave to return from Sweden, " chiefly on account of his health; Mr. " Stratton was appointed to succeed him; " a gentleman only known to lord Howick " by his long and able services in the diplo- " matic line; and further recommended " to lord H by the misfortune of having " no powerful friends, which had kept " him in the shade during the Administra- " tions of the Hawkesburys and Mulgraves; " and which we lament to find has now " thrown him back again, when our foreign " affairs are administered by a man very " little indebted to family influence.—— " In the missions to Copenhagen, Lisbon, " Hamburgh, Dresden, and Berlin, no " change whatever was made either by " Mr Fox or lord Howick. Mr. Jackson " and Mr. Wynne were of course obliged " to come home in consequence of the " war; when a military man was required " to replace the former of these gentlemen, " we presume that most people congratu- " lated the ministry on their prevailing " with such a person as lord Hutchinson " to fill that station; for the peculiar " merits of our present classical envoy " in a military capacity had not as yet dis- " played themselves. He was thought, not " so much to have in himself the science " of war, as to be—" the cause of war " in others."—— In the embassy at Con- " stantinople no change whatever was " made until the Secretaryship became va- " cant, by Mr. Stratton's well-earned pro- " motion, and this appointment was con- " ferred on Mr. Pole, in consideration of " meritorious services performed by him in " a subordinate capacity, and of the warm " recommendations both from Mr. Arbuth- " not and the Court of Petersburg. This " gentleman was in every respect wholly " unknown to lord Howick; unless, indeed, " his being the eldest son of a very keen " antagonist (Mr. W. Pole, now of the " ordnance office) should be viewed as " ground for suspecting an undue prefe- " rence.——The necessity of recalling sir " A. Paget has never been questioned by " any one who read the secret correspon- " dence published by lord Malgrave. The " late ministers have always been ready to " acknowledge that gentleman's professional " merits, and if the more serious irrepara- " ble evils produced by the publication in

" question, had left any room for personal " considerations, they would have regarded " the necessary loss of sir A. P.'s services " at Vienna, as an additional ground for " regretting that act of rashness and infa- " tuation. That the conduct of his suc- " cessor, Mr. Adair, has given the highest " satisfaction, both at home and at Vienna, " we venture to assert without the fear " of contradiction, even from Mr. Can- " ning; that Mr Adair must be speedily " displaced, could never be doubted by " any one who reflected that our foreign " department is now in the hands of the " Anti-jacobin poetasters, Messrs. Ham- " mond, Canning, Frere, &c. whose poli- " tical consistency would be impeached " were they to leave in employment a " gentleman formerly exposed to their " attacks in that celebrated performance— " and thus are the concerns of great em- " pires administered!——The recall of " Mr Elliot and Mr. Merry was rendered " necessary by circumstances which it is " needless to specify. These regard, not " so much the personal qualifications of the " two gentlemen in question, as the pecu- " liar state of affairs in the countries where " they were resident; while the conduct " of Mr. Erskine has given entire satisfac- " tion, and amply justified his nomination. " We confidently ask Mr. Canning himself, " now that he has seen a little of the office, " who could be more fit for the mission " to Palermo than Mr Drummond? This " gentleman had no political connection, " but a slight personal acquaintance with " lord Howick. He was recommended to " the notice of the ministry, solely by his " known abilities in diplomacy, and his " former residence at the court of Naples, " to which he had been appointed by Lord " Hawkesbury; and here, indeed, lies the " whole offence of Mr. Drummond in " Mr. Canning's eyes.——As for Consul- " ships, they made not a single change in " that department. They granted the " usual floating pensions to sir A. Paget, " Messrs. Jackson, Spencer Smith, Pier- " repont, and Wynne. These gentlemen " were altogether the connections of former " ministers; and the pensions which they " now received, were such as the length " of their respective services entitled them " to, by the strictest precedents established " in the foreign department.——It is after " an administration of this kind—disgraced " by no jobs—marked by the most punctual " and decisive regard to the interests of " the service—and distinguished by the " most rigorous economy of the public " money, that lord Howick and his col- " leagues retire amidst the sincere regrets " of their countrymen; leaving, however, " an example behind them, which, if it " may fail to excite the emulation, must " at least prove some check to the miscon- " duct of their successors." ——Now, either this is true, or it is false. If false, the Morning Chronicle, who abuses Sir Francis Burdett, is a liar; if true, does Sir Francis deserve reproach for what he has said of the RED BOOK?—Leaving the Morning Chronicle to answer this ques- tion, let us proceed to the rejoinder of the COURIER of the same day.———

" The late ministers conclude an article " which they have published in a paper this " morning by boldly asserting that their ad- " ministration was "disgraced by no jobs." " A more daring assertion we never remem- " bered to have heard. The late ministry " began their career by a job, the enabling " lord Grenville to hold a large sinecure " with another office, the two being incom- " patible in the same person. Mr. Sheri- " dan said that Mr. Fox proposed to settle " on him the Duchy of Lancaster for life. " Enquiries were set on foot to know if the " Surveyorship of Woods and Forests could " not be settled on lord R. Spencer for life. " The Muster Master General of Ireland, " a lucrative sinecure, was divided between " Mr. T. Sheridan and a relation of lord " Howick's at the expence to the country of " a large pension to the then holder to in- " duce him to resign. An Irish sinecure of " 3000l. per annum was given to Cavendish " Bradshaw, without a pretence of claim. " A pension was granted to Judge Johnstone, " who has libelled lord Hardwicke; valua- " ble reversions were granted to Mr. Ers- " kine's clerk; and we believe a reversion, " or some such job, was given to Mr. " Wickham.—These foes to jobs and friends " to reform and economy, dismissed At- " kins, the Barrack-Master in the Isle of " Wight, who had exposed enormous " abuses, and who is now starving. A pen- " sion of 1200l. was granted to col. Con- " greve for throwing a few burning arrows " into Boulogne. Lord Howick's brother, " with four other Greys, have had lucrative " appointments; one was sent out com- " mander in chief to the Cape, with a salary " of 4000l. per annum, and another salary of " equal amount, as lieut. governor, though " under such circumstances a lieut. gover- " nor's salary has never been more than a " 100 pounds or two.—300 dependants " were provided for, at an expence of near- " ly as many thousands per annum, as an-

" ditors, secretaries, and clerks upon the " auditing establishment. When no ap- " pointment was open for an impatient de- " pendant, the language was, " put him " upon the Auditors till something better " can be done."—15 Judges were thought " by the late ministers insufficient for " the administration of justice in Scot- " land, though in England it is administer- " ed by a smaller number. New judicial " situations were therefore to be created, " and one of them was to have been supe- " rior in rank, dignity, and emolument to " any now in existence. To this new and " highest office, not the present president, " but a new officer, was to be appointed " (the brother of a cabinet minister)—300 " new surveyors of taxes were on the eve " of being appointed at an enormous ex- " pence to the public. This measure was " to have received the sanction of parlia- " ment—and to make that sanction more " certain, and to demonstrate that this ad- " dition of patronage and expence was in- " tended by these foes to jobs, for the sole " purpose of better collecting the revenue, " on the eve of the general election last " autumn, the future sanction of parlia- " ment was anticipated by privately but ge- " nerally announcing to the favoured candi- " dates that such appointments would be " made, and that the recommendation of " their constituents would be attended to. " This fact, however, was unfortunately de- " layed till the dissolution of the late vigo- " rous administration, and nothing remain- " ed but the painful, yet necessary task of " apologising, which was actually done a " few days before they quitted office, for " those interests being so neglected, and " those promises so broken. Such are a " few of the proofs (not to mention any " thing at present of the increase of sheriffs " depute in Scotland, &c.) of the utter de- " testation in which the late ministers held " all jobs!!"——The COURIER, whose zeal for the public good is unwearied, was not content with what he had said on the 6th; and, therefore, on the 8th, after having availed himself of the rest of the Sabbath, he returned to his valuable exposures with renovated vigour, thus: " The late mi- " nisters alluding to the statements we made " on Saturday, respecting their jobs, contra- " dict some of them, and entirely pass over " others. Thus, for instance, they pass " over the job of enabling Lord Grenville " to hold a large sinecure with another of- " fice, the two being incompatible in the " same person, and contradict our state- " ment that Mr. Fox proposed to settle on " Mr. Sheridan the Duchy of Lancaster for " life. We have Mr. S.'s authority, how- " ever, that he did think of it, and intend " it for him. In the debate on the 25th of " March, on Mr. Martin's motion against " granting places for life, Mr. Sheridan " said, in answer to Mr. Johnstone, that " " with respect to the charge of his (Mr. " S.) being busy in providing for himself " and his family, the fact was, that his hon. " friend, who was now unhappily no more " (Mr. Fox), thought that after a service, " he hoped not unmeritorious, of 27 years " in parliament, some provision for life " ought to be made for him. It had hap- " pened rather singularly, that his hon. " friend had intended, that the office that " had been so much spoken of this night, " the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lan- " caster, should be appropriated to that pro- " vision." Here we have Mr. S.'s positive " assertion, that Mr. Fox had intended the " Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster " for life, for him. With respect to one of " Lord Howick's brothers, the late minis- " ters have disclosed a fact of which we " were ignorant, that when Capt. Grey " was removed from Sheerness to Ports- " mouth, he had a place which fell vacant " in the West Indies given him, a valuable " sinecure, we take it for granted, it having " been held by Lord Dacre.——We find " too that Col. Grey having been disabled " by a severe wound in Holland, has been " placed on active service at the Cape —— " As to the reversion to Lord Erskine's " clerk, it was admitted in the House of " Commons, that not one only, but two " had been granted.——The increase of the " number of Judges in Scotland, Surveyors " of Excise, Auditors, &c. an increase " which has entailed so immense an addi- " tional expence upon the country, is ad- " duced by the late ministers as one of their " regulations for enforcing economy!!—— " Upon the sinecure to C. Bradshaw, the " pension to Judge Johnstone, who libelled " Lord Hardwicke, the dismissal of Atkins, " who had exposed enormous abuses, they " preserve a profound silence. In our enu- " meration however of jobs, we beg the " late ministers pardon, for forgetting to in- " clude their appointments, a day or two " before they were dismissed from office, " of persons to fill the situations of Collec- " tor of the Customs, Surveyor of the Cus- " toms, Waiters and Searchers at Buenos " Ayres, a place not then in our posses- " sion!"——Now, reader, sensible and impartial reader, this is the picture, which the factions themselves draw of the conduct

of each other. I will not ask you how, under a system like this, it is possible that our concerns with foreign nations should be properly managed; I will not ask you, whether you, as a farmer, or a merchant, or a gentleman, would entrust your affairs to such hands; but, I will ask you, whether, if what these writers say be true, they are not the most base of mankind to rail at the similies, and the assertions of Sir Francis Burdett? Here we have their own account of the conduct of the two factions. The two factions, through this channel, tell the world what they have done. It is in their own mouths that we find the accusations against themselves. Sir Francis Burdett says of them only what they say of each other; precisely that, and not a word more; and yet, they accuse him of *seditious language*, and call upon the parliament to *expel him!* They have been *feeling the public pulse* in this way for some weeks past; but, the public pulse beats to no such time. The public, even the very blindest of the public, now see; and, that they do see, thanks to these mutual exposures.

SIR HENRY MILDMAY.——It was easy to foresee, that the bitterness of party spirit, produced by the dissolution of parliament, would break out in *exposures*; not merely in the way of *paragraphs*, but in something more authentic; and this was, as the reader will, probably, recollect, one of the advantages which I hoped for from that very useful measure.——Mr. Perry, with the vindictive zeal of an ousted place-man, has got hold already of the FOURTH REPORT of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry, and has, therefrom, taken, and published, in the Morning Chronicle of the 9th instant, the following curious and most interesting account of a bargain made by Pitt and his people with Sir Henry Mildmay, now one of the members for Hampshire.——We will, agreeably to our usual custom, first insert the article, and then make our remarks upon it. I say *we*, for, upon occasions like this, I cannot help perceiving, that I feel and think in common with all those who are taxed to provide the sums which are thus expended——"Sir Henry Mildmay some "years ago succeeded, in right of his wife, "to a considerable estate in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford. Upon this property "there is a mansion-house (Moulsham-"hall), with gardens and pleasure-grounds; "and Sir H. was obliged by the will of the "last owner, from whom he received it, to "reside there 3 months in every year; a "restriction always unpleasant when a pro-"prietor has other places of residence, and "rendered peculiarly so in this case from "circumstances which it is needless to par-"ticularize, both touching the situation of "Moulsham-hall and Sir H. M's family ar-"rangements. With this condition, never-"theless, he was forced to comply, however "inconvenient or disagreeable; and was, "of course, prevented from letting the "house and grounds, although during the "rest of the year he had no occasion for "them.——The land in the neighbourhood "of these grounds is let upon lease to dif-"ferent farmers, and in Aug. 1803, a part "of it was wanted by government for the "erection of military works. Sir H. M. "and his tenants immediately consented to "give up the space required for the public "service, amounting to about 30 acres, sti-"pulating, however, that a jury should, at "a convenient season, be summoned to "award them a compensation, according to "the provisions of the Defence Act. In "consequence of this permission on their "part, the works were erected without loss "of time.——The residence at Moulsham-"hall now became seriously disagreeable. "There were batteries a quarter of a mile "from the house, and two barracks at the "distance of half a mile, and an entrenched "camp occupied part of the Park. Sir H. "M. therefore, conceived that he had ob-"tained sufficient grounds for an act of par-"liament to relieve him from the obligation "of residing there. He applied to parlia-"ment accordingly, and in spring, 1804, "an act was passed to this effect, the whole "expences of which were paid by the "Treasury.——A few weeks after this "happy liberation (15th May, 1804), Sir "H. made an offer of his house to the "Quarter-Master-General, as a fit resi-"dence for the military staff of the district. "The rent which he demanded was £400 "a year, government to pay all taxes, and "leave the premises in good repair; for "he observed, they were then "in perfect "repair." Before this proposal could be "acceded to, a survey was directed to be "made by an architect, who reported that "£250 would be necessary immediately to "put the house and stables in repair, and "£50 a year to keep them up. This be-"ing communicated to Sir H. he offered to "give up the first half year's rent (£200) "on condition that the necessary repairs "should be made at the public expence. "To this proposal the War Office agreed, "and empowered Gen. De Lancey, Bar-"rack Master General, to conclude the bar-"gain. From some circumstances, not ex-"plained, it was delayed, and Gen. De Lan-

" cey was removed before he had entered " into the lease with Sir H. Mildmay.—— " In the mean time, and while the house " and pleasure-grounds remained in Sir H's " occupation, but after he had been relieved " by an act of parliament at the public ex- " pence, from the obligation of residing " there, a jury was summoned to fix the " compensation to him and his tenants for " the land occupied by the military works " They returned a verdict, 18th of Aug. " 1804, awarding the sum of 1300l. for the " first year, which was then nearly expired, " and 600 l. for every subsequent year, du- " ring which the land might be so occupied, " or at that rate.——As Government were " to restore the ground to its original state, " before giving it up to the proprietor, it " may naturally be asked, why so large a " rent as 600 l. a year should be given for " 30 acres of land, besides a round sum or " bonus of 700 l. at first? The Jury did not " specify how their estimate had been made, " nor in what way they meant their com- " pensation to be applied. But Sir H. M. " in his examination before the commission- " ers, states, that he understood the Jury to " have given 200l. per annum for the occu- " pation of the land, and 400 l per ann. to " provide him with another place of resi- " dence." He accordingly has always paid his tenants 200 l. a year, and taken to " himself the remaining part of the rent, " besides, as we conceive him to mean, " the extra 700l. But leaving that sum out " of the question, Sir H. M. has received, " and continues to receive, 400 l. a year, " because barracks and batteries were " erected in his neighbourhood; and an " act of parliament has been passed, at " the public expence, to relieve him from " the necessity of residing near those " barracks and batteries. We do not stop " to ask, if being relieved from this most " disagreeable restriction was no com- " pensation of itself, for the temporary in- " convenience of the military works—we " will not put it to Sir H. M., whether he " would not gladly have left Moulsham Hall " untenanted, while the works remained in " its neighbourhood, in order to relieve " himself from the condition of residing " there a quarter of every future year—with " this point we do not at present trouble " ourselves; but we repeat, that being at " once allowed to leave Moulsham Hall, " and paid, most liberally paid, for the al- " ledged nuisance brought into its vicinity, " he had no right to expect any thing more. " He had gained enough by the military " works in his neighbourhood.——This, " however, does not seem either to have " been his own opinion, or that of the Trea- " sury, or of H. R. H. the Commander-in- " Chief. The lease of the house and gar- " dens had not been concluded when Gen. " de Lancey left the barrack department; " and his successor, Gen Hewett, before " executing it, found himself obliged by the " instructions under which he was acting, " to obtain special orders from the Trea- " sury. The delay in concluding the bar- " gain, had induced him to suspect that a " change of opinion might have taken place " respecting its probable benefits to the " public. Upon examining the circum- " stances of the case, he considered this the " more likely, for he found that, besides the " expence of immediate repairs, Moulsham " Hall would cost the public 643l. a year, and " would, after all, be an extremely incom- " modious residence for any officer. All " this he very properly submitted to the " consideration of the Commander-in-Chief " in a letter dated Nov. 27, 1804; and " about two months after he received an an- " swer, ordering him to put the premises in " a state of repair, and to report, as soon as " they should be ready for the reception of " officers. In this answer the following " reason is given for concluding the bargain " with Sir H. M. " I am further" (says " Gen. Brownrigg) " commanded to ob- " serve, as you remark upon the expence of " these premises being disproportioned to " the public utility which may be derived " from them, that the agreement entered " into by the late Barrack-master General " was sanctioned on account of its being ne- " cessary to hire these premises, and in " doing so to remunerate Sir H. M., whose " residence had been destroyed by the field " works which had been constructed in the " immediate vicinity of the house." This " letter is dated 23d Jan. 1805, above 5 " months after the jury had awarded to Sir " H. M. 400l. a year, and 1100l. the first " year, as a remuneration for the damage " done to his residence by the field works " constructed in its vicinity; or, as the ver- " dict states, " to provide himself with ano- " ther place of residence."——The lease, " therefore must be completed without de- " lay. But for this purpose the authority " of the Treasury was also required—so " many checks does our constitution provide " to control the expenditure of the public " money! Gen. Hewett accordingly laid " the above letter from the Commander in- " Chief before the Treasury, inclosing an " estimate of the expence, viz. rent to Sir " H. M. 400l; yearly repairs, 50l.; taxes,

" 143 l.; barrack office to take care of the " house, 50l. making in the whole 643 l. " future annual expence, besides 250l. " which Gen. Hewett informed their ord " ships had already been expended in the " first repairs. Mr. Sturges Bourne imme- " diately answered the letter, by authorising " the general to complete the lease, and to " lay out the sum of 643 l. on immediate " repairs, according to the estimate. To " be sure this was needless, for the sum re- " quired was only 250 l. according to the " estimate, and that sum had already been " expended; but Mr. S. Bourne had never " taken the trouble to understand Gen. " Hewett's letter, or to read the estimate; " far less did he throw the smallest obstacle " in the way of Sir H. M's. bargain, al- " though he saw from Gen. Brownrigg's " letter, inclosed in Gen. Hewett's, that this " bargain was intended as a compensation " for the vicinity of the works, and knew " that the hon. baronet had already received " a compensation for it—so efficient are the " many checks provided for the controul of " public expenditure!——The lease was " accordingly completed at last; and the " opinion of Gen. Hewett has been amply " corroborated respecting its inutility to the " public, or to any body but Sir H Mild- " may. The only advantages derived by " the service, in return for a yearly expence " of 643 l. beside the first repairs, is, that " Gen. Campbell and his aid-de-camp re- " sided there near 7 months in 1805; that " Gen. Murray and his aid-de-camp resided " there above 3 months in 1806; and that " the sum of 4 l. was received, as two " months' rent for the pasture ground near " the house; the gardener having the use " of the garden ground for keeping the " whole in order.——It is perfectly mani- " fest, then, that the public has been pay- " ing, and still continues to pay, 643 l. a " year for almost nothing; and that of this " sum, Sir Henry Paullet St. John Mild- " may has been receiving, and continues to " receive, 400l. a year, for something " which he had sold to the public by ano- " ther bargain. The jury gave him 400 l. a " year because the military works were too " near his house, after making full com- " pensation to his tenants. The Treasury " paid for a bill to free him for ever from " the incumbrance of a forced residence " there. All this is not enough, the Bar- " rack Office gives him another 400 l. per " ann. because, again, the military works " were too near his house.——Strictly " speaking, his first compensation should " have been estimated with a reference to " the 3 months residence; but we do not " mean to quarrel about this point, admit- " ting that he should have received as much " as if he had always lived there, or always " been allowed, by circumstances, to let his " house; we maintain, that after receiving " an ample remuneration, both in money " and in the act of parliament, on account " of the works in the neighbourhood, he re- " ceived, on the very same account, as high " a rent for his premises as he could have let " them for, had no such works been erect- " ed—(See Surveyor's Report, 24th May, " 1804). We maintain that this is selling " the same thing twice over, and that the " parties to this transaction, viz. the present " ministers, authorised, and their favourite, " Sir H. Mildmay, obtained, what by the " very mildest construction, must be reckon- " ed a job—This statement is faithfully " abridged or copied from the 4th Report, " p. 164 to 167, and the documents. In- " deed the whole Report well deserves the " attention of the public; for *it discloses* " *such profusion in those who direct, and* " *such negligence in those who ought to* " *check the public expenditure, as hardly can* " *be paralleled under any other government.*" Bravo! Encore! Out with it, Mr. Perry! But, then, with what justice is it, that you stigmatize, as Jacobins and Levellers, all those who wish to cut off the source of these jobs?——Praised, again say I; praised with- out ceasing be our gracious king for dissolving the parliament! Had not the king been gra- ciously pleased to " recur to the sense of his people," not a word should we ever have heard of this most curious transaction. Oh, what good will, in the end, arise from that dis- solution!——As to the particular exposure now before us, I must first observe, that I have not yet seen the Fourth Report; that, therefore, I cannot tell whether the state- ment, above quoted from the Morning Chronicle, be true, or false; that I do not publish it as containing admitted truths; and, that all the remarks I am about to make upon the transaction will be inapplicable, in every respect, if the statement should prove to be false.——The statement speaks for it- self. If true, it does not appear capable of being done away by any sort of explanation. It must either be flatly contradicted, or it must be acknowledged to contain the history of a job not surpassed by that which Swift imputed to Lord Peterborough's steward, who pulled down a house, sold the materials, and charged his Lordship with repairs. Here is, in this instance, a refinement in jobbing, which, I think, is without an equal. The thing, in all its parts, stands

have been so well contrived and so well executed; and the train seems to have been laid at such a distance, that one is struck with admiration of the skill and patience of the several parties concerned. Nor would all this skill and patience have been of any avail, had it not happened, as it did most fortunately, that his royal highness, our consummate and virtuous Commander in Chief, *pitched upon the precise spot in question*, whereon to establish a military post; the precise spot where Sir Henry Mildmay had an estate encumbered with an obligation of residence, from which obligation the establishment of the post, with the help of an act of parliament, would, and did in the end, for ever release him, and, what was of peculiar advantage, *secure him a compensation for the annoyance which the post would give to his residence, after he had been for ever released from such residence!* To persons not acquainted with the military science, as practised in this country, or, at least, but superficially skilled therein, the choice of this spot for a military post would appear still more surprizing; but, our penetrating Commander-in-Chief, who, with such admirable skill, saved his army, or great part of it, and even himself, at Dunkirk and the Helder, saw, in a moment, that this spot was of vast importance in a plan of national defence, and that the spot belonged to Sir Henry Mildmay was, of course, a circumstance that weighed nothing at all with the royal Commander, who was anxious about nothing but defending the country against those rascals, the French, who, if they once got to London, might, as he doubtless perceived, seize hold of the reigns of government, and lay the people under heavy contributions, in order to satisfy the wants, or demands, of their rapacious and profligate leaders. His royal highness, doubtless, thought of this; and knowing as well as most men what fellows the French are for *pushing on*, he appears to have resolved upon stopping them at *Moulsham*, whither he supposed, I dare say, they would not, if once landed, fail to direct their march. But, though the spot was, we must conclude, the most fit that could be found for a military post; yet, the selection of it must, as was before observed, be regarded as a *fortunate* circumstance for Sir Henry Mildmay.——Proceeding, agreeably to what is above premised, upon the supposition, and upon the mere supposition, that the Fourth Report is correct as to facts, and that the Morning Chronicle has, in this instance, given a faithful abridgment of the Report, I would beg leave to remind the reader, that there is a law against *contractors* sitting in the House of Commons, though *loan* contractors and *Bank*-contractors do sit there. *Naval* and *Military* contractors are meant, I suppose. But, in the case before us, is not Sir Henry Mildmay a *contractor*? What is he else? Good God, how has this system of posts and barracks and numerous armies and endless finding changed the constitution! And, how is it possible for that constitution to be restored to its purity, while the servants of the king have from 60 to 70 millions a year passing through their hands, and while they are, of course, the patrons, the employers, or the customers of one half of the population of the kingdom? In the instance before us we have a proof of the fallacy of the doctrine, that all the sums not included in the *civil list* are expended upon real services. We here see, that there are other ways of bestowing the public money besides those of the place and pension list. We here see, that the public money may be received by those who wear the garb, and even speak the language of independence. At a dinner, given by Sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Chute, at Portsmouth, on the 29th of last month; a dinner given evidently for the purpose of flattering the *Dock-men*, who, at the former election voted against them, and who would vote against them to morrow, if a change of ministry accompanied with another dissolution, were to take place; at this dinner, where a doggerel song was sung of which the following was a stanza,—

> " Sir Henry and Chute, then have join'd your good cause,
> " They will ever support your Religion and laws;
> " *No Popish invaders* your peace can disturb,
> " While such Britons step forward for King George the Third;"

at this dinner, in the procession to which Lady Mildmay, her daughter, and Mrs. Chute, modestly took a part, unenvied by any human being; at this dinner, the scenes of which united the excess of vanity and of meanness; at this dinner, Sir Henry Mildmay made a speech, which, as reported in the HAMPSHIRE TELEGRAPH news paper of the 1st instant, contained the following passage, which the reader will find most applicable to the subject before us. "——Mr. Herbert had coupled his " and his colleague's name with the word " *peculation*—Why he had done so, he " could not conceive. Mr. Chute had re- " presented the county for 16 years, and " had never asked for *a place or pension or* " *favour from government for himself, his* " *family, or any of his friends.* He (Sir

" H. Mildmay) had represented the city of " Winchester for 12 years, and he would " *solemnly declare the same on his own part,* " *as he had for Mr. Chute.* His family " had formerly had the honour of repre- " senting the county, and had *never received* " *a single guinea out of the public purse.* " *(Great applauses.)* He was not disposed, " now the election was over, to carry on the " war; but if the hon. gent. had looked to " his own family, he might not be so ready " with the word peculation. The late ad- " ministration had claimed great praise for " instituting the Committee of Enquiry " into the finance: he thought they de- " served praise for that, and he was not " disposed to withhold it where due; he, " however, would say the present ministers " would revive that committee, *not indeed* " *constituted as before,* when 16 persons " notoriously connected with government " made part of it, (he and Mr. S. Bourne " being the only persons in opposition " belonging to it) but *composed of county* " *members, of independent persons;* and " should his colleague and himself be of " the number (which was probable) he " pledged himself for both, they would " examine into the waste of the public " money, *from those who put £30,000* " *per annum into their pocket for doing* " *nothing, down to the lowest and vilest* " *peculator.* One word more he would " add He revered the glorious memory " of Mr. Pitt; *those who trod in his foot-* " *steps should have his support,* whoever " they might be. Amidst all the glorious " things that great man did, he never gave " the public cause to lament one act, but " that of sacrificing to his country's cause " his most valuable life. (Loud and re- " peated applause.")——The conclusion of this speech clearly proves, that Sir H. Mildmay looked with the utmost contempt upon those to whom he was speaking, or that he regarded them all as peculators either in will or in deed, or that he was, upon this particular occasion at least, blessed with assurance such as few men can boast of; for when one considers the conduct of Pitt, when one views the effects of that conduct, when one reflects upon the millions and hundreds of millions that he squandered away, when one compares the situation of the country at the out-set and at the end of his predominance, to what, but to one of the aforementioned causes, can be attributed this eulogium? That very 30,000 pounds a year, given to a man for doing nothing, of which Sir H. Mildmay here complains, was given to that man by Pitt. All the peculations, to which Sir H. Mildmay here alludes, took place under the administration of Pitt. It was proved to the House of Commons, of which Sir H. Mildmay was a member, that Pitt lent 40,000 pounds of the public money to two members of parliament, without interest, without any authority for so doing, and without letting even his colleagues in office know any thing of the matter, of which no record, or minute, was made; it was proved, besides, that this money was so lent to enable those members of parliament, who were also loan contractors, to make good an instalment upon a loan, for which instalment they received a bonus from the public; and that, thus, *the public were made to pay interest and a bonus for the loan and the advance of its own money.* This Sir H. Mildmay well knew; and yet had he the face to say, that *whoever trod in the footsteps of Pitt should have his support,* those footsteps which had been invariably marked by some fresh attack either upon the property, or the personal liberty, of the people! But, if the history of the *Moulsham* contract, as given by the Morning Chronicle, be true, our astonishment at this eulogium upon Pitt naturally ceases; and we can now account for what seemed, before, so unaccountable, and what I have dwelt upon so many times; namely, the subservience of Sir H. Mildmay to Mr. Canning, Old George Rose, Mr. Sturges Bourne, and the rest of that set, by whom Pitt was continually surrounded.——We have, in this speech, a hint thrown out as to the manner in which the *Finance Committee* is to be *new modelled.* " It is *not to be com-* " *posed as it was before,*" Sir H. Mildmay tells us. It is to be composed " *of county* " *members, of independent persons.*" Yes, Sir, persons as independent as yourself, no doubt; but, Sir, unless it be composed *exactly* as it was before, as far as that is *possible*, be you assured, that the public will be at no loss to discover the motive for the alteration. A rigid inquiry is expected, and who is so able to prosecute such an inquiry as those persons who have lately been in office, and have, of course, obtained a knowledge of the arts by which accounts have been disfigured and the public cheated? These are the very men that ought to be upon such a committee:" and, I defy you, or any one else, to point out a single injury or inconvenience that could arise *to the public* from the committee being so composed. The committee are not *judges,* or *jurors*; they are merely *inquirers,* examiners of evidence, and framers of charges. It will rest for the House of Commons to judge; and, I can see no reason for any

one, except a peculator, to wish that those examiners should not be active and rigid. I hope, that you have spoken without authority in this instance; I hope the ministers will not attempt to stifle the inquiry by new-modeling the committee; I hope they see the necessity of bringing peculators to justice, of squeezing the robbers and restoring the stolen goods to the public; I hope, that they will seek in this way to secure their power, and not in the way of new bribes taken from the labour of the people; but, if I am disappointed in this, I shall not be disappointed in anticipating their speedy overthrow and their everlasting infamy. The nation's eyes are open. It is waiting with no common degree of anxiety for the drawing up of the curtain. Scene the first of act the first is the re-appointment of the Finance Committee; and upon the manner in which that is performed it will depend whether the piece shall be saved, or damned. The opposition are coming back with formidable, though decreased numbers; and, in spite of the jeering at "all the talents," they are, in point of talent, beyond all comparison superior to their rivals. They did, indeed, shamefully and most foolishly neglect their duty when in office, by favouring and screening the peculators who had fattened under Pitt; but, they are none of them peculators themselves, and, which is full as important, there are few of the sturdiest amongst them who have any friends amongst the peculators. They are, indeed, stripped of their offices, and of the influence which those offices give; but, they *have been in those offices*, they have been behind the curtain, they understand the machinery, the pegs and wires are familiar to them; and, though the people are justly angry with them for not making the exposure while they were in office, that anger, as is very natural, will wear away if the exposure be now made, and particularly if the making of it be opposed by the ministry. So that the only way in which the present ministers can retain their power, without openly declaring against the people and relying upon mere force, is, to prevent an exposure being made by the opposition by making that exposure themselves. No apologies, no shuffling, no tricks of new commissioners and new boards, will now do. A full and honest exposure must take place, with the free consent, and even with the aid, of the ministers themselves, or the day of their political perdition is at no great distance.——In returning to the part of Sir Henry Mildmay's speech, more immediately connected with the *Moulsham* contract we observe him very studiously declaring, that neither he nor his colleague has ever received either *place or pension* from any minister, and that they have not asked for place or pension for any of their relations. So far so good, because this is a confession clearly implied, that not to obtain places or pensions, for themselves or their relations, is meritorious in members of parliament, and that to obtain them is the contrary. I will not stop here to ask Sir Henry Mildmay what answer he would have made, if, amongst all the Portsdown freeholders, there had been one to ask him how he came to give his support and to load with his praises members of parliament who have obtained and enjoyed places and pensions in abundance; but I will come to the fact, as relating to the conduct of himself and his colleague, and I would beg to know *what difference* there is in receiving what he receives, if the above history be true, and in receiving the amount annually of a place or a pension? In both cases the money comes out of the public purse, of which he is one of the "*guardians*." In both cases the money comes for no adequate service rendered. In both cases he himself, as a member of parliament, votes a sum of the public money into his own pocket. Where, then, is the difference? Why, it is simply this, that the man who takes a place or a pension acts a part less sneaking than he who accepts of the public money in the way attributed to Sir H. Mildmay by the Morning Chronicle. ——As to Mr. Chute, he, too, has obtained neither place nor pension; but, did not Sir H. Mildmay go a little too far in asserting, that Mr. Chute had never asked a *favour* of any for a *relation?* Has not Mr. Chute a brother named Thomas Chute? This brother has been, to use the House slang, "a *gallant officer*" in the army; and he is now a "*reverend clergyman*." As he has, of course, solemnly declared, at his ordination, that he believed himself *called to the ministry by the Holy Ghost*, it will not be expected from me, that I should put any questions about *the cause* of his laying by the sword and taking up the word; but, I may, and I do, put this question to Mr. Chute: did you, Sir, never ask of a minister, or of a minister's understrapper, any *favour* for this brother? With which question I shall content myself *for the present*, and until I have leisure to write a letter to the freeholders of Hampshire upon these matters.——And now, Sir Henry Mildmay, if the history given by the Morning Chronicle be true: I hope it is not true; but, if it be true, what could have tempted *you* to accept of the

public money upon such terms, while you, in common with the rest of the parliament, were calling upon the people to make sacrifices for the defence of their country? Possessed, as you are, of large estates; having so deep an interest in the defence of the country, did it never occur to you to offer to *give* to that country, for purposes of defence, the use of a house that you valued not, and of a bit of ground which, to you, was hardly worthy of a moment's care? you will say, that you were not called upon to give any more than others were. Well; but, when your country stood in need of your house and land (for we must suppose that to have been the case), was it for *you* to make such a bargain with her? Where could be the *temptation?*" Want may, though the law hears it not, make an excuse in some cases; but, want of no sort, have you to plead. The sum, though enormous as compared with the consideration received by the country, is nothing when compared with what you have expended, and continue to expend in wine and haunches for gormandizing electors of different hues, and upon fidlers and cards for their decked-out daughters and their vain and stupid wives. And for what is all this expenditure? For the inglorious triumph which you have just been so ingloriously celebrating? For the honour of being huzzaed by wretches, who, but four or five months ago, treated you with scorn, when you were, in profession at least, making a stand for the independance of the county? for the honour of obtaining the votes of men, whom, in the House of Commons, you had represented as being at the nod of the minister of the day? Are these objects worthy of being bought? Are these objects whereon to waste a fortune? When you read this, if you are alone and take time to reflect, you will answer, "No." I know well what your feelings must have been, after, and even during, the late triumphal dinners at Portsmouth and Gosport; and you will readily believe, that I do not envy you those feelings. All you atchieve, at the very best, is but the privilege of being a minister's partizan. Not a tongue will pronounce your name as connected with any important measure or event. I impute to you no designs hostile to your country; but, it is for you to ask yourself, whether any man will ever ascribe to you any designs or wishes for her good? And, Sir, is it the huzzas of the servile and selfish swarm in the neighbourhood of the Dock Yards; is it the dearly purchased toasts of the more servile and more selfish crew of Winchester; are these objects for which to disquiet yourself, and to lay yourself open to temptation? Johnson was, unhappily, himself a pensioner, or, in his "VANITY OF HUMAN WISHES," he surely would have drawn the picture of one of those hundreds whose pursuit resembled yours. But, in accepting of the support of "*no popery*," there is something worse than vanity. What must you have thought of your audience; what of yourself, at the end of one of those scenes, when you had been, by implication at least, representing the late ministers as having attempted to *force the king to violate his oath?* You well knew that this was not true; and, again I ask you, what were your reflections at the close of the scene? Were not the huzzas dearly purchased with those reflections? And, then, turning to the wasteful expence, did you not start at the imaginary sound of the axe at the stem of your oaks? When a great public purpose is to be answered; when the choice lies between country and self, then, indeed, ease; fortune, and even life, are to be set at nought; but, that the lease of these should be hazarded for triumphs such as you have obtained is contrary to every principle whereby men of sense regulate the conduct of their lives.——These remarks, Sir, have proceeded from no ill-will towards you. I hope the account, which has called them forth, will prove to be unfounded; and, I shall, at any rate, be ready to insert whatever you or any of your friends may think proper to publish by way of contradiction.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——It appears to be likely, that a peace will soon take place between Napoleon and the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. They will, in my opinion, make peace upon hard terms; and the peace, I think he will propose, will be this: that Poland shall be independent under a Buonaparté; that the King of Prussia, with some parings off towards Bavaria and Holland, shall be re-placed upon his throne; that Russia and Prussia shall, to a certain extent, shut their ports against England; and that they shall join in a war against our maritime rights. That they will agree to such terms I do not say; but, this I do say, that wise English ministers would be prepared for the worst. Of what sort their preparations ought to be I will speak in my next; but, in the mean while I cannot help saying, that the *expedition*, now getting in readiness, appears to me to be by far the maddest measure that I have yet heard of, except as far as the *Hanoverian troops* are concerned.

CATHOLIC BILL.——A correspondent, whose letter will be found in the next page, begins his observations upon the effects of

this bill by congratulating me upon having thrown aside the discussion relative to the *Learned Languages*. He will find that I have not. In this number I have inserted all the letters which remain upon that subject, except one or two which contained nothing but mere repetitions of what had been advanced in former letters. I shall now, when I have read all over, give my reasons in support of my propositions; and when I have so done, my correspondent will find, that the subject, which I did enter upon *by accident*, is much more a *political* than of a literary nature.—His objection to the Catholic Bill, upon the score of *discipline* in the *army* and *navy*, might be very solid without at all affecting my position, that it would not have been dangerous to *the church*; though I cannot help thinking, that he has recourse to a very fertile imagination in supposing, that Popish Priests would get on board our ships in the character of common sailors, especially when he considers, that, for not reefing handily, they would be liable to receive a couple of dozen at the gangway, without any other ceremony than that of a verbal order of the captain to tie them up and give them the lashes! Popish priests, as well as Protestant priests, he may be assured, love their carcasses better than this. Their Kalendar is full of Saints; and, if it were not, they would, I am convinced, feel little inclination to seek canonization through the means of maritime martyrdom.—The close of his letter is, I am sorry to say it, an open apology for deception, and for a total disregard of that constitution, by which it is professed to govern us, and, what is more, *for the preservation of which we are called upon to spend our last shilling and to shed the last drop of our blood*. It is, however, manly to *speak out*, as this correspondent has done; but, the fact is, that to attempt disguise any longer *is useless*.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

The Eighth Volume of the PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, comprising the period from the commencement of the last session, December 15, 1806, to March 4, 1807, will be published on Saturday next.

The Second Volume of the PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND (comprising the period from the Accession of Charles I. in 1625, to the Battle of Edge-hill in October, 1642), will be ready for delivery on Saturday the 4th of July.

CATHOLIC BILL.

SIR;—You doubtless remember that you have occasionally assumed to yourself considerable merit from the publication of all important papers, domestic and foreign; and it is lamented by all your friends that these historical records have lately disappeared from your pages to make room for a discussion on the Learned Languages, not at all connected with the purposes of a Political Register.—But as you seem to have become sensible of this impropriety, I could wish you to recur to your former custom as soon as possible, and to begin afresh by printing Lord Howick's bill, about which so much discussion has naturally appeared in your Register, as being a question agitated among the public at large.—As you are indisputably a person of much experience and sagacity in political considerations, I confess that I have been led to conclude that you yourself have not given much attention to the latter part of this famous bill, that being in fact the part most objectionable, and which in all probability was fatal to its progress through parliament.—In your letter to Mr. Perceval (p. 993) you state, That the bill proposed 1. "To render it *lawful* for "the King to grant, *if he pleased*, commissions to English and Irish catholics, "through the whole of the several ranks "of the army and navy; and 2. to insure, by "law, the free exercise of his worship, to "every roman catholic soldier and sailor."—The first part of the bill, I think with you, was not objectionable. Indeed in so far as it went to extend the Irish law, of '793, to the whole United Kingdom, it was not objected to by the King, nor by any other person whatever; and the extension of that law to the higher and confidential situations in the army and navy, was not very important, as is indeed abundantly manifest from the contempt in which the Irish catholics appear to have held the intended boon. Perhaps they thought it rather aimed at the promotion of some of the catholic connections of the Grenville family, than their benefit; for in the common course of promotion unaided by powerful influence, it was, if at all a benefit, only so to a few of the junior part of the present generation.—The second part of the bill you seem to consider as equally unimportant in its proposed effect; seeing "that (p. 993) "the roman catholic soldiers and sailors are "and long have been freed from all restraint "as to their exercise of their worship."—I confess myself somewhat surprised, that it seems necessary to point out to you the wide difference between *permitting* in the army and navy the exercise of the roman catholic religion, by *sufferance* and *granting* it by an *express law*. In the first case, the

exercise of it must needs be unobstrusive, and when not purely religious, at least not mischievous; in the second case, the open exercise of that religion would become a symbol of distinction, tending to facilitate mutiny. As the effect of this part of the proposed law threatened the navy more nearly than the army, let us suppose a certain proportion (a third for instance) of a ship's crew, to be roman catholics. At present you say, "They are, and long have been "freed from all restraint as to the exercise "of their worship."—This freedom from restraint however extends no farther than to the *private* exercise of their worship, nor could it be further extended without introducing in some shape a catholic priest, whose flock would of course be much more obedient to him than to their heretick officers. Under the operation of the intended law, a priest would most probably at first be introduced in the character of a common sailor, and as his condescension in this would make him the more popular and more dangerous among the crew, it would soon be found necessary to recognize the office, and, to carry two chaplains, one protestant the other catholic, sharing the emoluments of the situation according to the respective number of their flocks. In the natural ambition to increase his own importance on board, the Roman Catholic chaplain would of course raise many discussions with the commanding officer, upon the obvious question of what are and what are not "proper and seasonable times" for attending divine worship, consistent with the Roman Catholic persuasion or opinions. The difference of opinion between the captain and Roman Catholic chaplain would form all the Roman Catholics in the ship into a consistent party; if, indeed, the usual popular assiduity of the Roman Catholic priesthood had not already done so, and it is not difficult to foresee that the numerous class of common sailors, who are but too indifferent to all religion, would naturally range themselves in the same party, as authorizing them in a legal opposition to their officers.——I shall not further pursue this subject. It is manifest, that either the commanding officer must by undue compliances flatter the Roman Catholic chaplain into co-operation with himself, or venture the dangerous disaffection of the crew by opposing him: in other words, that there would be two commanding officers in each ship; one armed with the admiralty commission, the other with the popular favour of the crew. How long could subordination be maintained under such circumstances? Or rather, how many of our ships would be steered into the enemy's harbours in a twelvemonth?—In the army the mischief is not so imminent, though the heavy threat against any officer acting in violation of this law, would very much diminish the prompt authority so essential in the army; wherein, under this law, officers might be threatened, and actually brought before a court-martial, by their soldiers, on every pretence of having prevented their attendance at a divine worship consistent with their religious opinions.—I cannot conclude my letter without noticing to you some *unfair* arguments and statements which have been used by the favorers of lord Howick's bill. 1. I consider it unfair to argue from any analogy between the Irish Catholics and any other Catholics. The Irish peasantry who contribute to fill the ranks of our army and navy are Catholics; but they are also (not by their own fault, indeed,) less civilized than any other people in Europe. I need not remind you of the Dutch adage quoted by DeWit, "that in po-"litics as at billiards, the ball must be struck, "not from the best place, but from where "it lies." It would indeed be happy for themselves and us, if the Irish peasantry were already civilized, but as they are not, can they be treated with the same confidence as if they were so? Civilization is a work of centuries, and I think we see no probability of its advancement by the government of Ireland, which experience shews is too *unstable* for any good purpose, even if administered by the most capable and patriotic minds. 2. It is also *unfair* to speculate on any voluntary enlistment of Irish Catholics as consequent from this bill. They enlist in greater proportion than the English already, and without making any inquiries about the exercise of their religion, from this plain motive, that a man who lives in a wretched hut, clothed in rags, and on no better food than potatoes and buttermilk, justly deems the pay and accommodations of the soldier or sailor as an improvement of his condition, while the Englishman feels the contrary. On this ground I do not think that lord Howick's bill would have raised a single recruit. 3. I think it *unfair*, or at least incautious, in those who now blame what they call the *yell* of "no popery," not to adduce facts in proof that such a cry has been prevalent. I do not mean that the present administration or any other would not use any cry by which they might hope to influence elections of members of parliament, on which elections depends their continuance in office. The nature of things requires this: under whatever stigma of theoretical impropriety, they MUST succeed in procuring a majority

in parliament, and so powerful an auxiliary as a popular cry cannot be neglected in this urgency. But where have the present administration succeeded in raising this cry? At Northampton, at Ipswich, and perhaps at Shields: I am ignorant of any other instances of their success, and should be glad of more extensive information; till which I shall suspect that the cry, "*that there is such a general cry*," is as unfounded as such a general cry itself could be. Indeed, you have complimented the people of England for not having been misled by a few addresses, which, with becoming prudence, waited till a change of administration was accomplished. ——I depend on your singular candour for insertion of this letter, which in so many particulars is adverse to your own opinions.——M. P.—*8th June*, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No 25.

SIR, ——As you have invited all who wish to try their skill on the subject, to discuss with you the question of the utility of classical learning, by which expression is commonly understood, however improperly, a knowledge of the languages of Greece and Rome, I take the liberty of sending you a few observations. The question, I think, divides itself into two parts: 1st, whether a knowledge of the dead languages be necessary, in our time, to the formation of a correct taste in composition, and to a relish of all that is great and exquisite in the productions of mind? And, 2dly, whether, according to our existing institutions, it is necessary to those who aspire to eminence in any of the three liberal professions? As to the first question, I think, that although a knowledge of the learned languages, is not without its use, it is by no means NECESSARY; and, therefore, I conclude that it is not worthy the sacrifice of twelve or fourteen years in its acquisition. At the period of the revival of literature, this knowledge was NECESSARY for the purpose of forming a taste, and finishing an elegant mind; but we have now obtained models of every species of literary excellence even in our own language, models I will venture to say, equal to the best productions of the best times of Greece and Rome. In sublimity of conception, in variety and richness of fancy and feeling, and in strength and elegance of diction, Milton, in the opinion of the best judges is not inferior to Homer; and, although Homer be the father of poetry, it is not uncommon to find a son superior to his father. In all the higher powers of poetical excellence, Spencer is superior to Virgil; but, perhaps, there is a polish and art in the Roman poet, which the English one has not attained. It must be obvious to every mind formed to feel the highest elevation of a muse of fire, that none of the Greek tragedians is to be compared to Shakespeare; perhaps we have other tragedians equal to any of the Grecian school, not for their elegance and art; but, certainly, for all that constitutes real poetry. Fletcher and his great contemporary will not sink in this comparison. In the inferior orders of poetry, in which I class whatever possesses not the highest power of the imagination, Pope, Collins, Gray, and the author of the Castle of Indolence, will bear a comparison with the best productions of the Roman muse. In eloquence, nothing in Demosthenes is superior to some of the happiest flights of Lord Chatham; and Burke, for depth of philosophical observation, for legislative wisdom, for richness and variety of fancy, figure, and illustration, stands without a rival in all antiquity. Cicero, the English orator took for his model (at least such was the opinion of Fox expressed in a letter to me on the subject, after the death of his illustrious friend); but no one can hesitate on the character of Burke's eloquence being superior to that of the Roman consul. The speeches of Burke are not alone to be brought into this comparison, for his Reflections on the French Revolution, his Regicide Peace, his Letter to the Duke of Bedford, form specimens of eloquence, in all its rich variety of power. Cicero, indeed, wrote on all the topics of philosophy which were agitated in his time and country, with great address and eloquence; but he was but the retailer of other men's thoughts, he threw no new light on the speculative sciences, and both his speeches and writings are greatly deficient in extensive and original ideas. In comparing his speeches with those of Burke, another allowance should be made in favour of the English orator, for the speeches of the Roman which we have, appeared from his own hand, whilst few of Burke's enjoyed that advantage.—Our correct prose writers, leave us nothing in this respect to learn from the antients. The prose writings of Milton, of Swift, and Horne Tooke, invite the imitation of every one. In history, Hume is equal to any of the historians of Greece and Rome, for profound and extensive philosophical observation; and Gibbon and Robertson, may fairly be classed with the least exceptionable of the Roman writers. Indeed, perhaps, the province of historical composition, is not sufficiently distinct from eloquence and general prose writing [illegible]

a separate analysis. I do not touch upon philosophical writings, as they tend rather to strengthen than to polish the mind; and, surely, in this respect, we are above antiquity. Except the revivers of the metaphysics of Plato, few will question this fact. I think few who consider with attention what I have written, and come to it with a truly candid mind, will continue to affirm, that, (however useful a knowledge of the dead languages may be), it is absolutely NECESSARY to the formation of a truly elegant and critical taste. In approaching the second part of the question, whether such knowledge be NECESSARY, to those who aspire to eminence in the liberal professions, I fear I shall be obliged greatly to differ from what I conceive to be your opinion. The records of our religion are in the learned languages; most of the old medical writers use those languages; and the law is often, in its maxims, and sometimes even old conveyances are, in the Latin language. No instance of an eminent divine or physician can be given, who was ignorant of the learned languages; and, I believe, but few lawyers of eminence have been wholly without them. Wallace, who was Attorney General, and a very profound lawyer, is perhaps the most remarkable instance which can be given of eminence in the legal profession, without classical knowledge. Two or three lawyers at present get money enough, without classical learning; but have no great reputation as being profound in their profession. For the professions of divinity and physic, I think classical literature NECESSARY; and for the profession of the law, some Latin seems almost indispensible. I hope the discussion you have provoked will be continued, until this great question be determined, and permit me to say, it is one of as great importance as ever was entered upon, the pages of your most valuable Register.——CANDIDUS.—*Feb. 24.*

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 26.

SIR;—I mean, omitting the consideration of all other advantages of the Learned Languages, to confine myself to one which none of your correspondents seem hitherto to have thought of. We have divine authority for preserving the different gradations in society; high and low, rich and poor, are of God's holy appointment, and are therefore not to be levelled. In the University it used to be held that, not comparative merit alone, but a different kind of knowledge was requisite to entitle a person to the respective ranks of honours conferred at the taking of the bachelor's degree; and it is surely no very unsound opinion, that the higher orders of society should possess an extension and expansion of mind, a better way of thinking on all subjects and in all circumstances, than the lower orders. It is generally true, that neither time nor chance will alter the cast of an early disposition to virtue, virtue in its most unlimited sense, whether moral, religious, military, or civil; it is proverbially true, that evil communications corrupt good manners. In opposition, therefore, to your sentiment, that "the time given to the learned languages is lost," I conclude, that it keeps those together who are to fill the several posts of the higher orders of society, and that it keeps them separate from those of the lower orders; that it so tends to preserve the best distinctions of high and low, and that it is therefore a positive and important good.—W. B.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 27.

SIR;—Having in your Register of the 14th inst. reduced your former vague and desultory attack upon classical learning, into two distinct propositions, I will venture to enter the list with you on a topic in which you have hitherto displayed more confidence than knowledge, more valour than discretion, and more zeal than prudence. To your first proposition, viz. that the Greek and Latin languages are improperly called learned languages. I will reply by stating the distinction between learning and wisdom; learning is that which we acquire only by being taught, wisdom is either the gift of God, or the fruit of our own experience; in this sense then, every art, science or mystery, which, being reduced to a system of rules, requires to be taught, is a branch of learning. The languages of Greece and Rome, being difficult to be understood, requiring much time and attention, they who have taken the pains to learn them, or profess to teach them to others, are by long custom and the common consent of mankind called learned; and it would be hard to deprive them of a title which they have so long enjoyed undisturbed, though I will not deny that any man may be called learned in that particular branch of knowledge which he has taken the trouble to acquire. The term learned languages seems therefore exclusively to be applied to those of Greece and Rome, because they require much study to be learnt. To overturn your second proposition seems to me not to require much depth of argument, and I should wonder that a man of your penetration and judg-

ment should have hazarded so weak an affirmation, did I not take it for certain, that your enmity to the dead languages arises from your envy of those who understand them, and an unwillingness to allow any merit to what you yourself do not possess, or highly estimate. I suppose you do not mean to affirm that the writers of Greece and Rome, their poets, orators, historians, metaphysicians and moralists, contain nothing worthy of being known or studied, for if you do you will stand alone in opposition to all the greatest men who have lived since the revival of learning; a situation in which, with all your boldness and talents, I should think you would not choose to place yourself. If then you will allow that much valuable knowledge is to be derived from the study of the Greek and Roman writers to all those professions which you have enumerated, I must inquire whether possessing a knowledge of these writers in their original languages, you prefer that method of understanding their realities, to the muddy medium of translation. If you confess that you have no knowledge of these languages, then I must deny your authority to be competent to decide the dispute. Perhaps you will say, that there is no beauty in languages, that one is just as good as another, and deserves to be considered merely as the vehicle of knowledge. Though by no means a friend to the mere study of language, and despising most heartily those men who spend their time in verbal criticism and learned trifling, yet I am not, I trust, insensible to the beauties of language, nor even to the use of it; for as language is the vehicle of ideas, to understand the ideas of any person thoroughly, we must understand the language in which they are conveyed, or we stand a chance to lose much of his meaning; and even to understand our own language, we must be acquainted with those from which so much of it is borrowed, or else we shall be in danger of repeating words by rote, like children or parrots, and very often misapply the meaning and force of a term for want of knowing whence it is derived. Having thus attempted to prove that the matter contained in the Greek and Roman Classics deserves to be studied by those who wish to store their minds with a knowledge of past events or with the bright ideas of men long celebrated for their talents, and that these can only be thoroughly understood by understanding the languages in which they are conveyed; and having also attempted to prove that the languages themselves contain much beauty and utility, I trust you will be prevailed on to moderate a little that tone of confident affirmation which on many other subjects leads you into error, and lessens the value of your opinion in many cases where it might be of infinite service. With all my admiration of your talents, and with all my desire to believe in your integrity, I am not blind to your faults; and if I should have any share in diminishing them, I shall think I have served the public in extending the sphere of your utility.—W. BURDON.

Hartford, near Morpeth, Feb. 17, 1807.

LEARNED LANGUAGES.

No. 28.

SIR,——Having replied rather too briefly in my former letter, to the confident and dangerous assertion contained in your second position, permit me to resume the subject of classical learning, and endeavour to shew more fully its supereminent advantages in all the different professions in which you have, with unpardonable audacity, declared it to be "worse than useless." The greatest statesmen of modern times, you will probably not deny, if you are at all acquainted with their lives, have formed their minds by the study of ancient history, and ancient morality; and where shall we look for such bright examples of virtue and talents, as in the far famed republics of Greece and Rome, and yet according to your advice, the wisdom of Pericles, the virtue of Aristides, and the patriotism of Leonidas, are all to be despised, and their examples lost to future ages, because the recital of their actions is contained in a language difficult to be understood; yet, tell me what great character was ever formed without encountering difficulties of various sorts; and where is the wisdom of giving up any branch of knowledge, because it is acquired with difficulty. The mind of man does not proceed from its Maker, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, finished and complete. Its formation is the work of time, study and experience, it must be nourished and fed with the milk of knowledge, before it can be said to have arrived at its full growth; and the statesman who should venture to undertake any share in the government of a nation, without having first stored his mind with the precepts of ancient wisdom, and a knowledge of the great events and characters which in former empires contributed to their advancement or decline, would be considered by all sensible

men as a pretender, and an empty, conceited ignorant, who set up his own mind as an epitome of all human wisdom, and solely sufficient for all great occasions; it is not merely by their own experience, be it ever so great, that men become skilful or intelligent and superior to others in any branch of knowledge, but by availing themselves of the wisdom and experience of others. This is the stock with which every man must begin the world, or he will make very little progress in any thing great, for no man is alone sufficient to form his own mind, or prepare himself "for deeds of high emprise." The greatest men of antiquity availed themselves of all the knowledge their times afforded, and they have left us a stock which can never be dispensed with, or exhausted: they have left us books which have been considered the repositories of knowledge for many hundred years, and I trust will continue to be, when your writings, having answered their temporary purpose, are forgotten. Where then can the statesman study history, philosophy, and poetry, with so much advantage as in those authors by whom it is allowed by all but conceited ignorance, have never yet been excelled; perhaps, you will smile at the word poetry, as a qualification for a statesman, and you may if you please, but every statesman may learn much wisdom and much truth from Homer, Virgil, and Horace. I might mention many other antient poets, whose writings contain much practical wisdom for the management of states; but these are sufficient for examples. Morality, I suppose, you will hardly deny to be a branch of knowledge highly requisite for a statesman, though it is seldom found to influence their conduct; and, in short, all that Cicero requires to form a great orator, in his book de Oratore, is equally requisite for a statesman, a man employed to consult and decide on the interests of a whole community. I maintain then that the foundation of all his knowledge must be sought for in the writers of Greece and Rome, though I am very far from saying that the knowledge of modern times is to be despised, and yet even these together are not all that is requisite to form a statesman; he must have a great natural capacity, and great strength of mind, who ventures to manage public affairs; but to say that his natural powers, be they ever so great, will not be improved, and his knowledge increased, by a familiar acquaintance with ancient history, poetry, morality, metaphysics, and eloquence, is at once to set aside all past experience, and make every man begin the world afresh. The limits of my time and your paper forbid me to enlarge on the further advantages a statesman may derive from the study of the classics in their original languages; or I might shew that no man can be a finished statesman without so valuable an acquirement, for no man who understands these languages will ever allow that either their spirit or their meaning can be conveyed through a translation, any more than a just idea can be formed of a fine painting from the most eloquent description, which every one will acknowledge must fall far short of the original. To be a legislator without being acquainted with the spirit and principles of law, or the laws of the most celebrated states of antiquity, would be a degree of arrogance hardly conceiveable, were we not furnished with daily examples of such unprincipled presumption. To make laws which are to bind our fellow creatures, and to preserve the peace and comforts of society against lawless violence, is the highest employment of human wisdom, and shall any man dare to undertake this employment without being previously versed in the principles of legislation, and of all that is required of a law, before he shall venture to impose it upon others as a rule of conduct? One should think before a man undertook such an office, he would be desirous to inquire into the effects of law in general, and of particular laws in particular states, how they have operated either to restrain or punish evil actions, and why they have failed of the end proposed; and where can any man acquire all this legislative knowledge in such excellence as in the history of the free states of antiquity, so famous for their political and civil wisdom? Whoever ventures to become a legislator without this previous preparation may sometimes do right, but he will oftener be in danger of doing wrong for want of a due knowledge of legislation. To a physician the knowledge of Greek and Latin is indispensibly requisite, not merely to understand the terms, but the principles of his art; for no modern improvements have much extended the study of medicine. Yet antient knowledge is by no means to be despised. The laws of Rome being at present practised in many of our courts, renders a knowledge of them indispensible for a lawyer; but it is not on that account only that he must understand Greek and Latin, but because the classical authors will tend to form his mind to the love and the practice of all that is just, and pure, and honourable, and to elevate it above the low tricks and chicanery of his profession; they will teach him, that to be a lawyer is to be the friend of the oppressed, the patron of defenceless innocence, the avenger of crimes, the pu-

nisher of evil, and umpire between man and man. A lawyer, who enters into his profession without having his mind purified and refined from the mere paltry consideration of gross interest, may make money by dirty and dishonest means, but he will never bring honour upon his profession, nor avoid being a disgrace to human nature. To a clergyman above all other men, the study of the classics is of the first utility. Though I am not willing to acknowledge the superior excellence of christian morality to that which was taught by the sages of Greece and Rome, yet I will not deny that every minister of Christ ought to be of that opinion, and it is impossible for him to convince himself on the subject without having compared the two together, which can only be done by an acquaintance with each in their original tongue, for both Heathen and Christian morality are incapable of being properly translated; if this be true of the New Testament, it is much more so of the Old; no clergyman therefore, can understand his profession who does not understand Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. The knowledge of the classics however is not to be restricted solely to the learned professions: it is of use to the military and naval officer, and more especially to men of great private fortune; for since classical learning has so long formed a part of general education, it has become interwoven as it were, with our own literature, and even with our common conversation; it is impossible, therefore, to take up any English book, particularly of our best writers, which does not contain some classical reference or allusion, which does not derive some of its merits from its classical style of composition, and of which the author has not studied the beauties of the Greek and Roman writers, and infused into his own work, some of their graces and spirit. Milton it is impossible for any man to read without understanding the classics. Pope, Dryden, and Addison, would be almost equally unintelligible to those who have not a taste of classical learning; and Johnson breathes the spirit of the classics in every page of his writings, though unperceived by those to whom they are not familiar. To the study of the classics we are indebted for the sentiments of refined morality, pure patriotism and generous ambitions which have shone conspicuous in many great characters of modern times. Whence did Hampden, Sidney, Russel, Marvel and Shippen derive that virtuous flame of liberty, that proud spirit of independence, that noble abhorrence of tyranny which animated their whole lives, and caused them to devote their time and talents to the service of their country, whence but from the study of those classics which you despise, depreciate, and vilify with the name of Monkish Pedantry? These men were actuated by no mean or party considerations, no narrow motives of private interest or private resentment; they had formed their notions of rectitude and virtue from the sages and the patriots of antiquity; and it was their generous indignation against vice, derived from their admiration of great and noble actions, which prompted them to espouse their country's cause, with the certain risque of life, liberty, and property; in that cause, three of them lost their lives, and the other two lived in honourable poverty. Should you still persist in reviling the study of the classics, though I shall lament your obstinacy, I must still more lament my own insufficiency to convince you of what I am myself so fully persuaded. I remain, with the greatest deference to your talent, and the greatest desire to believe in your integrity, sincerely, yours,—W. BURDON.—*Hartford, near Morpeth, Feb.* 28, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 29.

SIR,——Though I am a passionate admirer of the Greek and Roman writers, and though you have expressed yourself as if you despised them, I am yet of opinion that our sentiments are not greatly different. You appear to me to have in view an important fact, which in the present practice of education, and state of learning in England, is matter of lamentable contemplation; and I could wish that you would further explain yourself, in such a manner as to place your meaning beyond the reach of misapprehension.——Be assured, Sir, that those who are the most profoundly acquainted with the Greek and Roman authors, will never be among those who patronise the abuses of ancient learning. I will produce to you a noble example. Our own never-to-be-forgotten countryman, John Milton, was a master in classical literature, and an admirer if ever there was one, of the ancient authors; yet if I am not greatly mistaken, you will adopt his sentiments in the passage which I am going to transcribe, and will, with me, rejoice to associate with you so great an authority in stigmatising abuses, to which his strictures, at this day, so exactly apply. The passage is somewhat long; but its value, I trust, will make you think a page of the Political Register deservedly bestowed upon it. "Seeing every nation affords not experience and tradition enough "for all kind of learning, therefore we are

"chiefly have at the languages of those people who have at any time been most industrious after wisdom. So that language "is but the instrument, conveying to us "things useful to be known. And though "a linguist should pride himself to have all "the tongues that Babel cleft the world into, yet if he have not studied *the solid "things in them*, as well as the words and "lexicons, he were nothing so much to be "esteemed a learned man, as any yeoman "or tradesman competently wise in his "mother dialect only. Hence appear the "many mistakes, which have made learning so unpleasant and so unsuccessful. "First, we do amiss to spend seven or eight "years merely in scraping together so much "miserable Latin and Greek, as might be "learned otherwise, easily and delightfully, "in one year. And that which casts our "proficiency therein so much behind, is "our time lost; partly in too oft idle vacancies, given both to schools and universities; partly in a preposterous exaction, "forcing the empty wits of children to "compose themes, verses, and orations, "which are the acts of ripest judgment, and "the final work of a head filled, by long "reading and observation, with elegant "maxims and copious invention. These "are not matters to be wrung from poor "striplings, like blood out of the nose, or "the plucking of untimely fruit; besides "the ill habit which they get, of wretched "barbarising against the Latin and Greek "idiom with their untutored anglicisms, "odious to be read, yet not to be avoided "without a well continued and judicious "conversing among pure authors digested, "which they scarce taste. Whereas, if "after some preparatory grounds of speech, "by their certain forms got into memory, "they were led to the praxis thereof in "some short book, lessoned thoroughly to "them, they might then forthwith proceed "to learn *the substance of good things and "arts*, in due order, which would bring the "whole language quickly into their power. "—This I take to be the most rational and "most profitable way of learning languages, "and whereby we may best hope to give "account to God of our youth spent herein.—And for the usual method of teaching arts, I deem it to be an old error of "universities, (not yet well recovered from "the scholastic grossness of barbarous ages,) "that, instead of beginning with arts more "easy (and those be such as are most obvious to the sense), they present their "young unmatriculated novices, at their "first coming, with the most intellective "abstractions of logic and metaphysics. So "that they, having but newly left those "grammatic flats, where they stuck unreasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction, and now on the "sudden transported under another climate, "to be tossed with their unbalasted wits in "fathomless and unquiet deeps of controversy, do for the most part grow into hatred and contempt of learning, mocked "and deluded all this while with ragged "notions and babblements, while they expected worthy and delightful knowledge: "till poverty or youthful years call them "importunately their several ways, and "hasten them, with the sway of friends, "either to an ambitious and mercenary, or "ignorantly zealous divinity; some allured "to the trade of law, grounding their purposes, not on the prudent and heavenly "contemplation of justice and equity, which "was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious "terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees; "others betake them to state affairs, with "souls so unprincipled in virtue, and true "generous breeding, that *flattery and "courtshifts, and tyrannous aphorisms, appear to them the highest points of wisdom*, "instilling their barren hearts with a conscientious slavery, if (as I rather think) it "be not feigned; others, lastly, of a more "delicious and airy spirit, retire themselves, "(knowing no better) to the enjoyments "of ease and luxury, living out their days "in feast and jollity, which indeed is the "wisest and the safest course of all these, "unless they were with more integrity undertaken. And these are the errors, and "these are the fruits, of mispending our "prime youth at the schools and universities as we do, either in learning mere "words, or such things chiefly as were better unlearned." Milton's Tractate on Education.—It is passing strange that at this very day, the learning of England is little better than what Milton in another place denominates "the toilsome vanity of vernal curiosities." The glory of an English scholar is to know the obscure niceties of Greek versification. In this trifling study is the time of our hopeful youth at the schools and universities wasted. Every reflecting man who has attended to the instructions at our schools, and universities, must lament that science forms a very insignificant part of the business. Instead of studying the laws of the universe, the nature of man, the principles of human society, and of government, the students are immersed in the grammatical subtilties of Greek prosody; and if they

happen to walk forth a little better instructed in these than their neighbours, they swell with a self conceit which knows no bound, and look down upon others as altogether illiterate and vulgar compared with them.—But this wretched trifling is not less to be complained of by the lovers of ancient literature, than by any other indignant observer. This is not to study an ancient author; any more than was the employment of the mathematician, who read Virgil merely to have the pleasure of tracing the voyage of Æneas on the map. This is to divert the attention from the thoughts and spirit of the author; it is to range butterflies on sheets of paper according to the colour of their wings, instead of studying the great principles of nature which regulate the order of their existence. The consequence is, that among so many who pride themselves in knowing the language of the ancient authors, nothing is so rare as to find a man who has studied the sentiments which they express, and the unrivalled skill which they display in the management of their thoughts. Of course nothing is so rare as to find a man who has profited, in any considerable degree, by the knowledge of the learned languages. It is not understanding the mere words of Milton's divine poem, if any man reads it without studying the thoughts, and the admirable artifice of the composition, that is calculated to convey any improvement, even if he should spend his whole days in calculating the syllables of each line, and meditating the pauses.—This abuse of ancient learning, Mr. Cobbett, which has prevailed so long, and to such a extent in England, greatly requires the hand of chastisement. Yet the study of the ancient languages, were it but wisely conducted, would form an invaluable part of a liberal education. Absurd indeed would it be to say, in the infinite stores of knowledge which our own language now contains, that a man, by the study of English books, may not become a very wise man, and a very good writer. But still there are advantages in the knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, which are much more than worth all the time requisite for acquiring them. To study more thoroughly the genius of the two most celebrated nations of antiquity, is itself an object of manly and liberal curiosity, and of great utility. The languages which they spoke are much more regular and ingenious in their structure than the modern languages of Europe, and greatly assist the youthful mind in acquiring that most important article of knowledge, an insight into the nature of speech. The ancients have been universally allowed to be exquisite masters in the art of composition. They present their thoughts with a skill and an effect which has scarcely ever been equalled; their ingenuity is refined, and inexhaustible; and the artifice of their writings cannot be studied without the greatest improvement.—You, Mr. Cobbett, are too acute and intelligent not to know that there is something more in the acquisition of a language than the mere knowledge of sounds, or of such ideas as might be conveyed by a translation. Are you not the wiser; is not your mind improved, by the acquisition of the French language, beyond any ideas which you would have acquired by translation? There is an exercise of intellect in the comparison of another language with your own, in observing the mode in which an idea is expressed in the one, and in the other, which you will allow to be in the highest degree improving, and to give a much clearer apprehension of many important distinctions and relations of thought. If this mighty advantage is gained in any degree by the study of a language so nearly resembling our own in structure and idiom as the French, must it not be gained in a much greater degree by studying languages whose idiom is so different, and their structure so much more perfect?—You and I, Mr. Cobbett, will still farther allow, that to derive the highest improvement from an exquisite author, we ought not to satisfy ourselves with a vague conception of his ideas. We ought to enter deeply into his mode of thinking, and imbibe, as it were, his very spirit. But can this be done in a translation? If every English scholar must derive great improvement from studying profoundly the *Paradise Lost*, could he derive equal advantage from studying it in a translation? Or, to take another example, could any man read the Spectator with equal profit in another language, as in its own? If the art of presenting one's thoughts in the best light be of unspeakable value; if it be second only to the faculty of thinking justly; and must ever form a main object of good education, then the study of the finished pieces of the greatest masters of stile, who have ever appeared, is no idle occupation.—Your Correspondent in No. 4, p. 219, endeavours to involve the question in a metaphysical subtlety. He says no new idea is to be got from the ancient authors. But are those authors useless by whom we are rendered more masters of our ideas; by whom our ingenuity is sharpened; our ardour kindled; our taste improved; our powers of imagination enlarged; and our skill in exhibiting our thoughts improved? Perhaps, in a metaphysical sense, no new idea is to be

got from Milton or Shakespeare. But shall we therefore, be argued into a belief that the perusal of these authors is not instructive, and that in the highest degree?—But let us take this twister of sand ropes on his own metaphysical ground; even there we shall find it is not true, that the Greek and Roman languages convey no new ideas. It will surely not be denied that they convey the ideas of the Greek and Roman languages themselves; that is, of the most perfect instruments of communication ever known among men. I trust it will not be rashly asserted that this is a trivial matter. Next, they convey all those important ideas of comparison to which I alluded above, and of the subtle relations of thought which those comparisons discover. They convey ideas of all the various idioms of these languages; and what is highly curious and instructive, ideas of the genius, stile, and manner, of the exquisite authors by whom they are adorned.—The truth, Mr. Cobbett, lies in a very narrow compass. As far as languages are learned for the purpose of business, for immediate communication with those who speak them, it is evident they do not form part of the present argument. But, as far as languages are studied for merely mental improvement, it will be found that every reason, with hardly any exception, which applies to the learning of any language, applies to that of the ancient languages, and with greater force: and that many reasons of the strongest kind apply to the learning of the ancient languages, which are not applicable to any other. I can with confidence leave this comparison to yourself. ——Your, &c.——D——s.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES".

(No. 30.)

Sir;—In the controversy which has lately formed a part of your weekly publication, it is to be wished that your correspondents No. 1 and No. 3 would duly consider the force of the just distinction made by W. F. S. (No. 4) between "Learning," so called, and the wisdom or knowledge, whereby a man is enabled to become really useful to himself and to others. That the study of *some* foreign grammar tends to facilitate the acquirements of writing and speaking the English language with correctness will be allowed. Yet it does not follow, that this foreign grammar should be the Grecian or the Roman. In the present age, the French or the German would be more useful.—Admitting, however, the desirableness of an acquaintance with the two dead languages for amusement or for ornaments even this will not support the present necessity or usefulness of the numerous ancient and expensive endowments in our two universities. When colleges were first founded, they were the only seminaries or schools almost in the several kingdoms of Europe. But the very great number of excellent private schools established in England within the last century, and the universal custom now, with every parent who possesses the means, to send their children to some such school, for 7 or 8 years, must surely weaken, if not destroy, all pretensions to exclusive or any superior usefulness in these ancient foundations, whereat the education of a bishop, in their early institution, was not equal to that now acquired by almost every tradesman's son at a common school.—Visiting a friend in a college at Oxford some years ago, he facetiously observed, "there must be a great "stock of learning in that university, be- "cause so much was brought thither by "lads from their provincial schools, and so "little, comparatively, taken away with "them." As far, even, as the boasted knowledge of the two languages extends, I believe that on the aggregate, the above remark is no more than just; while the injuries to their dispositions and to their morals, contracted by the young men, and the gloomy pride and discontent of those, who are compelled for a subsistence to reside until their middle age, contribute not inconsiderably to diminish the sum of public and general comfort. Is it not well known, that these constant residents, as fellows, waiting for preferment until their 40th year, are mere children when they emerge from their cloisters into the world? And I would ask any man of like or fewer years, who has been educated wholly at a decent rural school, from 7 until his 15th year, where he had the opportunity to acquire mathematical with some classical and other now customary knowledge, and who has afterwards been occupied in some business, useful to himself and to others; whether such a man, I say, would exchange his habits and acquirements of knowledge for those of any fellow in any college in either of our two universities?—To speak of arithmetic as an acquirement or a science, will, I must expect, excite a smile of contempt from these people. But this is no more than a confirmation with me of their extreme ignorance of whatever is truly valuable. It is well known they all despise that knowledge, which the late Dr. Johnson said was the most useful, because it was the most certain of all the sciences; that knowledge, without which Sir Isaac Newton never could have accomplished his sublime discoveries. If it should be said

that these colleges are necessary to the qualification of persons intended for the church, this is answered by shewing, that a sufficient degree of previous "learning," or as much as at a college is acquirable in a provincial school; sufficient, however to enable the candidate to pass the ordeal of the bishop's or his chaplain's examination. But why is so much stress laid on the necessity of laborious study and of much learning, to render men fit teachers of the Christian religion? It no where appears that either Jesus or his Apostles were learned beyond their native language, which was the Hebrew or Syriac. And it seems a peculiar sort of inconsistency, that all who are designed to propagate the Gospel of Christ must of necessity prepare themselves by nearly 20 years of study into the manners and opinions of pagans, Greeks and Romans, from authors who wrote and died before Christ was born, and who had no expectation nor idea of such a Redeemer. I shall conclude by quoting a noble Englishman and a "*scholar*," and one who therefore was not "a fox without a tail." "The usual studies of those who "are called "learned" are but a specious "sort of idleness, and the knowledge acquired thereby is but a creditable ignorance. Such studies may form mere "antiquaries and scholastic prating pedants, "but such are not useful men."—I am, &c. —J. B.—*Alton, Feb* 14, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 31.

SIR,——Of the five parts into which I have supposed the knowledge requisite, in order to a good general education may be divided (see No. 18, p. 477), the doctrines of ancient writers upon those enumerated 2dly and 3dly are either wholly exploded, or are capable of correct translation, and may therefore be acquired without any previous knowledge of the Learned Languages. The parts enumerated 1st and 4thly are closely connected with each other. To be able rightly to appreciate our own actions, supposes the knowledge of every secret spring exciting to them, which in effect amounts to a perfect knowledge of ourselves. The knowledge of ourselves is that standard by which we compare our first observations respecting man; it is upon this knowledge we engraft all the conclusions that we draw from such observations, and the correctness or incorrectness thereof, will therefore materially depend upon its perfectness or imperfectness. But events of which man is the active agent, forcing themselves in quick succession upon our attention, and sometimes involving our safety and our happiness, urge us to a search for more extensive information respecting him. The individual standard we have thus created, is found inadequate to the dispatch we meditate, and we proceed to form a more general standard, viz. we arrange in one general idea the dispositions, the habits, the passions, the restraints, both moral and political, together with every fact and circumstance which we find inseparate from man in the state of civil society, and when we have established these two standards for our guide and correction, we are enabled to proceed with safety in informing ourselves of those *peculiar* habits, dispositions, passions, restraints moral and political, and of every fact and circumstance, which distinguish individuals and states around us from each other. We take the like method in grounding our conclusions, as we proceed in estimating the effects likely to arise out of these circumstances, as well in regard of those which are general, as of those which are peculiar. And, therefore, we may call the knowledge of ourselves, and the general idea of man in a state of civil society, the *theoretical knowledge of mankind*, and the knowledge of such variations therefrom, as distinguish individuals and states from each other, the *practical knowledge of mankind*.—The part 5thly enumerated applies to authors and orators. These may be divided into two classes. First, historians, philosophers, lecturers, teachers of moral, political, rhetorical and other *rules and precepts*. Second, poets, political orators, moral, literary, and other censurers and satyrists. The first always address themselves to the understandings of the world in general, and define their meaning with so much care, as to render it capable of being conveyed to a reader through the medium of any language. The second address themselves also to the understandings in part, but principally to the feelings of a limited number of mankind, under the immediate influence of certain peculiar circumstances, and the language which they make choice of, bears so immediate and constant a reference to, and is (if well adapted) so completely interwoven with those same circumstances, that unless the reader is perfectly acquainted with them as well as with the relative circumstances of the author himself, he can never become the perfect master of such an author's thoughts and conclusions, nor enter at all into the spirit, the beauty, and the propriety of many of his most material observations. It may be assumed with equal truth respecting authors of this latter class, that unless they possess an extensive

knowledge of the passions, dispositions, opinions, and circumstances distinguishing and peculiarly influencing those whom they address, it is about impossible for them to make any lasting impression on their feelings, the agreeable excitation of the former being the only music with which the latter will at all chord or harmonise; and hence it appears that this latter knowledge (which in fact forms the principal part of what I have called the practical knowledge of mankind) is the only salient and living source from whence the fundamental parts of all elegant and impressive language in writings, &c. of this latter description can ever flow; by its means, our heart would transfuse and force its own powerful feelings into the hearts of others, and language is the bed through which the torrent bends its course.—For acquiring this practical knowledge of mankind, the assistance we may receive from a knowledge of the learned languages, may be measured by the degree of assistance, which the knowledge of them can render us in forming a more correct and extensive general idea of man in a state of civil society, one part of the theoretical knowledge of mankind. This will depend,—1st, how far it is necessary for us to know what was peculiar to Greeks, Romans, &c. in order thereto; 2d, how far that knowledge can be acquired without some knowledge of their respective languages.——We can form a general idea of man in a state of civil society, correct and extensive enough for all practical calculations without knowing any thing of the Greeks and Romans, by proceeding as I have before pointed out, and assisted by the facts of modern history. But in the writings of their authors we frequently find delineated, scenes of the most exalted fortitude, patriotism, and virtue on the one hand, and scenes of the most depraved treachery, tyranny, and wickedness on the other hand. From these facts the *theorist* will gain a most extensive view into the human heart, and into the consequences resulting from virtue or depravity, carried to such a pitch, and may thereby correct and carry his speculations to a great degree of moral possibility. But the field for such actions was then more unlimited than it can ever become again, unless all that has since been discovered can be forgotten; and, therefore, in applying such speculations to practice, all these variations must be taken into consideration, and if we annex them to our general idea, as something to be deducted from it, we shall have in the mind an unsettled process, rather than a clear conclusion. However, we can acquire that knowledge without the assistance of their respective languages. For those facts from which alone such knowledge can truly be collected, are recorded by historians and philosophers only, and their relations are capable of correct translation, and have been translated by men of the highest literary reputation. We cannot become possessed of it from the writings of poets, critical orators, censors, satyrists and others before placed in the second class, because the information we are seeking must be *known* before we can understand those writings. Of what use then may the learned languages be to us? I conjecture the following. They may enable us to distinguish those niceties, if I may so call them, of the genius and the imaginations of ancient writers, as depend upon stile, and pointed and agreeable language, and by rendering us equal to the examination of those niceties, may fit us for one of the most agreeable perhaps of mental relaxations, one which may invigorate and tone the heart and the mind for more exalted themes and studies. We admire the smallest trifles of ancient magnificence. We must, however, be acquainted with the history of the original structure to which they were attached, before we can derive from them the pleasure of a connoisseur; we must also have learned all knowledge which can be useful to us in the general concerns of life, before the learned languages can afford us any use or profit, or perhaps any real pleasure.——N. S. Y.—*Sheffield, April 4, 1807*

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 32.

Sir;—I congratulate the times we live in that they have at length found in you a plain dealer, whose doric style of composition bids fair to cure many of us of our false taste for that meretricious mode which prefers the light and ornamental manner to the solid and intelligible.—Your journal is that star in the west propitious of a happy revolution on more than one subject, and to which, if it can preserve its ascendant, all well meaning men must bow; but should it decline behind the influence of corruption, I own, (impudent, arrogant, conceited and scurrilous as your *polite and learned correspondents* say you are,) it will be difficult to know where to seek for any steadier opponent to despotism either in the political or literary world.—As to your politics, they are to me frequently a cordial after the horrors which the conduct of our trimming Whigs daily produce in my nerves; horrors that almost reconcile

me to the memory of the apostate Pitt and his northern accomplice:

"Those wicked creatures yet do look well favoured
"When others are more wicked—not being worst
"Stands in some rank of praise."—Shakspeare.

—But what now calls forth my pen, is the desire I entertain, in return for the amusement you have afforded me, to cheer you on in your tally-ho to the learned hounds and foxes of both universities; some of whom I see already coming out of their kennels, shaggy and grim, deep-mouthed, coarse-grained grammarians, of the genuine blood of the pedants and the pedagogues; yet who all, as yet, as far as I can judge, are upon a cold scent with hot noses; particularly your rugged old doer into English of Mulus (p. 304) who so kindly informs you, and me, and all your readers, that there were such men as, the *Bacons*, Newton, Locke, &c. who were good Latin scholars, with his *ergo*, that a Greek and Latin scholar must be a good thing. The correct dramatic figure, however, that he insensibly makes of himself, must be allowed to be a valuable portrait, and may, in the hands of a man of wit, be the future source of much harmless sport. I think, for my part, when he apostrophises you, I see his everlasting wig trembling on its horrific block, and but that I conceive it would be ungenerous to rob you of the run he is destined to afford your *course mettled* hunter, I could find in my heart a wish to begin the hark-forward, at once. But this being, I am sure, an old fox with a famous bushy tail, of the right red-herring smell, and not likely ever to lose his brush, I suppose you would like to keep him for your March meeting, when you take the field in style.—Of your other correspondents on the subject of the challenge I forbear to speak, as some of them are not high game, others have I think misunderstood you, as to the period at which you place the non-necessity of Latin and Greek. But what I mean to say is simply this, that you have in me that rare monster, so long sought by your dead-languaged correspondent. M. S., (p. 299) viz. *a genuine Fox without a Latin tail*, or even a Grecian hair to cover his naked poll, yet who contrives to think and write almost daily, on some subject or other that he conceives to be of importance to himself or mankind; and, what is still more extraordinary, has never since he was born looked into any grammar, except having, when a child, by rote learned a few French exercises without learning the language; afterwards, when a man, learning the language without the grammar; while as to the Italian, he got to it when full grown like a child, in the country, and yet who is so customed to take great pleasure in almost daily perusing authors of note both ancient and modern in these tongues; nay, which is still more abominable, who never regrets his ignorant state, except when compelled to read the miserable language of many translators of the classics, whom all their floggings, and all their college studies have not taught to render in accomplished expressions, what they tell us are the works of the most perfect writers, and to imitate whose style alone they recommend a life of study!—From these, of course, I except Sydenham's Plato, Colman's Terence, and a few similar performances, for no one will deny that, as far as the gratification of our taste in stile goes, nothing can be more mortifying than to satisfy our curiosity on the subject of this entertaining part of antiquarian knowledge at the expence of the ear, which we must do, under tortures, if we would examine only in translation how near Varro approached to the experience of some of our common Farmers of this day, or in half the *doers* of the Poets of antiquity seek either for poetry or sense. When, therefore, we see how little effect this knowledge of their styles has produced even on the best taught and ablest heads, I must confess I should think I did my son an injury to condemn him to the drudgery, and vice, and the murder of time, that 8 years passed at either Eton or Westminster to attain them must include; not to speak of that decomposition of morals, and contempt of religion that usually accompanies the experiment—As to the real knowledge they bestow, when it is by solid argument proved to me, that Shakespeare could not have created his dramatic scenes, without the immediate aid of the Learned Languages, that Milton's prose is the better constructed for his knowledge of them, or that even Goldsmith's Deserted Village owes its charms to their assistance, which he could not as well have derived from a hundred other sources; then I shall begin to think them absolutely necessary to all writers, and that we must be dumb without their influence: But as things are, no man can make me believe that ideas are the more precious from being derived immediately from a foreign idiom, even although the language we take them from be at its utmost perfection, according to the notions of its own grammarians; for ideas being originated from things known compared with things related and possible, I conceive in the present state of signs for ideas, our copious language must be more

than sufficient to enable us to explain all those imaginations are that generated in the mind of any man who has made our expressive words his study, and who has, by perusing our best authors, made himself master of their various modes of expression; and this will constitute an original style, if united with frequent practice in writing down his thoughts; for it is in writing as in painting, no theory can be of any service without almost daily practice; of which truth, you, Mr. Cobbett, must be, I think, as well convinced as any man living: We become, however, mannerists by too long painting of, or too long writing on any one giving subject; and even Goldsmith's happy essays, if considerably multiplied, (as he could for profit have multiplied them,) would at last have partaken rather of the rigid determination of the Ponty pool teaboard, than of that correct precision of the school of a man whose thought and pencil go together. To the Medical man, however I think you cannot deny that a knowledge of the Latin, may be of great assistance in enabling him to multiply comparative cases; as so many coxcombs, not worth wholly translating, yet containing curious cases, have, in their vanity, thought proper to record their observations in that language; thanks, however, to sense and Fordyce, we need not go out of English to study Fever. The Lawyer, also, for the like purpose, should have Latin to enable him to get at reports, commentaries, &c.—As to the Divine, his studies and duties are of so very simple a nature, under the present established and avowedly correct translation of the Scriptures, that doubtless the most common talents are quite sufficient, united with sincerity, to enable him to perform his duties as a Parish-priest; and unless he is bent on a mission to a foreign country, a devotion that seldom troubles our churchmen, no other language can be necessary to enable him to promulgate truth and teach virtue than his own.—The establishment, indeed may require a few ecclesiastical Lawyers; but if it were necessary that all should read the Scriptures in their original tongues, we surely should not see so many ordained who can scarce pass a prepared examination in a language so easily learned as the Greek, or that still easier the Hebrew, in which many an old clothes-man in London is a better scholar, without knowing it, than some of our Bishops; and how little value they themselves attach to it, may be known, by recollecting that nine out of ten of the clergy lay aside for ever all their books, except the Bible and Testament, the instant they are in possession of a snug living. Yes, we see, indeed, where they do cultivate the Greek and Latin, that it is often to *them* apparently "worse than useless;" for, besides the very foolish pride some evince on all occasions, in season or out of season, in quoting detached scraps of sentences, it entices them often to read classic authors far more lewd than all the dialogues of Aretine, such as Anacreon, Tibullus, Aristophanes, or Petronius Arbiter, (whom even Addison was ashamed to translate, so besotted was he with the language).—Nay, I once knew a very admired divine who would have blushed to have had Rochester's poems found on the shelf of his library, that, confiding in his family's total ignorance of Latin, always kept a thumbed college Mersius among his other respectables.—Thus you see, Mr. Cobbett, I get on pretty well in my determined ignorance, of which I expect to be told that this letter is a proof, as well as of my presumption, arrogance, impudence, and that string of epithets that the *politely learned* sometimes indulge themselves in using when any wasp attacks their hive; and yet I assure you, when I have done my best, I have sometimes had my share of approbation from critics who never expected to see any thing in print from a Fox without a Latin Tail! particularly one that never read a grammar! Yet I think still as I write, I should have written no better on all the subjects on which I have treated, had I possest a complete knowledge of all the original writings of the Greeks or Romans; for let us look at the works of Sir W. Jones, that miracle of literature as to the knowledge of languages, that walking library of erudition; and pray tell me, was his style proportionally elegant? for, except a few lines, that burst from him on visiting a spring in the flower of his youth, I never read any original composition of his that partook of the fire of genius, or that could for a moment stand in comparison with the Daisy of Burns or Miss Brooke's translation of Carolan's Monody on the Death of Mary Maguire; by the side of which his Sacontala is tame, and his Odes of Hafiz sink to nothing.—The fact, therefore, I believe, is, that where nature has bestowed a good organisation, and quick parts the result of it, with its accompaniment warm feelings, it is better that a man should understand only one language thoroughly than 20 superficially or even thoroughly; for the clearer he understands 3 or 4 languages, so much more time must he have lost in studying them, that he might have better employed in perfecting himself in his own.—Shakespeare, doubtless, was a great reader in order to ac-

quire a stock of ideas, which his natural taste enabled him to appreciate according to their value; also a close observer of manners and the human heart, who well knew that we are all much alike, only differently disguised as to our feelings and failings; and I cannot help thinking that he owed his noble and almost divine style to his good ear and profound knowledge of the whole of our language, selecting from the stores of his memory always such words as uniting sound and sense were best calculated to impress his [illegible].—To go further into this subject would demand a volume rather than an essay. I shall therefore leave others to pursue the train, and also forbear to add a hundred other reasons, why mere Greek or Latin scholars must, whether they will or not, be half of them pedants or ignoramuses on many subjects, while the general reader of English authors cannot fail to be saturated with information; for since men can only think in one language, the better they are acquainted with the dead ones, the less readily they compose in the living; and this I believe to be the genuine reason why we have amongst those who by courtesy are called good scholars, so few who compose profitable and original works, who write in a good style, or who join in any conversation with intelligence on the subject of practical improvements in the arts of life, or general œconomy.—I am Sir, A FOX WITHOUT A LATIN TAIL.—*Keynsham, near Bristol, March* 1, 1807.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 33.

SIR;—I have long been impressed with the truth of your assertion, that in general education, the learned languages as they are called, are worse than useless, and that they operate as a bar to real knowledge; and so decided is *my* opinion on the subject, that I cannot but feel astonishment at the number of those persons, who have seriously come forward to oppose it. That a certain kind of good is connected with the study of languages no one will deny; who is aware that to every species of pursuit, *advantages*, and advantages peculiar to itself, are attached. In the present order of things, we are strangers to evil unaccompanied with good, and equally so to good unadulterated with evil, so that when we say of a thing that it is good we only mean that it is comparatively so; or if we affirm that it is evil, we do not mean to convey the idea, that it is in its own nature totally destitute of every thing that is valuable; but that we estimate it as worthless if put in competition with others which are upon the whole more productive of beneficial ends, or that can more easily be applied to useful purposes; and it is with this point of view that I regard the study of the learned languages as a very insignificant pursuit. Men are perpetually reducing themselves and others into erroneous principles by judging of things not according to their intrinsic or comparative value; but in conformity to the opinion that is formed of them by the world, and that seems in its omnipotence to have decreed that whatever is scarce is valuable, however destitute it may be of utility; and to this circumstance it is, that I in a great degree attribute the importance which is by so many attached to a proficiency in the learned languages. We are indeed triumphantly informed by some of these gentlemen, that the study of moral science was no where pursued to such an extent or with so much success, as by the sages of Greece and Rome; and that the discovery and dispersion of ancient manuscripts drew Europe from the sink of barbarism into which it had been plunged for so many ages; but, because these manuscripts contained moral and scientific knowledge, elaborate reasoning and curious distinctions and disquisitions to which the people of these dark and ignorant times were utter strangers, are we, therefore, warranted to conclude, that at this enlightened period they must necessarily be of inestimable importance to us; to *us*, who have elegant and discriminating writers in our own language, upon every subject that can warm the imagination, interest the heart, ameliorate the character or dignify the mind. I am disposed to believe that there is not an idea in any of the works of the ancient authors but what may be met with in the writings of our own countrymen; or I think one solitary instance would have been adduced by the advocates on the other side of the question; but, supposing it were otherwise, and it could be proved that the books of the ancients contained a certained species or degree of knowledge which was not to be found in the living languages, this circumstance would by no means establish the truth of the assertion, that the knowledge of the dead languages must be productive of real advantage to us, unless it could also be proved that it was impossible to convey it to the mind of any but a lingnist; and *even* if that were the case, that the time and industry expended in the search after the hidden mystery could not have been more usefully employed; for such are the limited powers and faculties of man, that no one can possess himself in an eminent degree of

every kind of knowledge, and he is the most truly wise who pursues with the greatest order that species of it, that can the most frequently be brought into action, and made the most subservient to the benefit of himself and others. That great and illustrious characters may be formed independently of the knowledge of a variety of languages, the Greeks, as far as we know any thing of them, are striking examples. The Grecian schools were schools of science and philosophy; and certainly science and philosophy instruct in the knowledge of things, and not in the knowledge of words. To the Greeks we are indebted for a great part of the science that now exists in the world, to a people who from what is recorded of them in history, do not appear to have studied any language but their own. To possess themselves of the knowledge of these learned, though unlettered, philosophers, it was requisite to the people of other nations, that individuals amongst them should study as a profession, the Greek language, and so procure for *them*, through the medium of a translation, the knowledge that was contained in the Greek books; but *now* when our booksellers' shops furnish us with the translations of those works of antiquity which are acknowledged by the literati to be the most valuable amongst them; of what avail can the study of the dead languages be to us? But we need not travel into Greece to discover that there is no such intrinsic excellency in what is termed a learned education, as those who possess it, or imagine they possess it, would willingly induce us to believe; for, we have only to direct our attention to many of our own countrymen in the higher classes of society, who have experienced the advantage of such an education, to be convinced that it had nothing to do in the formation of nobility of mind, grandeur of character, or practical wisdom. That strong intellectual powers of mind are, in some instances, combined with a learned education, experience has proved to us: but the persons, in which this union of learning and knowledge is to be met with, rank amongst men of an higher order of intellect than usually falls to the lot of man; nor is it I think at all difficult to account why it is that others of ordinary capacity are generally considerably injured by it. The labour attending the study of a dead language is very great, owing to the obscurity with which it is necessarily veiled; and it is a well known fact, that a greater knowledge of a living language may be acquired by conversing in it in six months, than by reading and translating the same language for two or three years. A great portion of existence, therefore, must be appropriated to the study of the dead languages to obtain any considerable knowledge of them, which might otherwise have been employed in the acquisition of real knowledge. But this is not the most injurious circumstance attending it; for the mind being so much engaged in the study of the signs of things, unless it is of a very superior stamp, is imperceptibly drawn off from the desire of the study of things themselves in those intervals of leisure which might otherwise be devoted to it. The memory, too, is burdened, which has a tendency to repress and shackle its energies. There is something in the constitution of the mind of every child that is in good health, and usually well organized, that disposes it to the search after real knowledge without being aware of it itself. If left free and unrestrained it will be intersted by almost every passing scene that it can comprehend; it will inquire into the nature, properties, and cause of almost every object that presents itself to its notice, with an ardor and impatience that strongly mark an anxious solicitude for information. But to the study of language the youthful mind has no propensity, for it feels that the pleasure and advantage that results from the acquisition of real knowledge is not associated with an ability in him to call the same object by a variety of different names. But it may be said, that the same objections may be urged against instructing a child either to spell or read; for, in the first stages of this kind of learning, the memory is, as in the learning of languages, burdened with a number of sounds to which it can affix no meaning, and from which it consequently derives no ideas. This is true; and, therefore, I think those parents are the most wise who are not premature in this kind of instruction; for, I have little doubt but that during the very early period of it, children are generally rather injured than benefited; but the great advantages that are upon the whole to be derived from this temporary sacrifice does so much *more* than compensate for the evil, that no one ought to think, in ordinary cases, of taking it into the account; besides, if it be not commenced too early, this is an art which will, in most cases, be acquired with considerable facility: but what equivalent is there to the feelings of the child, or to the man that will compensate for the fatigue and labour attending the study of a dead language, if we set aside the gratifications of vanity? Were I capable of giving every thing I see in "heaven above or earth beneath" by the various names that are given to them by

all the different nations on the face of the globe, should I by this means, acquire the least acquaintance with any of their properties? would it instruct me to shun fire as an element that would burn me? or teach me to handle carefully the edged tool as an instrument that would wound me? and what would it do for my mind? would such a facility enable me so to avail myself of the passions, habits, and prejudices of mankind, that I might thereby know how to bring good out of evil? would it fortify my mind under misfortunes? or teach me to be moderate in prosperity, by forming a proper estimate of men and things? or would it enable me to regulate my passions by my understanding? In science, what am I to expect from it? Will it instruct me in moral, mechanical, or philosophical principles? or shall I procure to myself a more correct knowledge of the properties of a triangle or the principles upon which the lever acts than I could have done if ignorant of any other language than my own? Perhaps the most powerful argument that can be adduced in favour of the study of the learned languages is, that they are the repositories of our religion, and that upon a subject so highly interesting, no one should be constrained to take any thing upon trust, but should be enabled, if possible, to form a judgment for himself respecting the genuine meaning of the sacred writers. It is certainly probable, if not certain, that no translation of either the old or new Testament, or of any work in the dead languages, has ever fully conveyed all the ideas contained in the original, for I very much doubt, if the idiom of any language can be perfectly known to any but a native of the place in which it is spoken. Lady Wortley Montague says, in one of her letters, what is most likely true, that a Roman milk-maid must have known more of the language of her country than the greatest scholars of the present day do. If, therefore, the combined efforts and labours of the learned can do so little for us, in this respect, what can any individual expect to attain by his own personal assiduity, however great and indefatigable it may be? Is it not, therefore, folly to dissipate the season of childhood and youth in so unproductive a pursuit, calculated, indeed, very well to furnish employments for Monks in cloisters, excluded from the sympathies, the pleasures, and the duties of the rest of mankind ——R.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 34.

SIR,—— In your Political Register of the 14th of Feb. you assert 1. "that the Latin and Greek languages are improperly called the Learned Languages," and 2. "that the teaching of those languages to persons who are to become statesmen, legislators, lawyers, physicians, or priests, is worse than useless." and, in another number, "to bring this matter to the test, you invite the Learned Gentlemen of both universities to a discussion upon the subject." Now, Sir, although I have neither any pretensions or lay any claim to the appellation of a Learned Gentleman of either university, yet I trust you will not impute it to my presumption, if I commit to paper my thoughts upon a subject, in the discussion of which, in common with the gentlemen of England, I am so deeply concerned.—As to your first assertion, it is a matter, I imagine, of very little consequence, whether the Latin and Greek languages are properly or improperly called the Learned Languages; by pedants and pedagogues the term was probably introduced, and by pedants and pedagogues I leave it to be defended. But the case with regard to your second assertion is very different. The discussion of that assertion is indeed one of the greatest interest to a considerable portion of mankind; and believe me, Sir, you undertook a task of no common difficulty, when you undertook to prove to the satisfaction and conviction of every gentleman that he had employed the first twenty years of his life in learning two languages, the knowledge of which is worse than useless. (I say "the first twenty years of his life," because, during that period, owing to the faulty system of education now pursued, a gentleman is taught very little besides the Learned Languages; a practice, in my opinion, quite as reprehensible as that of altogether neglecting the study of those languages would be.) But surely, Sir, you could not have attentively considered the important subject, upon which you hazarded so bold, and I hope so unfounded an assertion. Did Mr. Cobbett mean to say, that the knowledge of the causes which contributed to the prosperity and decline of the Greek states and Roman Empire is worse than useless to a statesman? Did Mr. C. mean to say, that the principles of the legislator are vitiated by his acquaintance with the laws which established and defended the liberties of the most powerful and wisest nations of antiquity; or that the studying the orations of Cicero, who, of all the orators that the world has yet produced, was the most intimately versed in the laws of his country, is likely to prove worse than useless to the lawyer? Is it not for the good of mankind that the physician's know-

ledge of his art in theory, as well as in practice, should be as extensive as possible? How can that knowledge, which you cannot but confess is most necessary, be acquired, but by the attentive perusal of the most learned treatises composed upon this subject? And the greatest physician of antiquity wrote in the Greek language. How can the priest be more clearly or easily convinced of the superior excellence of his own religion than by comparing it with the ridiculous theology of the ancients, and by studying the works of the first pious converts to the Christian faith? All the best writers on the various subjects with which it is absolutely necessary that the statesman, legislator, lawyer, physician, and priest should be acquainted, have written in the Latin and Greek languages, and, so badly are their works translated, that, to read them in any other language than the original, is indeed worse than useless. Unluckily, Mr. C., you are yourself ignorant of the Latin and Greek languages; but some friend of your's more fortunate in that respect will perhaps explain to you, that Epistle of Horace to Lollius, in which he descants on the utility of studying the Iliad, and on the various beauties and excellencies of that wonderful and immortal poem; and the opinion of the friend of Mecænas and Augustus is not unworthy of the deference of Mr. Cobbett. When you are fully persuaded, as you soon will be, that the study of the Iliad is not worse than useless, request the same friend to explain to you the first 2 or 3 odes of the 3d book, and much as the original excellence of the great Horace must be impaired and injured, by any attempt at rendering his works into the English language; answer me candidly and honestly, and tell me whether you do not think the moral precepts contained in those odes well worthy of the serious attention and consideration of every thinking man. Does Mr. Cobbett imagine that the study of his Register will be worse than useless to a Foreigner, some hundred years hence. I dare affirm he does not. He will say, that although the circumstances of the times may be changed, yet the vices will still be the same and require the same reprehension. So they will, Mr. Cobbett; and I recommend the learning of the English language to foreigners some hundred years hence, for the very same reason that I now defend the teaching of the latin language to the gentlemen of England of the present day; namely, that they may read in the original, those works, which no translation ever can do justice to.—E. L.—*Eton, Feb. 2, 1807.*

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 3.

SIR,—A plain well meaning man is now so puzzled by the various opinions on education, that he knows not what system to pursue for the instruction of his family. We have no medium between the common routine of writing and arithmetic, and the study of the dead languages at our national seminaries; no diversity of system which might enable a father to place his son in a course of education, necessary to assist him in his future prospects. At our private schools a boy is harassed with Latin, Greek, French, Italian, writing, and arithmetic, and at sixteen is found to have little or no knowledge of either—the master in many instances incompetent to teach—in some the pupil incapacitated to learn; nevertheless, the fees are paid, and the poor youth has but little benefit. The parent may be blamed, "but "the fault of well meaning ignorance "ought to be pitied not despised." A youth placed at one of our national foundations, is necessitated to wade for years through Latin and Greek: if he has been studious, he acquires a slight knowledge of each language; but for want of persevering in his studies, and from the occupations of an active life, forgets in a short period what was the object of eight or ten years application.—It should be considered that the system of education pursued at our great schools and in our universities, was fixed at a time when the study of the dead languages was necessary for every one in the superior professions; and as education was not expected to be found in any one unconnected with those professions, the system of that period might be right, but it made a monopoly of knowledge in those classes, and kept the other part of society in darkness and ignorance. The study of the learned languages at that period, was indispensably necessary, for Latin was the standard language for all works of consequence on every subject, and an author considered his character degraded, if he communicated his researches in any other language. That system is now exploded, and as we have translations of every work in the Latin or Greek, a reform in the method of education is much wanted.—The lawyers of the present day, I think, are but little indebted to their classical education for any eminence in their profession; few of them after having served the period of their articles, could construe a page of Virgil, or a line of Homer; but they continue to deceive the ignorant by their display of Latin, and if a butcher has a consultation on the renewal of his lease; he is told, his business must be considered *ab ini-*

tio, his lease must commence *de novo*, and *quasi* the clause of paying the property tax which his landlord insists on, it is not tenable by the 46 Geo. 3d. *Caput* 65. The poor man goes away astonished at the learning of his legal adviser, and of consequence, that his son may shine in the same exalted sphere, gives him a Latin education. But men of sense are not to be scared with this display of learning, this folly of words, more applicable to the language of a parrot, than a sensible being.—The divines of the present day are necessitated to go through what is termed a classical education; namely, pass through the principal forms of Westminster or Eton, and attend a certain number of terms at Oxford or Cambridge—few of them I believe after two years absence from college, could read without a dictionary a page of Erasmus; and it cannot be denied, but that they are more indebted to interest and favour for an exalted situation, than to any knowledge of Greek or Latin, or of Hebrew. Then why is so much time thrown away in endeavouring to acquire a small knowledge of the dead languages, when, even in the higher professions, it is notorious they are of so little utility, and it certainly goes to shew that the time devoted to them is mispent, and that the whole system of education in our schools is founded in error, and inapplicable to the present state of knowledge.—If some one of sound sense, and acquaintance with the authors of our language, added to a knowledge of the languages spoken at this time in Europe, would mark out a system of education, he would confer a great benefit on the rising generation, and root out from our national foundations, the system of the dark ages of popery and ignorance.—The character of a mere scholar, will always be considered by men of sense and genius, as a nonentity in the world, and however pleasing his intense study may be, it is a selfish gratification, it benefits no one, it shuts him from the world, and precludes the possibility of his giving to any but a select few the least information or pleasure. If he publishes the result of his studies, it is great chance but it tends to support some learned disquisition, the object of which is to prove, that several of the antients have made a false quantity; that several lines in Horace are improperly pointed; or that Troy did not stand where it has been considered to be for several centuries.—This accomplished, the student is dumb for ever. His work, (in the booksellers' phrase) are a mere drug, and consigned to the warehouse as waste-paper.—Without an intense study, or the slightest knowledge of the dead languages, a man may admire the grandeur and fire of the writings of Homer; the spirit and delicacy of Virgil, the inventive power and moral truths of Shakespeare, the sublimity of Milton, and "if he wishes to acquire a style which is "familiar, but not coarse, and elegant but "not ostentatious, he must give his days "and nights to the volumes of Addison."—Hence I conclude, that to dedicate a large portion of this short life, to a study that is superseded by the excellence of our inestimable language, is worse than useless.—I am, &c. JUVENILANIA.—*Temple, April 9.*

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No 30.

SIR;——I have been much interested, and, in some instances, instructed, by reading the numerous letters you have published, in your valuable Register, on the subject of the learned languages; but, I must confess, that in my opinion, the writers on both sides of the question have often improperly deviated from your plain and simple proposition, "that as a part of general education the study of the learned languages is worse than useless," and have introduced matter quite irrelevant to the subject, and which can have no other tendency than to bewilder the reader. For my part, I think the question lies in a very narrow compass, and in order to form a right judgment respecting it, we have only need of that portion of common sense, of which very few men are destitute. I intend, therefore, to be very brief, and to confine myself, in a great measure, to a few plain facts. I have always been of opinion, that learning is only useful, as it enables a man to discharge the duties of a citizen, with the greatest benefit to society. If this position be granted (and I cannot believe any one will seriously deny it) it may be fairly asked, can a man, without a knowledge of the dead languages, perform these duties as usefully as one who is completely master of them? I say *completely*; because, the advocates for the dead languages, will not allow, that, without a critical knowledge of these languages, their beauties can be understood or felt—nay, they go farther, and say, the best translations fall infinitely below the originals. Now, if we read modern history, or examine a chronological list of the most eminent characters that have flourished since the revival of letters, we must perceive that men of the most eminent talents, the inventors of the most useful arts, the asserters of national liberty, have received little or no classical education whatever. It will

be sufficient to mention, Gioia, the inventor of the compass, Columbus, Washington, and our countryman Brindsley, the engineer and mechanic, all of whom, I believe, never enjoyed the beauties of classic lore. On the contrary, we shall find, that the most eminent linguists, who have passed their lives in making and reading commentaries, have seldom possessed any talents, that were serviceable to society.—They have invented no useful arts, have proposed no improvements in politics or jurisprudence, and have perhaps only been known to the *learned world!* Professor Porson and Dr. Parr have been brought forward by an advocate for the study of the learned languages, and I should be very unwilling to mention their names with disrespect; but they cannot be ranked among the *benefactors of the human race.* There is no people on the face of the earth that would regard them in this light, because they understood the dead languages better than their own! I think every impartial person who acknowledges the above facts, must be convinced, that a man may be *great and useful in the highest degree,* without a knowledge of Greek or Latin. But the subject takes a more serious form, when it is considered, that perhaps not one person in a thousand who is forced to spend 8 or 9 years of the prime of life in this laborious study of the dead languages, obtains a sufficient knowledge of them, to enable him to enjoy their beauties, or understand the ancient authors better than he can in a translation of them into his own tongue! and is not the devotion of so much time to a study of the dead languages, with so little chance of ever understanding them, a very serious evil? I allow that modern literature is in some respects indebted to the Greeks and Romans, but the utility of their writings should not be overrated: does not an indiscriminate study of them tend to repress genius, and by trammeling the mind with authorities, deprive it of that free scope and exertion, which are requisite for its improvement. I think that Hume, in one of his essays, considers the subject in this light, and gives it as his opinion, that if the writings of the ancients could be destroyed and forgotten, human ingenuity would be exerted in a greater degree, and consequently carried to much greater perfection. But it may be asked, what will you do with the learned languages? will you discard them altogether? as a part of general education, I do not in the least hesitate to answer in the affirmative. X.

"LEARNED LANGUAGES."

No. 37.

O Verborum inops interdum, quibus abundare te semper putas, Græcia!——Cicero. Tusc Quæst. l. 2. c. 85.

Sir;——It is certainly a very strange thing, that in an age like this, where such regard is paid to the advancement of learning, any one should attempt to depreciate it in the eyes of the world—still more wonderful that this learned censor, should be, Mr. Cobbett, for whom we have some regard while he confines himself to political discussions, but for whom we naturally feel contempt when he betrays his ignorance upon subjects totally out of his sphere.—It is wonderful how little minds are guided by prejudice, who imagine that their dislike is the dislike of the nation, and their own voice the voice of the people.

"Their passions move in lower spheres,
Where'er *caprice* or *folly* steers."——*Swift.*

—Are the "Learned Languages" of no use to the statesman, to the lawyer, to the physician, or to the divine? Ask any one eminent man in this kingdom, if independent of the amusement, he has reaped any advantage from the study of the Greek and Latin languages; and they will answer you to a man in the words of Quintilian: "Tot nos præceptoribus, tot exemplis instruxit antiquitas, ut possit videri nullâ sorte nascente ætas felicior, quam nostrâ, cui docendæ priores elaboraverunt."——Lib. 12. cap. 11.—I shall not attempt a vindication of the "Learned Languages." Their fame is sufficient, and Mr. Cobbett may vainly flatter himself that his reasonings will 'demolish' every argument that shall be brought against him.—Happy am I to perceive that the Universities have not deigned a reply; and, by their contempt and silence, have shown Mr. Cobbett how much they value his opinions, how much they regard his censure.—I conclude with the opinion Pope had for the "Learned Languages," who humbly differed from this political Proteus.—

"Hail bards triumphant! born in happier days;
Immortal heirs of universal praise!
Whose honors with increase of ages grow
As streams roll down, enlarging as they flow!
Nations unborn your mighty names shall sound,
And worlds applaud that must not yet be found!
Oh! may some spark of your celestial fire,
The last, the meanest of your sons inspire,
(That on weak wings, from far, pursues your flight,
Glows while he reads, but trembles as he writes,)
To teach vain wits a science little known,
T' admire superior sense, and doubt their own!"

Z. E. C.——*March* 25, 1807.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 25.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1807. [PRICE 10d.

"Malta, as the means of preventing the French from obtaining possession of Egypt, is of infinite importance to the strength and security of our empire in India."——LORD MELVILLE's Speech, 23d May, 1803.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

WAR IN EGYPT ——It appears, from the statements in the public papers, that the detachment of the English army, which took possession of *Alexandria* some time ago, has, by an inferior detachment, made an attack upon Rosetta, in which they have not only failed of success, but the lives of 1,400 men have been lost, including that of the Major General commanding the attack, and whose name, it would appear, was WAUCHOP.—— Upon this occasion, as upon that of every naval or military action, whether successful, or unsuccessful, and whether we take a part in it or not, the practice of the daily prints, almost, if not quite, all of which are, in effect, sold to one or the other of the two factions, who are struggling for the good things of the country; upon all such occasions, the invariable practice of these prints is to begin their remarks with something in general terms, with something, in which most men may be supposed to agree, and then to fall, without much taste or art in the transition, *into a contrast between the late and the present ministry*, first imputing the good or the evil, whichever it may be, to the faction which it suits their purpose to impute it to, and never failing to end with reproaches, more or less bitter, against the faction to which the writer is opposed, the whole thing bearing, with the exception of the wit, a strong resemblance to one of the Lottery Advertisements of Mr. Bish.—— But, though this way of making use of the intelligence of important events may suit such writers, though they may desire to convert every thing to their selfish purposes, as it becomes not to make such use of such intelligence; but, on the contrary, to consider what were the causes, which led to the event in question, and how the event is likely to affect us.——Whether the capture of Alexandria, and the consequent attack upon Rosetta, took place in pursuance of orders, either special or general, of the late ministry, or whether they proceeded from the mere opinion and zeal of the officers commanding, is of little importance. They are to be ascribed, in either case, to the notion, so strenuously inculcated by Pitt and Dundas (I like to stick to their old names) respecting, first, the great importance of India, and, next, the great importance of Egypt to the safety of India. The opinions of Dundas, as to this matter, have been frequently declared, in terms much stronger than those used in the sentence which I have taken for my motto, and, as to his frothy comrade, his opinions, to the same effect, were given, particularly upon the question of the present war, in terms so strong, and in sentences so harmonious, that many of the senseless creatures that heard him, were ready to cry for very joy that a war, to cost, as it was *then* said, only twenty six millions a year, had been undertaken purely for the sake of Malta!——That India, as a *territorial* possession, is not only no benefit, but that it is an injury to England, I have often given my reasons for believing; and, I have never yet met with any man able, or even disposed, to controvert those reasons. It has, almost in every case, happened, that, when I have advanced an opinion, upon any subject of national importance, that some one or other has thought it worth his while to communicate to me some remarks thereon; but, upon the subject of the injuriousness of a territorial possession of India, no one has ever attempted to contradict me; and, I shall, of course, retain that opinion, until I am shown, that India, held and governed as it now is, is of some benefit to this country. I cannot, for my life discover, how this kingdom derives any strength, any portion of its means of defence or of offence, any weight in the scale of nations, from the possession of India; while every one must, I am persuaded, clearly perceive, that, to keep possession of India, we are compelled to draw largely from the source of supply to both army and navy, and while it is, I think, equally evident, that all the immense fortunes *brought from India*, as the phrase is, consist of the fruit of the land and labour of England, sucked up in taxes, and conveyed, by a circuitous road, into the pockets of Indian adventurers and speculators, who, upon their return, possess themselves of the lands of

those who have, by degrees, been by the system of taxation, reduced to the necessity of selling their lands; and of becoming themselves, or making their children, adventurers or speculators. I was struck with a passage in the intercepted letters, published some time ago by the French. It was in a letter under the name of one of the sons of the Duke of Portland to his brother, Lord William Bentinck, who, the writer expresses his hope, will *get a good deal of money as soon as possible, and then come home.* This passage, though well calculated to give rise to a train of sorrowful reflections, was so apt a confirmation of my theory, that I could not help being pleased at it. This is the way in which Indian possession operates upon us. First it draws away the fruit of the land and the labour of England, thereby impoverishing the holders of the land and all those who labour in any way whatever; next it transfers this fruit from hand to hand, until, at last, it comes to the turn of those who formerly held land, or their descendants, to receive it in the character of adventurers or speculators. But, besides the poverty that it thus produces here, the money, at the several stages of its passage, creates dependents upon the ministry of the day, without whose consent no share of that money is to be obtained; and, perhaps, amongst all the many sources of corruption none is so fertile as that of Indian patronage.——This is my view of the matter; and, upon this view of it, I have before expressed, and now express, my opinion, that the territorial possession of India is injurious to England, is a cause of domestic oppression, luxury, debauchery, and political corruption; tends to weaken her strength and to lessen her consequence amongst the nations of the world; and, of course, is one of the obstacles in the way of her restoration to her former state of happiness and of glory.——But, supposing, for argument's sake, the territorial possession of India to be useful to England (I make use of the word *England* because I like *one word* better than *eight*, and because I despise the poverty of mind that could, when a change was to take place, find out nothing but a long phrase whereby to denominate a kingdom); supposing this possession to be useful to England, and supposing, which is going very far indeed, that it is so useful as to set at defiance all calculations of cost; supposing, in short, that the territorial possession of India is *absolutely necessary* to the existence of England as an independent nation; still I am of opinion, that an Egyptian war would, under any circumstances that can be considered as within the scope of probability, be unwise. There never has appeared any proof, that I know of, in support of the notion, that the French could, with a considerable force, reach India by land, from Egypt; and, upon the sea we are ready to meet them. That the French are capable of wonderful exertions nobody but John Bowles and his crew will now attempt to deny. I am not sure that they would be afraid to encounter the deserts of Arabia; but, I am as sure almost as I am of any thing, that they never could march, give them a century to do it in, forty thousand men to India. In short, it appears to me, that nothing could be more advantageous to England than an attempt, a serious attempt, on the part of France, to march an army to Hindostan. That army would be so much better employed in the garrisons of Egypt and in the deserts of Arabia than upon the borders of the Baltic or in the West of Ireland, that it seems to me downright madness to endeavour to obstruct them in their oriental enterprizes. Would to God they were *all* in Egypt or in India, or any where else than upon the coasts of Holland, Flanders, and France! But, our wise men, proceeding, with scrupulous exactness, upon the notions of Pitt and Dundas, seem anxious to bring back the French armies as near to our own coasts as possible; and, if the commanders in the Mediterranean have, though without special orders, acted upon those principles, who can reasonably blame them?——As to the *execution* of the plan, if *plan* it was, for invading Egypt, it is next to impossible that any thing can, as yet, be accurately known in England; and men should be very slow indeed to condemn an undertaking which has failed, and which, had it succeeded, they would have praised full as much as they did the enterprize of Sir Home Popham. The *loss*, especially of *men*, is to be deeply deplored; for, of what service might not the 1,400 men, lost at Rosetta, have been in cultivating the land or in defending the shores of England! But, this loss is one not at all to be wondered at; and, the mortification on account of it is fully due to those, who insist, that India is necessary to England, and that Egypt is necessary to India.——This loss is a mere trifle, compared to what we have already sustained in consequence of that opinion; and, if the present jobbing system be continued (for it is for the purposes of jobbing that India is most ardently cherished), poor General Wauchop is not the last, by many, that will fall a sacrifice to it.——With respect to the mere military merit, or demerit, of the transactions in Egypt, little appears to be known; but, from the result, one is natu-

rally led to suspect, that General Wauchop had not had the good fortune to serve much under the immediate command of our illustrious Captain General, the Duke of York; for, if he had taken a lesson or two from him, he, in all human probability, would not have been killed. A random, or exceedingly swift, shot, against which no foresight could possibly have guarded, might, indeed, have caught him; but, such is my opinion, in common with that of people in general, of the circumspection of the royal commander, that I am persuaded that a very few of his lessons, would have enabled General Wauchop so to conduct his attack as to have slept the next night in a whole skin.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——In my last, I gave it as my opinion, that *a peace* would, before long, be concluded between Napoleon and the kings of the North of Europe, placing, in all probability, a Buonaparté at the head of the Polish government, restoring the king of Prussia to his dilapidated throne at Berlin, and obtaining from Russia something that would cramp her both towards the South of Europe and towards Turkey. I should not be surprized if certain favourite *maritime arrangements* were to take place; and, should this take place, our situation will, as Lord Castlereagh called it, be "rather *unsatisfactory*," though it must be confessed, that there is some difficulty in imagining *how* it could be rendered more unsatisfactory than it now is. ——I believe I have said a thousand times, but I cannot refrain from saying once more; that, I am firmly fixed in the opinion, that the French Emperor never meditated a march to the Rhine with more seriousness and determination, than he meditates the invasion of England or Ireland. It would be downright folly, it would be infatuation unparralleled, to suppose, that, having conquered all the rest of Europe, he would leave this kingdom *untried*; especially when we reflect, that war, in one direction or another, appears necessary to the firmly establishing of the new order of things in France. Well, then, supposing him to be bent upon this invasion, he will assuredly consent to no peace with us, which shall not, in his opinion tend to hasten the accomplishment of his design more than it would be hastened by war. So that, we have to look forward to such a peace, or to a long continuation of the war; in which latter case, is there any one weak enough to suppose, that some radical change of our internal system must not take place? Is there any one who imagines, that the present system of borrowing can be persevered in; or, that taxation will go on, until the *whole* of men's property is taken by the state? By the scheme of Lord Henry Petty, a stop was to be put to the increase of taxation, for three years at least; but, then, the war taxes were to be mortgaged, and, of course, continued after the war was over, in direct breach of promise, and also, in direct breach of the implied meaning of the laws, by which our worthy and faithful representatives imposed those taxes upon us. What the present ministers may do, or attempt to do, I know not; but, I shall be very greatly deceived, if they do any thing for the people, in the way of relief from their burdens. To be sure, the mortgaging of the war-taxes will make people less anxious for peace; but, if the war continue, *new taxes* must be levied, and, as the necessity for these increases, there must be an increase in the means made use of to induce people of a certain description to support the imposing of such taxes.--- Here lies our difficulty. *Time* works against us full as much as the French work against us. Every day of our lives, we become less and less able to continue the war, while the means of our enemy are daily upon the increase. There appears to me, therefore, no means of making such a resistance as we shall be called upon to make, without a great reduction of expense; and, in this reduction we should certainly *begin* with the *sinecure places and pensions*, the whole of which, not well merited for real national services, should be lopped off at once ——And, when I talk of sinecures and pensions, I do not confine myself merely to what is called the place and pension list, but extend my view to the sinecure and pension-list of the *East-India Company*, to that of the *Colonies*, to that of the *courts of law*, and several others, all of which sinecures and pensions *are paid by the people of this country.*—— The army and navy contracts is the next branch; the barrack department the next; and the enormous sums paid out of the army and navy money to persons who perform little or no service.——But, how is this to be accomplished? Restore the law for *excluding placemen and pensioners from the House of Commons*, and the whole will be accomplished in a year. This is the root of all the evil; this, and this alone it is that renders our situation dangerous; and, if it be really true, as some persons pretend to expect, that the no-popery ministry are about to introduce a bill for restoring the ACT OF SETTLEMENT, in this respect, they will have the blessings of the whole na-

tion, their rivals excepted, which rivals they would, however, render completely dumb; for, the *object* being removed, the struggle would cease, as a matter of course. The effect of such a measure would be astonishing. The House of Commons would be as dull as a Quaker's Meeting. There would be no discussion, except such as related to matters of real importance. There would be no fixed days for *debating*, as it is called. There would be no speeches of three hours long; and, oh! dreadful thought, there would be no *Treasury Bench!* No secure rampart behind which for the place hunting crew to shelter themselves, thence to vomit their nauseous applauses of the minister of the day. The ministers would then have time to think of matters appertaining to their offices, and would no longer be compelled to study speeches, as lawyers do previous to their going into court with their briefs. The king might, as he ought, change his servants when he pleased, without any commotion in the House of Commons; who have no more business with such changes than the debaters of the Whig Club or the mountebanks of Bartholomew Fair have. ——This would be the way to begin to fight France; but, I am much afraid, that this method will not be adopted, until it be too late.

THE EXPEDITION.——Those who recollect the fate of the Pitt and Dundas expeditions may, perhaps, anticipate no very favourable event with respect to the one now fitting out. Pitt had an opinion, that it was necessary to the preservation of his power to be always *doing something*. Hence the catamaran and car projects. "*Make the dust fly*," seemed to be his maxim; and, if it did no other good, it would, for a while, at least, help to blind the people.——But, "whither, in all the "wide world, can this expedition be go-"ing?" "To Holland," say some; and, if so, we may, indeed, bid our dear friends, the Hanoverians, farewell. What, another *Helder!* No. Our great Captain General is not going with them; who, therefore, shall answer that a man of our own countrymen will escape? The fact is, however, I believe, that the expedition is going, to some part or other of the Baltic, to aid, as the Courier has it, "our *brave* "*allies* in the *deliverance of Europe.*" Why, aye; this was precisely the way of Pitt; and those, who, like Sir Henry Mildmay, are resolved to support men who walk in the footsteps of Pitt, may very consistently approve of this enterprize; for, I will venture to predict, that it will tend to the deliverance of Europe in just the same way that Pitt's expeditions did.——One good, however, it will certainly produce, if a landing, and a real battle be the consequence; and, that is, it will give the Hanoverians, who must pray for it day and night, a fair opportunity of beating those cruel ruffians, the French, and punishing them for having seized upon that terrestrial paradise, Hanover, and taking away all the swords and guns and carriages and horses, whereunto they would have added *plate*, had not this latter article been saved by the consummate valour and skill of his Royal Highness, the Duke of Cambridge, who, as the newspapers told us, got off with it at the hazard of his life, a life fortunately preserved for taking a staff command for the purpose of defending this country! Oh, the villains! The *plate* too! They would certainly have taken it. The Hanoverian plate, silver horse and all! I shudder down to my very shoes when I think of it! It must be a great comfort to the "loyal people of Hanover," who were subdued without having time to fire a shot at the enemy, to reflect that the plate is safe.——To return from a digression into which I have been led by my feelings of indignation against the French, and of admiration of the valour and skill of the saviour of the plate, I have suffered, in common with many others, most terrible anxiety for the safety, that is to say, the *safe passage*, of our Hanoverian friends.——To day the newspapers tell me that the German Legion are embarked; to morrow they tell me that they are disembarked. Now they are at Margate; now back at Portsmouth; now they are heaving anchor, and now they are moored again. These newspapers are my tormentors! The men who conduct them seem to have formed a conspiracy against my peace of mind. Scarcely have I read, that the "gallant "German Legion," Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, are safe on board, but the wind shifts round to the North East; or, if the wind should be fair, I am told, that some obstacle of another sort has taken place. In short, I have been so long kept in suspence, and so often disappointed, that I really begin to despair of ever seeing these heroes actually sail away, until the war is over. What I want to see, is, these Hanoverians placed down upon the same ground with the French, and within bayonet length of them. I am quite willing to forego the pleasure of hearing them sing psalms in battalion, and also all my share of the security which this kingdom derives from

their presence. I want to see them measure swords with the French, and I have not the least doubt but we shall soon hear a good account of them.

CATHOLIC BILL.——Want of room compelled me to be, in my last (p. 1040), more short in my notice of M. P.'s letter than I was inclined to be. It must be observed, that, in objecting to this bill upon the score of *military and naval discipline*, the ground has been completely changed. We have heretofore heard of dangers to *the Church*, and of some undefined danger to *the constitution*, which latter M. P. does not appear to regard as in any danger at all from the borough system. This danger as to *discipline* is an after thought; and, though there is something more of plausibility in it than in the base and hypocritical cry of "no "popery," it will not, I think, be found, upon examination, to be more solid.—— M. P. chooses to suppose, that, if the bill had passed, there would soon be a popish priest on board of every ship of war in our service, though the bill sanctions no such establishment. But, the priest would, he says, at first, creep into the ship in the character of a common sailor. Now, before we proceed any further, let me ask this gentleman, whether he can be serious in supposing, that there is one popish priest in the whole world, who would set out on such an enterprize? Having entered as a sailor, he would, without a minute's delay, be compelled to pull the ropes, to begin to creep aloft, to swab the deck, alternately to sleep in a hammock and pass his night hours upon deck, though it should be necessary to tie him to the timbers to prevent the sea from washing him over-board. This would be his regular course of life. This he must do, receiving occasionally some good sound stripes from the Boatswain's mate to make him wake and move with alertness. Does any one imagine that a month's discipline of this sort would dispose his mind to an open trial of his influence against the power of the captain of the ship? No. This idea of a popish priest stealing into a ship in the character of a common sailor is too absurd to reason against. To have conceived such an idea my correspondent must have totally lost sight of the situation of a common sailor and of the sort of power that is exercised over him.——But, I have heard it remarked, "if once you "give the sailor the power of saying, "*I won't*, to his commander, discipline is "at an end." True, but with *limitations*; for, because a sailor would certainly say "I won't," if his officer were to order him to jump over-board, or to eat pitch, or to cut off his messmate's nose, would you, therefore, contend that, in such a case, discipline would be at an end? Well, then, if the bill had passed, an officer would no more have thought of ordering a papist to come up to protestant prayers, than he would have thought of ordering him to do any of these things; and, therefore, if the "I won't" was ever uttered, it would be entirely the fault of the commander, and not the fault of the bill; and, observe, too, that it would be a fault which could not, even by possibility, arise from any motive connected with the service of the ship, or the happiness or convenience of any person on board. "Two commanding officers in every ship!" my correspondent never can be serious. It is quite incredible, that he should believe it possible for a popish priest, in the character of a common sailor, daily liable to be flogged by order of the captain, to become the captain's rival in power. Poor soul! He would soon find, that he had far other matters than those of the mass to attend to. He must be of the age of twenty one before he could be a priest. At best he would be a lubber on board ship, and, never having been used to labour or hardship, the chances are that he would not live a fortnight——In the conclusion of his letter (at p. 1044), M. P. draws a distinction between the *Irish catholics* and *foreign catholics*, with the evident intention of reconciling the bill of 1804 with the objection now made, by the authors of that bill, to the puting of Irish catholics upon the same footing as the king voluntarily put foreign catholics upon. The distinction is, in my opinion, unjust in the extreme; for, I am convinced, that the peasantry in Ireland are more civilized than those of Germany and France in general, though this gentleman would place them beneath the soap-eating inhabitants of Muscovy. But, it was not to the Irish *peasantry* that it was proposed to open the door of promotion in the army and navy; and, therefore, this distinction is worth nothing at all, unless it be extended to embrace the gentry as well as the peasantry of Ireland. ——M. P. thinks it unfair to blame a cry of "no popery," without adducing proofs that such a cry has been *prevalent*. The cry might be set up *without becoming prevalent*. That it was set up witness the walls of London and Westminster, upon every fifty yards of which "*no popery*" was written. He allows, that it prevailed at Northampton, Ipswich, and Shields; and, did it not prevail at Liverpool and Bristol?

You find not the very *words*, indeed, in the several addresses and speeches of the ministerial candidates, and in the several addresses of corporations and counties, and of the clergy; but, do you not find, in all of them, without one exception, words which convey the same meaning? Do you not find them all contain either expressions of attachment to the *protestant* church, or of gratitude to the king for his firmness in *preventing that church from being overthrown*? Nay, do you not find the same sentiments clearly conveyed in the Speech of the Lords Commissioners, stating the grounds upon which the parliament was dissolved? Let it not be said, then, that the cry has not been *set up*; and, if it has not become *prevalent*, if it has failed of success, if it has, to use the words of Mr. Fawkes, been "drowned in the cry of *no peculation*," let the good sense of the people, and not the good intentions of the out-cryers, be thanked for it. —— My correspondent, however, scruples not to justify the out-cry, however false, if used by the ministry for the purpose of influencing elections and securing a majority in parliament, and, of course, their continuance in office. "The *nature of* "*things*," he says, "*requires* this; they "MUST succeed in *procuring* a majority in "parliament." This is plain speaking; but, if this be the case, what is become of that *constitution*, of which we have boasted so much, and which we are called upon to shed our blood to *preserve*? If this be the case, the House of Commons is not the *people's*, but the *ministry's*. There remains but one thing wanting, and that is, the open avowal of this doctrine in the House itself.

THE WRANGLING FACTIONS.—The Morning Chronicle, which is really fast becoming a "jacobinical and levelling" journal, has exposed another pretty decent transaction, which it entitles "MR. CANNING'S "JOB."—I shall insert it just as I find it, with this one previous observation, that no attempt to contradict it has, as far as I have observed, been made in any of the prints of the opposite faction.——

"The Foreign Office seems, under the "present ministers, to be the chosen place "for jobs. We have formerly pointed out "the conduct of Lord Mulgrave towards "his brother-in-law, Mr. Robert Ward, for "whom he provided, by giving him a large "pension out of a fund never before appro-"priated to such purposes—a compensation "for less than a year's service in an office "which brought him two thousand per an-"num. No answer whatever has been "made to this statement; no apology even "has been offered for Lord Mulgrave's con-"duct. The new men, his colleagues, are "glad to let the subject alone, in hopes of "seeing it dropped; and the gainer by the "job, Mr. Robert Ward himself, has not a "word to say. The truth of our assertion "is admitted; and Mr. Ward, or rather his "wife, holds the pension. This, indeed, "is one of the peculiar features of the case. "When a diplomatic man, who had long "served the country, had grown grey in the "service, was obliged to retire, the practice "was, to grant him a pension for his life; "this annuity to cease when he should again "be employed. For the first time, Lord "Mulgrave broke through this rule, and "granted the pension to Mr. Ward's "WIFE, *Lady Mulgrave's sister*; to cease, "we presume, as soon as her husband "should be again employed; but not to "terminate with his life, *or to be affected* "*by his creditors*; and this pension Lord "Mulgrave granted, because Mr. Ward "had been Under-Secretary *for less than a* "*year, and received about £2000 for this* "*service!* We cannot imagine any thing "worse than this. It has only one merit—"it is an open, downright, plain job. It "does not deceive the public for a moment. "It cannot escape observation, like Sir "Henry Mildmay's, nor is it susceptible of "palliation, when discovered. Accordingly "no attempt is made to vindicate it; "and the only hopes of the accused parties "seem to consist in the possibility of esca-"ping noise and public shame, by allowing "judgment to go by default.——The job to "which we shall now direct the attention "of the public, is also in the Foreign Of-"fice, though we admit, that it is not so "bad a one as the former.—We sincerely "lament the degradation to which Mr. Can-"ning has submitted, by joining such col-"leagues as Lord Mulgrave. We are sor-"ry to see him, in some degree, follow-"ing their footsteps, and providing for his "friends, or the friends of his party, unfair-"ly, when no legitimate channel of prefer-"ment happens to be open. We particu-"larly allude to the following circumstance. "——Sir Arthur Paget has been sent to the "Porte as Envoy Extraordinary and Minis-"ter Plenipotentiary. Of the propriety of "such an appointment at the present mo-"ment, when this country is at war with "the Porte, we have already delivered our "opinion. But admitting that this mission "was proper, and waving, for the present, "our objections to it, Mr. Canning has "named the brother of his poetical and "anti-jacobin friend, Mr. Frere, as secre-

" tary to it—not as secretary of legation, but " as secretary of embassy. Mr. Bartholo- " mew Frere, we assert, has been appointed " secretary of embassy to a legation. In " the same manner Mr. A'Court, son of Sir " W. A'Court (member for Heytesbury in " the last parliament) has been appointed " by Mr. Canning secretary of embassy to " Lord Pembroke's mission, although that " noble lord is only envoy and plenipoten- " tiary.——Now such of our readers as are " not versed in these matters, will probably " demand, what is the difference between " a secretary of embassy and a secretary of " legation? We shall briefly mention this " difference. A secretary of embassy has " £1200 a year; a secretary of legation " has only £500; a secretary of embassy " has the rank of minister plenipotentiary; " a secretary of legation has only the rank " of chargé d'affaires. The difference, " then, is very material, both in rank " and pay, between the two appointments. " The absurdity in terms of appointing se- " cretaries of embassy, to mere legations, " we should have thought Mr. Canning " likely to feel, even if no other argument " had existed against it. But the gross im- " position upon the public, of creating, of " manufacturing offices, with rank of pay, " merely because no places were vacant at " the time for two friends of the party, is " too glaring to escape notice. Those two " gentlemen have been complimented with " high rank and large pay, not because " there were places vacant and men were " wanted to fill them; but because there " were two friends of Mr. Canning and his " colleagues who wanted to fill certain " places ——With the merits of these gen- " tlemen we have nothing to do. We be- " lieve them, however, to be old and faith- " ful servants of the public. We remem- " ber, indeed, that the conduct of Mr. B. " Frere, at Madrid, was a subject of deep " regret with all who valued the best inte- " rests of this country. But there never " was any reason for believing that he had " deviated from his instructions, and the " blame fell entirely upon those who, being " resolved to have a dollar war with Spain, " ordered him, at all events, to bring it " about. It was not this successful execu- " tion of his instructions, however, that re- " commended him to our new secretary. " Nor has Mr. A'Court to thank his uni- " form good conduct, at Naples, for the " share which he holds of this great states- " man's favour. The job has been done " for both on far other grounds. Mr. Can- " ning had to provide for his poetical " friend's brother, and for the son of Sir " W. A'Court, WHO HAD GIVEN UP " HIS SEAT IN PARLIAMENT TO " LORD FITZHARRIS, the new Under " Secretary. This was the origin of the " job which has just been exposed. For " this reason, because Mr. Frere has a bro- " ther, and Sir W. A'Court, a son, the " country must pay, in the mean time, two " secretaries of embassy where there are " no embassies, and undertake the burthen " of afterwards paying those secretaries the " pensions belonging to that rank.——We " trust that some steps will be taken to pre- " vent this practice from creeping on and " becoming general. Mr. Canning must " not be permitted thus to create places and " reconcile contradictions, in order to in- " crease his patronage. If he is, we see no " reason why Lord Mulgrave, now removed " from the Foreign Office, should not in his " new department, make his dependants " post-captains in gun-boats and armed " ships; or why Lord Castlereagh should " not appoint a major in each company of a " regiment."—This article, which comes, evidently, from the pen of Mr. Spankie, speaks, as all his writings do, plainly for itself. Mr. Bartholomew Frere, I saw, about three years ago, with a three-tailed wig upon his head in Westminster Hall; and, therefore, as it is the fashion to give compensation to lawyers for their loss of practice, I think Mr. Spankie, should have taken the three-tailed wig into view. What it might cover, indeed, would be a delicate question; and, I am not sure that the number of Mr. Bartholomew Frere's briefs was ever very considerable; but, it might have become so in time; and, were it only for the loss of the wig, something was due. With respect to Sir William A'Court's son, there was no loss of wig to make compensation for, but, if the Morning Chronicle speaks truth, there was loss of seat; so, if he had it not at top he had it at bottom.——To be sure, the device of making men secretaries of *embassy* to *legations* was novel; but, if twelve hundred pounds a year pension is to be given, of what consequence is it, whether it be given in this way or in any other? Let it be observed, however, that it will be *for life*; that the nation will, by this act, be loaded with 2,400 pounds a year for the lives of these two young men, and, very likely, as in the case of Mr. Robert Ward, for the lives of their spouses, in the winning of which spouses' hearts the prospect of the twelve hundred pounds a year may, possibly, have no little weight; and, thus, in spite of the principles and precepts of Mr. Malthus, Mr.

Canning may have encouraged, instead of checking population, seeing that a whole fry of place and pension hunters may spring from this very grant.——Mr. Robert Ward's pension is, to be sure, as undisguised, as free from all sorts of covering as any thing of the kind can well be. He was under secretary of state for one year, he received two thousand pounds for that, and he gets a pension of *six hundred pounds* (I believe it is) a year *for his whole life afterwards*, and for the *life of his wife too*; but, then, observe, that wife is the *sister of Lady Mulgrave*, and it is *Lord Mulgrave* who advises the king to grant the pension! What could be more amiable? What a more convincing proof of fraternal and conjugal affection? And yet, I'll warrant you, now, that the "Jacobins and Levellers" would, in defiance of the anathemas of John Bowles, exclaim against this kind transaction! Ah! the vile miscreants! they would, as John and his fellow-labourer Redhead say, "destroy all social "order, regular government, and our holy "religion;" or, in other words, they would put an end to sinecure places and pensions like that of Mr. Robert Ward, and would thereby reduce numerous genteel families to the utmost distress, even to share in those labours of the people, by which labours they are now supported! Robert Ward is a youngish man; and, it is within the compass of hope, that he and I may live to see times widely different from the present, when which time comes, it will be curious enough to reckon how much I have paid, and how much he has received.

Sir Henry Mildmay.——I have now read that part of the Fourth Report, which relates to the transaction respecting the post at Moulsham, and I am sorry to find, that the statement from the Morning Chronicle, which I inserted last week (at p. 1027) is correct.——I said then, that nothing but a *flat contradiction*, as to fact, would, or could remove the impression, which that statement was calculated to excite, and which, as far as I can learn, it has excited amongst people in general, of all descriptions; and, many days have now passed without the appearance of any attempt to controvert either the facts or the conclusions. ——Nay, while the no-popery faction have been very attentive to combat *all the other* exposures of the Morning Chronicle, they have cautiously avoided this. They seem to be hesitating, whether they shall *disown* Sir Henry Mildmay. But, that will not serve their turn, for, Mr Sturges, the son of the Winchester Doctor Sturges, was one of the parties to the transaction, and as appears from the Report, and, indeed, from his own letter, as a Secretary of the Treasury, authorised 643 pounds to be laid out upon his friends' premises, when only 250 pounds were, by the estimate, required to be laid out for that purpose! And yet, John Bowles and his crew slacken not their cry. Yet, they represent all those who insist, that there is a wasteful expenditure of the public money, as Jacobins and Levellers, as "enemies to "regular government, social order, and our "holy religion;" though neither John nor any of his crew will condescend to tell us how our holy religion is to be supported by transactions such as that, of which we are speaking.——The Morning Chronicle has made bold strides in retracing its late venal steps; but, there is one point which it still appears to shun with great care, namely, the part which *Pitt* bore in this and similar transactions. It talks very well of the pension to Robert Ward, and of the conduct of Lord Mulgrave; but, it seems to forget, that this pension could not have been granted *without the consent of Pitt*. So, in the case before us, it talks of "the *Longs* and the "*Sturges Bournes*," but says not a word about Pitt, who was the man that *ordered* Mr. Sturges to authorise the expending of the 643 pounds upon Sir Henry Mildmay's House.——Oh, what a mill-stone are the Grenvilles about the neck of their associates! To keep well with the Grenvilles, silence must be observed with regard to the misdeeds of Pitt. Nay, it must go further. Pitt must be occasionally *praised*; and it is impossible for the people to regard those men as sincere, who praise Pitt, at the same time that they cry out against the jobs, which took place under his power, and in virtue of his orders. This praising of Pitt it was that served, with the public, as a criterion whereby to judge of the principles and views of the late ministry; it was that which lost them the good opinion of the nation; and, having lost that, their opponents saw in them merely things to be trodden down.—— Down they are; in public opinion, never to rise again, at least in *a body*.——Under this head of "*the wrangling factions*," I shall continue to insert the accusations which they prefer against each other; because, unless those accusations are thus preserved, they will be, in a little time, lost past all recovery, and I have a strong foreboding, that there is a day at hand, when they may be very useful. The factions themselves are hastening that day with great diligence and zeal. They are doing the work themselves. They are assaulting each other with delightful fury, all the merit I claim being

merely that of bottle-holder, in which capacity I endeavour to see fair play. My rather favourite champion, the Courier, kept his antagonist under for a long while; but, the *Moulsham contract*, a hit which the Chronicle seems to have reserved for a hard pinch, has so staggered my no-popery hero, that I begin to suspect that he will finally be compelled to give in, especially as his opponent is coming on with new hits at every round, while his, poor fellow! seem to have been all tried over and over again. The public appear to derive great entertainment from this combat, which has the peculiar advantage of exciting no anxiety as to which party falls first, the general and only wish being, that, in the end, both may be destroyed.

LORD MILTON'S DINNER must be postponed till my next.——The new parliament opens on Monday. We shall now see the "no-popery" ministry put to the test by the "no-peculation" party, who will, doubtless, move for a revival of the *Finance Committee*. I beg my readers to be upon the watch as to this point in particular; for, if that committee be not composed *exactly* as it was before, as far as that is *possible*, the main principle of no-popery will need no explanation.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

SIR,——I perceive in page 1009 of your Register, the answer of your correspondent A. B. to my letter contained in the preceding number, and I confess, I feel happy in observing, that this gentleman is so far improved, that he assumes at least the *garb* of moderation. There has been a period in which A. B. has not been unjustly complained of for his petulance and incivility, but as he has taken upon himself to assert the *improved philosophy of the age*, he has not unwisely considered, that anger and moroseness are qualities not peculiarly adapted to a professor of philosophy, however they might have been *consistent* with a Romish priest in the act of begging a boon, or attempting to convert sturdy sinners like the Protestants, to the true Catholic faith; and he has, therefore, in his last letter assumed a more gentle and tranquil appearance: and, surely, nothing can be more farcical and ridiculous, than for the zealous advocate of so mild a religion as the Christian, to fret, and fume, and storm, because he happens to meet with a man who does not exactly coincide with him in his mode of thinking. But ridiculous as that may be, it cannot produce more astonishment and disgust, than the conduct of the Whigs, who having founded what little fame they retain, upon the exertions they evinced in effectuating the revolution in 1688, set about destroying the very foundation upon which their almost extinguished reputation has been built; and are the foremost, if not the only men, who strenuously support the Catholics in their claim for power; or, rather, the attempt of one or two Catholics to become *subaltern officers* in the *regiment*. It is said that the whole body of Catholics are discontented: but, because two or three of their leaders, of an *extraordinary patriotic turn of mind*, are prevented from receiving a pension from a country so *profusely rich* as ours, for services probably they might not really perform, but which they may say *would have been performed*, if, like Mr. R. Ward, they had not *prematurely* been *dismissed from office*; how likely, how plausible I say it is, that the whole body of Catholics should instantaneously become indignant, and denounce vengeance against a country, which affords them every other indulgence, except the liberty of their leaders becoming peculators. If the Scotch Presbytery had fortunately been deprived of the same privilege, their characters would in all probability not now have been stigmatised, by recording on the Journals of Parliament, the delinquency of a Scotch nobleman. Sir, I know that this is not the first time the Whigs have been inconsistent; they have long since enjoyed that quality in an eminent degree; at no later a period after the revolution than the reign of Queen Anne, did these flaming patriots raise a ferment for the purpose of introducing Catholic power; not 20 years had elapsed after they had hazarded their lives in the extirpation of Catholic power, when they appeared equally zealous to raise it up again If this fact be doubted, a perusal of Swift's Memoirs of the 4 last years of the reign of Queen Anne will sufficiently confirm it. Considering that the principles of our constitution as established at the revolution, which have been the admiration not of Britons alone, but of every nation in Europe, were founded on the extinction of Catholic influence, it must be matter of surprize, that any Protestants, still more that Whigs, should be so forward in advocating the Catholic cause; but in answer to this strange inconsistency, it is said, the times are different; that this is a *peculiarly enlightened, and philosophic age*; and that however we might have had cause for being jealous of the Catholics in the reign of James the 2d, that jealousy must now cease, as the Catholics continue no longer formidable. As to the philosophy and wisdom of the present age, I shall comment upon that hereafter; but as

to the assertion that the Catholics are no longer formidable, the very contrary is the fact: one of the principal arguments which the Catholics adopt, is founded on their numbers; is it consistent, we are asked, that in these times of peril, we should alienate *four millions* of Catholics, in one part of the United Kingdom alone, from the common cause? If then we are to be alarmed at so great a number of Catholics *without* power, how much more shall we be alarmed when they possess it? But then we are to be lulled into a compliance; and to those who have their fears about them, it is said, that the Catholic principles are quite altered; the sanguinary, intolerant, and vindictive spirit which formed a prominent feature in the Catholic character antecedent to the revolution, is now melted and softened down into a most complacent, liberal, and benignant disposition,—wonderful reformation—but let us enquire what evidence is adduced in support of this assertion,—why, the assurances of the Catholic Universities—most satisfactory—I mean to those who do not object to appeal to a rogue for a confession of his guilt—but to those who prefer experience to protestations, what says the recent rebellions in Ireland? Have they been bloodless? Have they on the contrary not been marked with as great enormities as ever stained the Catholics in periods when their bigotry prevailed the most? and although A. B. has passed unnoticed the *oath* which your correspondent Symplicius assured us was taken by Catholic bishops at their consecration, and which will be found repeated in my letter, page 853, we must not forget, that it remains *uncontradicted*; and it is vain, ridiculous, and absurd to attempt to impose upon us with the opinions of Catholic universities in contradiction to the plain and intelligible meaning of such an oath, and to the manners and habits of the Catholics as they occur to our daily experience. But admitting for the moment that the Catholics are more harmless, quiet, and inoffensive in their demeanor; that the Protestant feels from them no interruption; does it follow from thence that all our restrictive laws ought to be abrogated? Are we to be led away by such sophistry as this? Would it be said, that because under a well regulated police, offences had been so checked, and delinquents so narrowly watched, that crimes had nearly ceased to exist, that therefore you should dispense with the future services of an institution from which such great benefits had flowed? would you remove the barrier which has stemmed the inundation, and still imagine yourself safe against a future deluge? But yet, if the Catholic has become now so exemplary in all the *noble virtues*, how is it, that his advocates tell us, that in the hour of danger, he will not assist, but turn *traitor* to the country, that protects him by her laws, not only in his person, but in the free exercise of his religion, in the possession of his property, and in the unmolested enjoyment of his wife and children. What! can there be found a spot in civilized Europe, where resides a monster, who so circumstanced, would sting and goad his country in concert with her foreign enemies! When the Catholic advocates assert such a probability, do they imagine they are enhancing the Catholic character; that they are raising it so much in the estimation of mankind, as to entitle it to any indulgence, any boon, however exorbitant, it chooses to demand? If we would doubt for an instant what the faithful page of history has transmitted to us of the duplicity and intrigue of the Catholic disciples, their present conduct would indelibly fix it in our memories: we know that the sole aim of the Catholics at present is *power*; but how *frankly* and candidly has that been demanded of us? Men who are led away by words, and only take a superficial view of things, would never dream that power was the sole object of those who solicit for toleration, emancipation, liberal toleration, or, as A. B. has it in his last letter, *universal liberty of conscience*, who would conjecture, that the right of legislating, and of holding the highest official posts under government, was meant, and nothing less, by the words I have just quoted, or rather by those who use those words, which are intended to *veil* what they have not the ingenuousness openly to ask? If a further demonstration of catholic duplicity and want of principle was required, I would just beg to trouble you with the answer which A. B. has given to the following question which I put in my former letter. I asked of those who wish to make catholics legislators, catholics the king's advisers, catholics commanders of our army and navy, upon what principle the catholics should be excluded the throne? To this question A. B. answers, "Liberty of conscience is the "privilege of the monarch no less than the "lowest of his subjects. James the Second was not *presumed* to abdicate the "throne *merely* because he professed himself a catholic. He infringed upon the "constitutional liberties of his subjects, and "*therefore* his sceptre was wrested from "him by a power to which even kings must "submit. *An ignorant* and *bigoted people*

"require from their temporal sovereign, "whatever may be his private opinion, a "conformity to the rites and ceremonies of "their established predominant religion." This, then, is the answer, and A. B. has prefaced it by saying it is his *undisguised answer*: now if it be any answer at all, I can collect no other meaning from it than this, viz. that let the *written* laws, as well as the spirit of the constitution, point out in as *forcible* terms as language can invent, that no man can hold the sceptre but a protestant, yet that a catholic, with staunch orthodox duplicity, might be justified in deluding the constitution and the people by professing himself a true protestant, though in his heart he should be a papist. This, then, is a tenet of the catholic faith, exactly according with the practice of vending, like any other *saleable* commodity, indulgencies for dissimulation! And we are called upon to expunge all the laws to which we are indebted for every thing we have left of English freedom and independence, and to admit the inroads of men who profess such principles as these! I shall now, Sir, only trouble you with observing upon that part of A. B.'s Letters, in which he would persuade us that no danger is to be apprehended from Catholic power in so *enlightened* and *philosophical an age as the present*. I would here ask A. B. what extraordinary modern acts of wisdom and of justice he has discovered that by contrasting the present with former ages, he has found it to be so enlightened and philosophical? Has he been smitten with the promising appearance of our national debt; with the moderation of our Taxes; or with the *Philosophy* of the *Inhabitants* of *Liverpool* during the recent Election? Has he been dazzled with the wisdom of those counsels which selected an Attorney General, who never had occasion to make use of the rudiments of arithmetic, as a fit person to be the *Chancellor* of Exchequer and Financier of a nation like this, and at a time like the present? Has he been enraptured with the seducing urbanity of a Lord High Chancellor, who in imitation of the two pious cardinals in the reign of Louis the 12th, joined in the festive dance; or, has he been entrapped with the superabundant morality of the society for the Suppression of Vice, who repress the wickedness of the age, by unfolding to the too wantonly—curious minds of youth, scenes of iniquity, that otherwise might have eluded the observation of a green old age; or has A. B. built his discovery of such wisdom and philosophy on the unparalleled *modesty* of the heads of the Universities, who monopolize immense revenues by imposing on a credulous world, with that preposterous and arrogant assertion, that the knowledge of an obsolete language, which has been long rifled of every excellence, is the *only road* to *wisdom*? Sir, it is not a little preposterous, when we can say with Juvenal, "difficile est satyram non scribere," that it is difficult to write and not satirize the age, to boast of extraordinary wisdom and philosophy; but if we have really an anxiety to possess either, it seems absolutely necessary we should avoid so absurd an act, as that of prostrating the fences, which, with so much labour, our ancestors raised against encroachments, and of permitting our old enemies the Catholics, again to disturb our tranquility.——ANTI-CATHOLICUS.—*Lincoln's Inn.*

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

CAPTURE OF MONTE VIDEO.——*From the London Gazette Extraordinary; dated Downing Street, April 12, 1807.*

(Concluded from p. 1016.)

Heavy as it was, our loss would have been comparatively trifling, if the breach had been open. but during the night, and under our fire, the enemy had barricadoed it with hides, so as to render it nearly impracticable. The night was extremely dark. The head of the column missed the breach, and when it was approached it was so shut up that it was mistaken for the untouched wall. In this situation the troops remained under a heavy fire for a quarter of an hour, when the breach was discerned by Captain Renny, of the 40th light infantry, who pointed it out, and gloriously fell as he mounted it. Our gallant soldiers rushed to it, and, difficult as it was of access, forced their way into the town. Cannon were placed at the head of the principal streets, and their fire, for a short time, was destructive: but the troops advanced in all directions, clearing the streets and batteries with their bayonets, and overturning their cannon. The 40th regiment, with Col Browne, followed. They also missed the breach, and twice passed through the fire of the batteries, before they found it.——The 87th regt was posted near the North Gate, which the troops who entered at the breach were to open for them, but their ardour was so great that they could not wait. They scaled the walls, and entered the town as the troops within approached it. At day light every thing was in our possession, except the citadel, which made a shew of resistance, but soon surrendered, and early in the morning the town was quiet,

and the women were peaceably walking the streets.——The gallantry displayed by the troops during the assault, and their forbearance and orderly behaviour in the town, speak so fully in their praise, that it is unnecessary for me to say how highly I am pleased with their conduct. The service they have been engaged in since we landed, has been uncommonly severe and laborious, but not a murmur has escaped them; every thing I wished has been effected with order and cheerfulness.—Our loss during the siege was trifling, particularly as we were not sheltered by approaches, and the enemy's fire of shot and shell was incessant. But it is painful for me to add, that it was great at the assault. Many most valuable officers are among the killed and wounded. Major Dalrymple, of the 40th, was the only field officer killed. Lieut. Colonels Vassal and Brownrigg, and Major Tucker are among the wounded. I am deeply concerned to say, that the two former are severely so. The enemy's loss was very great, about eight hundred killed, five hundred wounded, and the Governor Don Pasquil Ruis Huidobro, with upwards of 2000 officers and men, are prisoners. About 1500 escaped in boats or secreted themselves in the town.——From Brigadier Gen. the Hon. W. Lumley and from Col. Browne, I have received the most zealous assistance and support. The former protected the line from the enemy during our march, and covered our rear during the siege. The latter conducted it with great judgment and determined bravery.——The established reputation of the royal artillery has been firmly supported by the company under my orders, and I consider myself much indebted to Captains Watson, Dickson, Carmichael, and Willgress, for their zealous and able exertions. Capt. Fanshaw of the engineers was equally zealous, and though young in the service conducted himself with such propriety that I have no doubt of his proving a valuable officer. Owing to great fatigue he was taken ill in the midst of our operations, and Capt. Dickson readily undertook his office, and executed it with the greatest judgment.—From the heads of corps and departments from the general staff of the army, from the medical, and from my own personal staff, I have received the most prompt and cheerful assistance.—It is insufficient to say, that the utmost cordiality has subsisted between Rear Admiral Stirling and myself; I have received from him the most friendly attention, and every thing in his power to grant.—The captains and officers of the navy have been equally zealous to assist us; but I feel particularly indebted to Captains Donelly and Palmer for their great exertions. They commanded a corps of marines and seamen that were landed, and were essentially useful to us with the guns, and in the batteries, as well as in bringing up the ordnance and stores.——This dispatch will be delivered to you by Major Tucker, who was wounded at the assault; and as he has long been in my confidence, I beg leave to refer you to him for further particulars.——I have the honour to be, &c.—S. Auchmuty, Brig. Gen. Commanding.

P.S. I am extremely concerned to add, that Lieut. Colonels Vassal and Brownrigg both died yesterday of their wounds. I had flattered myself with hopes of their recovery; but a rapid mortification has deprived his Majesty of two most able and gallant officers.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the forces under the command of Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, between the 16th of January, the day of landing at the Punta de Caretas, to the 20th of January inclusive.—Between 16th and 20th ult.; one lieut. 1 drummer, 18 rank and file, killed: 2 majors, 3 captains, 1 lieut. 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 119 rank and file wounded: 1 rank and file missing.—During the siege; one captain, 3 rank and file killed: 1 lieut. 1 ensign, 12 rank and file wounded: 7 rank and file missing.—At the assault one major, 3 captains, 2 Lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 5 drummers, 105 rank and file killed; 2 lieut. colonels, 3 captains, 8 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 4 staff, 18 serjants, 5 drummers, 235 rank and file wounded.—Total, one major, 4 captains, 3 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 6 drummers, 126 rank and file killed; 2 lieutenant colonels, 2 majors, 6 captains, 10 lieutenants, 5 ensigns, 4 staff, 20 serjeants, 6 drummers, 366 rank and file wounded; 8 rank and file missing.—captains Willgress and Crookshanks, and 31 rank and file, included in the above, have since returned to their duty. J. Bradford, dep. adj.-general.—Officers killed and wounded.—killed upon landing; lieut. Fitspatrick, of the 40th.—Slightly wounded upon landing.—major Trotter, of the 83d; major Campbell, of the 40th; captain Willgress, of the royal artillery; capt. Crookshanks, of the 38th; capt. Rogers of the 40th; lieut. Chawner, of the 95th.—Killed during the siege; Capt. Beaumont of the 87th.—Wounded during the siege; Lieut. O'Brien, of the 87th; the Hon. C. Irby, midshipman.—Killed in the assault; Major Dalrymple, of the 40th; Capt. Rennie, of ditto; Lieut. Alston, of ditto; Capt. Mason of the 38th; Lieut. Irwine, of

the 87th; Capt. Dickenson, of the 95th.—Wounded in the assault; Lieut.-Col. Brownrigg, of the 11th, since dead; Lieut. Smith, of the 40th; Ensign Cancern, of ditto; Lieut. Evans, of the 87th, severely; Lieut. M'Rea, of ditto, severely; Lieut.-Col. Vassal, of the 38th, since dead; Capt. Chipton, of ditto, severely; Lieut. Brownson, of ditto, dangerously; Ensign White, of ditto, severely; Ensign Willshire, of ditto, slightly; Ensign Fraser, of ditto, since dead; Paymaster Willshire, of ditto, severely; Adjutant Hewill, of ditto, dangerously; Assistant-Surgeon Garrat, of ditto, slightly; Capt. Wetham, of the 40th, severely; Lieut. Wallace, of ditto, dangerously; Lieut. Johnson, of ditto, severely; Lieut. Ramus, of ditto, severely; Major Tucker, of the 72d, slightly; Assistant-Surgeon Wildair, of the 87th, severely; Lieut. Scanlan, of the 95th, slightly; Lieut. M'Namara, of ditto, slightly.

Return of ordnance, ammunition, arms, &c. taken from the enemy at Monte Video, Feb. 3, 1807.—Ratones Island. Total of guns, 312. Total of mortars, 13. Total of carronades, 10. Total of howitzers, 10 six and half inch. A. Watson, capt. commanding royal artillery.

Admiralty Office, April 12, 1807.—Captain Donnelly, of his Majesty's ship Ardent, arrived this morning with dispatches from Rear Admiral Stirling, commanding a squadron of his Majesty's ships in the Rio de la Plata, of which the following are copies:

Diadem, off Monte Video, Feb. 8.

Sir,—I have peculiar satisfaction in congratulating my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty on the capture of Monte Video, as well from the importance of the conquest as from the honour which has thereby been acquired by his Majesty's arms.—Immediately on the arrival of Brigadier General Sir S. Auchmuty, at Maldonado, it was determined to invest this place, and having assembled our force off the Island of Flores, a descent was effected on the 16th ult. near Carreta Point, which is about 7 miles to the eastward of the town. The enemy had assembled in considerable numbers, and with several pieces of artillery seemed determined to oppose our progress.—The navigation of the Rio de la Plata, with the strong breezes which we have experienced for several weeks rendered the landing of troops, and assisting their operations, very difficult, but the place chosen was happily adapted to allow the covering vessels, under the direction of Capt. Hardyman, to approach so close as to command the beach, and notwithstanding the weather threatened and was unfavourable, the soldiers got all on shore without a single accident of any kind, and were in possession of the heights before 6 o'clock, with such things as the General wanted.—On the 19th the army moved forwards; and as an attempt to harass the rear was expected, I directed boats to proceed close along shore to look out for and bring off any wounded men, whilst the covering vessels were placed to prevent the enemy from giving annoyance, and I had the happiness to hear that all the sufferers were brought off, in despite of well directed efforts to destroy them. In the evening I dropped, with the fleet, off Chico Bay, near which the army encamped, within two miles of the city.—I had landed about 800 seamen and royal marines, under the orders of Capt. Donnelly, to act with the troops; and, as I saw no advantage could result from any effort of ships against a strong fortress, well defended at all points, and which, from the shallowness of the water, could not be approached within a distance to allow shot to be of any use, I disposed the squadron so as to prevent any escape from the harbour, as well as to impede any communication between Colonna and Buenos Ayres, and confined my whole attention to give every possible assistance in forwarding the siege, by landing guns from the line of battle ships, with ammunition, stores, provisions, and every thing required by the commander of the forces.—The distance which the ships lay from the shore, with the almost constant high winds and swell we had, and the great way every thing was to be dragged by the seamen, up a heavy sandy road, made the duty excessively laborious. The squadron had almost daily 1400 men on shore, and this ship was often left with only 30 men on board.—The defence made by the enemy protracted the siege longer than was expected, and reduced our stock of powder so low, that the king's ships, with all the transports, and what a fleet of merchantmen had for sale, could not have furnished a further consumption for more than two days, when a practicable breach was fortunately made, and on the 3d inst. early in the morning, the town and citadel were most gallantly carried by storm.—In a conversation with the general on the preceding day, I had made such a disposition of the smaller vessels and armed boats, as appeared most likely to answer a desired purpose, and so soon as Fort Saint Philip was in possession of the British troops, Lieut. W Milne, with the armed launches, took possession of the Island of Rattones, mounting ten guns, and garrisoned by 70 men, which surrendered without

any resistance, although it is well adapted for defence, and might have given considerable annoyance. A very fine frigate, mounting 28 guns, was set fire to by her crew, and blew up with an awful explosion; as also three gun boats, but the other vessels in the harbour were saved by the exertion of our people.—It has been much the custom to speak slightly of the resistance to be expected from the Spaniards in this country; and with confidence of the facility which has been given to naval operations, by a prior knowledge of the river; but the battles lately fought prove the former opinion to be erroneous, and experience evinces that all the information hitherto acquired had not prevented the most formidable difficulties.—The conduct of the captains, officers, seamen, and royal marines of the ships and vessels, which I kept with me for this service, has met with my entire approbation, and I feel persuaded that I should have had occasion to express my satisfaction with the exertions of the officers and crews of the Diomede and Protector, if I had not been obliged to detach them on other service.—I am much indebted to the able assistance which Capt. Warren has afforded me; and I admire the zeal, the patience, and diligence of every individual in the fleet during the incessant fatigue which I have daily witnessed. ——Captain Donnelly will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, and is fully able to give their lordships further particulars.——Inclosed is a list of men belonging to the navy who were killed or wounded in the batteries; and also a list of the enemy's ships and vessels found in the harbour, with a return of ordnance, &c. on the island of Rattones.——I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES STIRLING

[Here follows a list of the seamen and marines belonging to the squadron, who were killed and wounded at the capture of Monte Video, Feb. 3, 1807, amounting to 5 killed, 28 wounded, 4 missing.——The Gazette then gives a list of the prizes taken at Monte Video: they amount to 57. Among them are 8 ships from 28 to 20 guns each; 4 from 16 to guns each; the rest are Indiamen and merchantmen.]

WAR IN EGYPT.——*From the Supplement to the London Gazette, June 13, 1807.*

Downing Street, June 13, 1807.—The following intelligence has been received by Viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from Major-General Alex. M'Kenzie Fraser, commanding his Majesty's land forces in Egypt, transmitted in a letter from the Right Hon. Gen. Fox, to the Right Hon. Wm. Windham:

Extract of the Copy of a Letter from Major General A. M. Fraser, to the Right Hon. W. Windham, dated Alexandria, April 6, 1807, transmitted to him by General Fox, the original not having been received.

SIR,—My letter of the 27th ult. has already informed you, that, in consequence of the strong representation of Major Missett, his Majesty's resident here, a copy of which I then transmitted, stating the risk the inhabitants of Alexandria ran of being starved, unless Rosetta and Rahmanie were taken possession of by his Majesty's troops, I had, with the concurrence of Rear Admiral Sir John Duckworth, detached the 31st regiment and Chasseurs Britanniques, under Major General Wauchope, and Brigadier General Meade, for that purpose——I am now under the disagreeable necessity of acquainting you, that, contrary to all expectation, this measure did not succeed. Our troops took possession of the heights of Abourmandour (which command the town) without any loss; but, from circumstances as yet unexplained, the general, instead of keeping his post there, unfortunately was tempted to go into the town with his whole force, without any previous examination of it, when the troops were so severely handled from the windows and tops of the houses, without ever seeing their enemy, that it was thought expedient to retire, more especially as Major-General Wauchope was unfortunately killed, and the second in command, Brigadier General Meade, severely wounded ——The troops, I understand, though certainly placed in a most trying and perilous situation, behaved extremely well; and after having suffered, I am sorry to say, very materially, in killed and wounded, (as you will see by the annexed returns,) retired to Aboukir, in good order, without molestation, from whence I directed them to return to Alexandria.—This has certainly been a very heavy and unexpected stroke upon us, more especially as every information led me to conclude, that the opposition, if any, would be trifling; and every precaution was recommended that prudence could suggest. —Finding, however, by the renewed representation of Major Missett, corroborated by the personal application of the Sorbagi, or Chief Magistrate, in the name of the people at large, that a famine would be the certain and immediate consequence of our remaining at Alexandria, without the occupation of Rosetta, I have, with the concurrence, advice, and co-operation of Rear Admiral Sir T. Louis, (who commands the squadron here

since the departure of Sir John Duckworth,) detached another corps, under the command of the Hon. Brigadier General Stewart and Colonel Oswald (as per margin *) to effect this purpose, without which it appears impossible that the measure proposed by his Majesty's ministers, of keeping possession of Alexandria, can be accomplished.

Extract of a Dispatch from Major General Fraser, to General the Right Hon. H. E Fox, dated on board his Majesty's ship Canopus, Aboukir Bay, April 24, 1807.

I have the mortification to acquaint you, that the second attempt that I thought necessary to make against Rosetta, has failed, owing to a great reinforcement of the enemy being sent down the Nile, from Cairo, which overpowered our troops, and obliged them to fall back with the loss, I am grieved to say, of nearly 1000 men, in killed, wounded and missing. Among the latter are Lieut. Colonel M'Leod, Major Vogelsang, and Major Mohr. Brigadier General Stewart, who commanded the troops on this service, is only now upon his march towards Alexandria, with the remainder of his force, and has not yet sent me the details; but, as the Admiral thinks it necessary to dispatch the Wizard brig immediately from this Bay to Messina, I think it necessary to give you all the information I am at present in possession of, and shall send you the particulars of this unfortunate affair, by his Majesty's ship Thunderer, which will leave Alexandria very soon; and as I have not time to acquaint his Majesty's ministers of this event, by this opportunity, I must request you to have the goodness to do it as soon as possible.

Return of killed and wounded of the army in the action of the 31st of March, 1807, at Rosetta.

Killed.—Staff, 1 Major General. Royal Artillery, 2 rank and file. 31st Regiment, 1 Captain, 3 Serjeants, 3 Drummers, 69 rank and file. Chasseurs Britanniques, 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 3 Serjeants, 2 drummers, 99 rank and file. Total, 1 Major General, 2 Captains, 1 Lieutenant, 6 Serjeants, 5 Drummers, 170 rank and file.

Wounded.—Staff, 1 Brigadier General, 1 Brigade Major. Royal Artillery, 10 rank and file. 31st Regiment, 1 Captain, 6 Subalterns, 7 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 129 rank and file. Chasseurs Britanniques, 4 Captains, 5 Subalterns, 1 Adjutant, 7 Serjeants, 111 rank and file Staff Corps, 1 rank and file. Total, 1 Brigadier General, 1 Brigade Major, 5 Captains, 10 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 11 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 251 rank and file.

Names of officers killed.—Major General Wauchope. 31st Regiment, Captain John Robertson. Chasseurs Britanniques, Capt. B. de Serocourt, Lieut. D'Amiel.

Names of officers wounded.——Brigadier General the Hon Robert Meade. 31st Regiment, Captains Horsburg (Brigade Major), and Dowdall; Lieutenants E. Knox, Fearon, Thornton, Sleddon, and Ryan; Ensign Kirby. Chasseurs Britanniques, Captains Duhantoy, de Combremont, de Calonne, and de Lafitte; Lieutenants Le Maitre, J. Spitz, de Sault, and Klinger; Ensign Roussignault, Adjutant. (Signed) GEORGE AIREY, Acting Deputy Adjutant General.

N B. Most of the wounded officers and men are recovering.

* Detachment of the royal artillery, detachment of the 20th light dragoons, detachment of seamen, light infantry battalion, 1st battalion of 35th regiment, 2d battalion of the 78th regiment, Regiment de Roll, amounting, in the whole, to about 2,500 men.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR ——*Fifty-first Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Warsaw, Jan. 14.—On the 29th of December the annexed dispatch of Gen Benningsen was received by the King of Prussia at Konigsberg. It was immediately published and posted up throughout the town, where it excited the greatest transports of joy. The king was publicly complimented on the occasion, but on the 31st in the evening, intelligence was given by some Prussian officers, corroborated by other advices from the country, of the real state of things. Sadness and consternation were now so much the greater, as every one had abandoned himself to joy. It was then resolved to evacuate Konigsberg, and preparations were accordingly made for that purpose. The treasure and most valuable property was immediately sent to Memel. The Queen, who was still ill, embarked on the 3d of January for that town; the King set out from thence on the 6th. The remains of Gen Lestocq's division also departed for the same, after leaving at Konigsburg two battalions and a company of invalids.—The King of Prussia's ministry is composed in the following manner:—Gen. Ruchel, still ill of the wound he received at the battle of Jena, is appointed Minister at War.—The President, Sagebarthe, is appointed Minister of the Interior.—The present forces of the Prussion Monarch are as follows:—The King is attended by 1500 troops, both foot and horse.—Gen. Lestocq has scarcely 5000 men, comprising the two

battalions left at Konigsberg with the company of invalids.—Lieut. Gen. Hamburger commands at Dantzic, where he has a garrison of 6000 men. The inhabitants have been disarmed, and it has been intimated to them that in case of alarm the troops will fire on all those who shall quit their houses. Gen. Guzadon commands at Colberg, with 1800 men. Lieut. Gen. Couhiere is at Gradentz, with 3000 men.—The French troops are in motion to surround and besiege these fortresses.——A certain number of recruits whom the King of Prussia had caused to be assembled, and who were neither clothed nor armed, have been disbanded, because there was no method of keeping them in order.—Two or three English officers were at Konigsberg, and caused hopes to be entertained of the arrival of an English army.—The Prince of Piess has in Silesia, 12 or 15,000 men shut up in the fortresses of Breig, Neif, Schweidnitz, and Konell, which Prince Jerome has caused to be invested.——We shall be silent concerning the ridiculous dispatch of Gen. Benningsen; we shall only remark that it contains something inconceiveable. This General seems to accuse his colleague, Gen. Buxhovden; he says that he was at Mokow. How could he be ignorant that Buxhovden was gone to Golymin, where he was beaten; he pretended to have gained a victory, and nevertheless he was in full retreat at ten at night, and this retreat was so hasty that he abandoned his wounded? Let him shew us a single piece of cannon, a single French standard, a single prisoner, but twelve or fifteen men who might have been taken here and there in the rear of the army, while we can shew him 6000 prisoners, two standards, which he lost near Pultusk, and 3000 wounded, whom he abandoned in his flight.—Should Gen. Buxhovden have given, on his side, as true a relation of the engagement of Colymin, it will be evident that the French army was beaten, and that in consequence of its defeat it took possession of 100 pieces of ordnance, and 1600 baggage waggons, of all the hospitals of the Russian army, of all its wounded, and of the important position of Sieroch, Pultusk, Ostrolenka, and obliged the enemy to fall back 80 leagues. With regard to the inference attempted to be drawn by Gen. Benningsen, from his not having been pursued, it is sufficient to observe, that good care was taken not to pursue him, because our troops outstretched him by two days' march, and that but for the bad roads that hindered Marshal Soult from following this movement, the Russian General would have found the French at Ostrolenka.—It remains for us only to seek what could be the intention of such a relation? It is the same, no doubt, that the Russians proposed to themselves at the battle of Austerlitz. It is the same, no doubt, as that of the Ukases, by which the Emperor Alexander declined accepting the grand insignia, because, he said, he had not commanded at that battle; and accepted the small insignia for the success he had obtained in it, although under the command of the Emperor of Austria.—He says furthermore, he had the Grand Duke of Berg and Davoust against him, whilst, in fact, he had only to cope with the division of Suchet, and the corps of Marshal Lannes; the 17th regiment of light infantry, and 34th of the line, the 64th and 88th are the only regiments who fought against him. He must have reflected very little on the position of Pultusk, to suppose that the French would take possession of that town, commanded within pistol shot.—There is, however, one point of view under which the relation of Gen. Benningsen may be justified. No doubt but apprehensions were entertained of the effect which the truth might produce throughout Prussian and Russian Poland, which the enemy were to cross, had it reached those countries previous to his being enabled to place his hospitals and scattered detachments safe from insult.—These relations, so evidently ridiculous, may still produce the advantages for the Russians of delaying for some days the ardour which faithful recitals will not fail to inspire the Turks with; and these are circumstances in which a few days form a delay of some importance. Experience, however, has proved, that all wiles defeat their end, and that in all things simplicity and truth are the best means in policy.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

The Eighth Volume of the PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, comprising the period from the commencement of the last session, December 15, 1806, to March 4, 1807, will be published on Saturday next.

The Second Volume of the PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND (comprising the period from the Accession of Charles I. in 1625, to the Battle of Edge-hill in October, 1642), will be ready for delivery on Saturday the 4th of July.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XI. No. 26.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

"An *Inquiring* Parliament this must be, or the people will not be satisfied with it."——MR. CALCRAFT'S Speech, 22d June, 1807.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LORD MILTON'S DINNER.——This dinner, which took place at the Crown and Anchor on the 13th instant, is of importance, as connected with politics, because, though, ostensibly, intended merely for the purpose of celebrating Lord Milton's triumph in Yorkshire, over the no-popery candidate, Mr. Lascelles, it must be regarded, as it in reality was, a meeting for the purpose of declaring open war against the new ministry, and for embodying the means of carrying on that war.——In the opening speech of MR FAWKES (late member for Yorkshire), who was chairman upon the occasion, and who stands so highly recommended to the country by his excellent address, in which he said, that, after what he had seen in the House of Commons, he had no longer any ambition to be there; in this speech there was very little worthy of particular notice, except that the speaker made an open declaration against peculators. Some time after, however, upon his health being drunk, he is reported, in the papers, to have said: "I beg leave, in the first place, to return you my most sincere and heartful "thanks for the very kind and distinguished honour you have just done me; and "in the second place to assure you, that I "shall ever consider your approbation of "my conduct as the most valuable of all my "possessions. My continuance in that situation to which your kind partiality so "recently elevated me, was not long; but "during the short time I had the honour of "being your representative, I trust I proved "myself, what I had ever professed myself "to be, a steady supporter of the *limited* "monarchy of my country, a friend to the "cause of liberty at home and abroad, and "an advocate for a *temperate* reformation "of those *numerous and enormous abuses*, "which no friend to his country can con"template *without apprehension and dis*"*gust*."——Well, then, there are "*numerous* and *enormous* abuses;" they excite "*apprehension* and disgust," in every friend of the country; and Mr. Fawkes would fain see them *reformed*. It were to be wished that he had been more particular; that he had *named* some few of the abuses; and that he had, above all things, been specific as to the time and manner of reform. For, Mr. Fawkes was in parliament four months, and he never moved for any reform at all; nor did he, that I know of, ever say there, one word about numerous and enormous abuses. His *temperate* reformation, too! What does he mean by *temperate*? Does he mean, that he would not have the government torn up by the roots, and all law and property destroyed? This is a very good meaning, but what is the use of expressing it? Who is there that wishes to see such destructive work? I am afraid, that the qualification, *temperate*, means *slow* and so very slow as for no one to be able to perceive it in any way whatever. As *temperate* as you please, Mr. Fawkes, but, let the thing *be done*. Let the reformation take place, especially as the abuses are so numerous and so enormous. This, Sir, was the way of the late ministry. They, after they got possession of office, talked of a temperate reformation; that is to say, in their evident sense of the words, a slow reformation; or, in other words, a reformation exactly the contrary of that, which, for twenty long years, they had been demanding. It is a quite wrong notion, I presume, that, to act with temperance, you must proceed at a snail's pace. In many cases it happens, that, not to act with promptitude is the same thing as not acting at all; and this is a case of that sort, for if the abuses are numerous and enormous, to reform some of them should be set about instantly, because it being in their nature to increase, unless you begin betimes, and clear your way as you go, the increase will certainly surpass the diminution. In short, the word *temperate*, thus applied, was used by Pitt as often as by any body, and I have no doubt at all, that it will be used by his disciples, who now compose the no-popery ministry; and, if their opponents have nothing better than general expressions about temperate reformation to offer the people, they may rest assured, that the people will place no reliance upon them; and, that, however great their number of *seats*, and, of course, their number of votes, their opponents may

safely set them at defiance. It is a reformation of abuses that is wanted; a real reformation; a reformation that we can *feel*. We want to be able to say, "such or such an "abuse *has been reformed*; such or such a "robber *has been made to disgorge*, or *has "been punished*; such or such sinecures or "unmerited pensions *have been abolished*; "such or such taxes *have been repealed*." We want to *know* that something *has been done*; and, until we do know this, Mr. Fawkes may be assured, that we shall pay but little attention to the speeches and motions of those who talk about a reformation of abuses, for the purpose, as we shall think, of ousting those who now profit by those abuses, in order to be able to profit by such abuses themselves. —— Lord Milton's speech, which I am now about to insert, as I find it reported in the newspapers, was not more definite than Mr. Fawkes's. "In rising," said his lordship, "upon this occasion, as "the representative of the great and respectable county of York, something more "will very naturally be expected from me "than merely to return thanks for the honour you have done me in drinking my "health. When I became a candidate for "the high and distinguished station in "which the good sense and public spirit of "Yorkshire has placed me, I was not actuated by any private pique or personal "consideration, as the advertisement which "my opponent has thought proper to publish seems to insinuate. No, I stood forward to vindicate the late administration "from the calumnies so industriously propagated against them, and *to vindicate the "constitution of my country, which has been "violated by his Majesty's present ministers.* "Let those ministers who talk upon their "boasted appeal to public opinion, reflect "upon the answer they have received from "the important county of York. There "they have found a distinguished illustration of that which must be manifest to "any thinking man in the empire—the "county of York has decidedly expressed "its opinion of the character of his Majesty's present ministers—that the clamour "they would excite is ineffective—that the "calumnies they would circulate are unfounded—that the principles they would "maintain are unconstitutional—that the "motives by which they are actuated, are "bad. Of the nature of their motives indeed, it is impossible to entertain a doubt; "for any set of men, who could for their "own private advantage and emolument, "or in order to satisfy an improper ambition, resort to expedients calculated to "provoke a recurrence of those disgraceful "scenes which agitated the county in the "year 1780, cannot be influenced by good "motives. Against such men and their "views, I thought it my duty to contend; "and against them, gentlemen, we have "fought and conquered. But my opponent, "Mr. Lascelles, has thought proper to "ascribe his failure to the animosity of the "clothiers; and certainly it is rather odd "in a man to publish to the world that he "has failed in a great contest through the "unpopularity of his own character. I "really believe, gentlemen, that Mr Lascelles is the first who ever publicly assigned such a ground for his defeat The "fact however is, gentlemen, that our victory rests on public grounds, and has been "achieved by the public spirit and *independence* of Yorkshire. When I make use "of the term independence, *I do not mean "that hackneyed sense in which it is too often, with other phrases, used at elections "for purposes of imposture.* No, I mean "that independence of mind, of character, "and of station *which belongs to those by "whom I have had the honour to be supported.* By them the genuine force of "independence has been manifested; they "saw that the cause in which they were engaged was not that merely of their own "county, but of the empire at large, of justice, and the constitution; and it is to be "hoped, that their success will teach ministers an impressive lesson as to the policy of propagating slander; as to the consequence of violating the constitution. I "do not triumph gentlemen, in the result "of our contest, because it is grateful to "any personal ambition, but because it affords a satisfactory evidence that the spirit of real independence and *the love of "public liberty, as established at the revolution*, is not *quite* blotted from the hearts "of Englishmen. This, gentlemen, is the "reason that I am proud of this great event. "I am rejoiced to find that such men as the "present ministers must be disturbed to "feel, that whenever an attempt is made by "any government to violate the principles "of the constitution, there are such men as "my constituents, determined to oppose, "and to *conquer*." —— To conquer *what*, my lord? What, or whom have they conquered? Conquered the no-popery ministry? If that be your lordship's meaning, you must speak by anticipation, and may be deceived. It was a very hard run in Yorkshire. If, as your lordship seems to suppose, the votes given for you were all that were given for the *constitution*, the constitution is in a poor

way.——But, what I dislike most, or, rather, what I like the least, in this speech, is, that it *says nothing*. I find nothing in it characteristic of an independent and determined mind. When I came to one part of his lordship's speech, I said to myself, "oh, "here we shall have something, at last: "for, he has said what he does *not* mean by "the word *independence*, and he will now "tell us what he does mean." Not at all. We are still just where we were. He does not mean independence in that sense in which it is used at elections for the purposes of imposture; *but*, that independence of "mind, "of character, and of station, which belongs "to those *by whom he has* been supported." As a compliment to his constituents; as a sugar phrase to attract political flies, this was very well; but, it was of no value with respect to the rest of the nation; for, to have given us a correct idea of the independence that he meant, it was necessary to have satisfied us with respect to the mind, character, and station of those who had voted for him; so that, upon this score, he leaves us just as wise as he found us.——There is a good deal about "the *constitution*," and, if his lordship had called that "a *hacknied* phrase," he would have been undeniably correct: but, how he can have *vindicated* the constitution by becoming a candidate for Yorkshire I am quite at a loss to discover, seeing that it was but by a mere trifling majority that he was chosen, and seeing, that the capacity of bearing the *expence* was one of the principal causes of his success. The truth is however, that this, again, is an expression of *no acknowledged meaning*. It conveys no clear idea. Five men might, in reading it, attach five different meanings to it.—His lordship says, that his being chosen for Yorkshire proves that "the love of liberty, as established at the revolution, is not *quite* "blotted from the hearts of Englishmen". But, in order to ascertain, as nearly as may be, whether his lordship spoke with due reflection, let us first ask what that "*liberty*" consisted of, which was "established at the "revolution." And, here, we will not talk about *the constitution* as something which any man may interpret as it best suits his purposes; but of that constitution which is to be found written in the *laws* passed at and almost immediately after the stupid tyrant had been driven from the throne. These laws, the BILL OF RIGHTS and the ACT OF SETTLEMENT, which were, in fact, solemn contracts between the people and their sovereign and his successors, say, that the elections for members of parliament shall be free, and, of course, the buying and selling of seats in parliament are contrary to those laws, and hostile to liberty, as then established; those laws say, that no placeman or pensioner, under the crown, shall have a seat in the House of Commons; those laws say, that no person, not a native, *born*, of these kingdoms, shall hold any place of trust civil or military; those laws say, that, without the previous consent of parliament (the House of Commons, observe, having no placemen or pensioners in it), no foreign troops shall be introduced into this country. These, with other less important provisions, were enacted for the express purpose of "better securing the rights and liberties of "the people." Now, then, to prove that his lordship reasoned correctly in regarding his recent success as a proof that the love of liberty, as established at the revolution, was not "quite blotted from the hearts of En-"glishmen," it must first be proved, that those who voted for him gave their votes upon a promise on his part, expressed or implied, that he would, to the utmost of his power, cause the provisions, of which I have been just speaking, to be revived and restored to activity; and, though I do not say, that no such proof can be produced, I am much afraid that it cannot; and, when his lordship was talking of liberty, "as established at the revolution," I could have wished him to give us some description of that liberty, some characteristic mark of it, because, as he himself well observed, it is the practice of political impostors to make use of popular but always of indefinite terms. A cry about *the constitution* will no longer take; and, besides, the other party set up the same cry, and in still louder tones, if that be possible; so that, all that the people can, of a certain, know, upon this subject, from these accusations, is, that, either those who were in place the other day, or those who are in place now, are liars, or, that both parties have violated the constitution.——The conclusion of the proceedings at this Dinner were such as one would wish to attribute to the influence of the bottle. The committee, it seems, who had *organized* the dinner, had laid upon the chairman an injunction, that the health of no person not connected with Yorkshire should be given as a toast. But, it appears, that Mr Fawkes was induced to set this injunction at defiance for the sake of toasting one super-excellent person, and who, reader, do you think that super-excellent person was? MR. SHERIDAN? The late candidate for Westminster; he who called the matron Butler to appear against the character of Drake and Weatherhead who had been his supporters at the preceding elec-

tion; he who, only the other day, set on foot a subscription to pay expences which he had before declared to be paid; the protegé of Peter Moore, and "the father of Tom Sheridan." But, let us hear the report of this part of the proceedings. It is too valuable to be lost. It is conclusive as to the political character and views of the meeting, and particularly of the character of Mr. Fawkes.—"The Chairman said, that he must swerve "from the injunction of the committee, "and yield to the sense of the meeting, "communicated to him by an inundation "of notes from every quarter of the room, "which notes completely concurred with "his own sentiment. This sentiment naturally disposed him to pay every tribute "of respect to the ILLUSTRIOUS person "who was the *highly valued, steady*, and "*unvarying friend of Mr. Fox*, and the "powerful advocate of those principles "which embalmed that great man's memory. He, therefore, felt happy to propose "the health of MR. SHERIDAN; this proposition was received with *loud and long "continued acclamations of applause*. As "soon as they had terminated,—— MR. "SHERIDAN returned thanks for the honour "which the meeting had conferred upon "him, and which honour he felt to be "materially heightened by a consideration "of the distinguished man by whom it was "preferred; for in that man he recognized "the principles which were dear to his "heart, accompanied by an ability eminently qualified to carry those principles into "effect. The right hon. gent. pronounced "an elegant eulogium upon the talents of "lord Milton, in whom he was happy to "perceive a worthy successor to that great "and good man the marquis of Rockingham, "under whose administration he commenced his political career, not as a member "of Parliament, but as a member of *the "Rockingham Club*—recollecting the utility and consequence of that institution, "which comprehended some of the ablest "men and best friends to liberty this country had ever known, and in which originated many highly patriotic propositions, "*he could not help expressing his wish and "hope that it should be revived*. After "taking notice of the respect due to the "old and genuine strength of the country, "the right hon. gent. dwelt upon the manner in which attempts had been made of "late years to depreciate that branch of the "constitution *by introducing improper persons into it*. This was an evil which appeared to be productive of much mischief. "*These improper persons obtained their "titles by serving an apprenticeship of 7 or "14 years to corruption in the House of "Commons*; and then, when in the other "house, the double mischief arose—that "they neither had any sympathy with the "people, nor were dissoluble by the Crown. "The right hon. gen. remarked, with peculiar emphasis, upon the connection "which still continued to exist among the "Friends of Mr. Fox; and expressed his "pride and pleasure to witness that connection. If indeed such a connection had "ceased with the death of his illustrious "friend, and his party had been dispersed, "the record of history might have been, "that Mr. Fox's adherents had been influenced merely by personal attachment, "which no doubt produced him many adherents, as it strengthened the adherence "of all who knew him. But that the great "connections of that great man were cuated "by *principle, was evident from the still "existing union* which all the friends of "principle must be proud to witness. The "right hon. gentleman concluded with again "recommending a revival of the "Rockingham Club."——THE CHAIRMAN expressed the pleasure he felt, in common, "he was certain, with the whole company, "in having on this occasion deviated from "the recommendation of the Committee. "He thanked the right hon. gent. for the "opinion he had been pleased to express "of him. He should always *feel proud of "such a man*. From *him* indeed, *praise "must be truly flattering to any man*, for "it is ever a just source of gratification—"*Laudari a laudato viro*."——There is one gratification, which Mr. Fawkes undoubtedly had, and that was the consciousness of being envied, at this happy moment, by no man not actually in the pillory. Oh, the inexpressible meanness of this transaction! Mr. Sheridan was not one of the Stewards; Mr. Sheridan had not once been named as connected with the Dinner, until a paragraph in the Courier, written, probably, by Mr. Sheridan himself, hinted, that this slight of Mr. Sheridan might possibly be repented of when parliament came to meet. This hint it was, I am firmly convinced, that produced the toast. They hated the man, chiefly because he possessed greater talents than they; but, they feared those talents; and, all that can be said for them is, that their cowardice surpassed their hatred and their envy. Good God! Amongst all the men in the kingdom; amongst all the millions, "not connected with Yorkshire," to select this man! The *illustrious* Mr. Sheridan! And then Mr. Sheridan lording

Mr. Fawkes; and then Mr. Fawkes almost blushing for very joy at being thought worthy of the praises of "the *illustrious* man"! Poor Mr. Fawkes has acted wisely in "retiring to private life;" for, never was there, in public life, any thing so foolish as this before.——What gives me the most pain, however, belonging to this Dinner, is, the strong presumptive evidence, afforded by the proceedings, that Lord Milton will be made a mere party instrument, as his success in Yorkshire has already been rendered. I was much pleased at that success, first because it was a triumph over no-popery; and, secondly, because it put *political hypocrisy personified* into bodily fear. Besides, the character of his lordship and of his father, so directly the reverse of that of their crafty and slippery opponents, compelled one, without any very minute reasoning, to wish for his success. But, I did hope, that he would not have been made a party instrument; that he would not have been persuaded, that, by supporting the mongrel whigs, the mere place-hunters of the present day, he was supporting the principles of those, who effected the revolution of 1688.

Sir Henry Mildmay.——A friend of this gentleman has complained to me, that I took up the statement of the Morning Chronicle without examining the report itself. But, the reader will not have failed to observe, that I took it up *conditionally* only. Now however, I have seen the *report*; and I find the statement perfectly correct in all its parts. In a future sheet I will publish the documents from the report; and will leave the public to say, whether the statement has, or has not, been fairly made. But, if the statement be unfair, how comes it that no answer has been given to it? Men do not usually keep silence under accusations of this sort, if falsely made.——I shall now insert another article from the Morning Chronicle of the 20th instant, upon this subject; a subject which ought to be kept continually before the eyes of the public, until it become familiar to every man in the kingdom. ——"We observe *with concern*, that nothing whatever is urged in behalf of this "gentleman or his friend Mr. Sturges "Bourne. They admit themselves to be "guilty of the *job* (as it has gently been "termed) which the Fourth Report charges "them with. We shall shortly state why "we think this name a very mild one for "the transaction.——In August, 1803, "(mind the *dates*) the Commanding Officer "of the district agreed with Sir H. Mild-"may, that his ground should be occupied "by Government; and that a Jury, or "Arbitrators, should afterwards be named, "to award him a compensation. In May, "1804, he made the offer of his house, to "the Master-General's department. In "August, 1804, the Jury were impannell-"ed, according to the previous agreement, "as is stated in the requisition of the Com-"manding Officer to the Justices; and they "then made their award. The Justices is-"sued their warrant to the Sheriff to im-"pannel this Jury, having been required to "do so, as the verdict states, by the Com-"manding Officer, and "also by J. O. "Parke, of Chelmsford, in the same "county, Gent. on the part and behalf of "Sir H. P. S. Mildmay," &c. It is not "stated in the Report, but is perfectly well "known, that two counsel attended on behalf "of Sir H. Mildmay, of whom one, we be-"lieve, was Serjeant Best; and no counsel "attended on the part of the public. The "Jury examined the ground, and heard "evidence, with the assistance of these "gentlemen, learned in the law; and they "made the award, so often mentioned, of "600l. a year, and 1300l. for the first year. "Now did Mr. Oxley Parker, or the two "counsel, state to the Jury on Sir H. "Mildmay's part, *that he was at that mo-"ment in treaty with Government for the "lease of the house at Moulsham?* Did "Sir H. Mildmay instruct his counsel to "admit *that at the very moment when "they were examining the value of the "land to the tenants, and giving them com-"pensation, and were examining, further, "the inconvenience of the works to Sir "Harry, and providing him with another "place of residence, he was in daily ex-"pectation of the lease being made out by "the Barrack office, taking Moulsham off "his hands for an adequate, an ample rent?* "Did Sir Harry instruct his counsel to "state that he had *made the offer* of his "house, and that, after some higgling, his "offer was accepted, *two months before the "Jury were summoned?* (See Mr. Secreta-"ry Dundas's Letter of June 11, 1804). "However, the Jury, thus left in com-"plete ignorance of the real state of the "case, made their award, which was of "course, communicated to Sir H. Mild-"may, and was understood by him in the "sense above described, as he states in his "examination upon oath. He now found, "therefore, that the Jury had, for the "public, bought him out and out of the "house at Moulsham; that they had award-"ed him the very sum, at which he knew "three months before, a surveyor had va-"lued the house. What should have been

" his conduct now? The offer which he " had made was accepted; but the lease " was not completed. He was in the mean " time *paid as much for the house, BY " THE JURY, as he had asked from the " Barrack-office.* Ought he not to have " said, " Here is a mistake; those careless " " guardians of the public money are " " paying me twice for my house: I can- " " not allow them to cheat themselves; " " the lease must not be executed." Alas! " he could not say so There was no mis- " take; his eyes were open; and, sharp " sighted, he made the offer of his house, " *knowing that the Jury were to award him " a compensation*; he received that com- " pensation *knowing that he had offered his " house, and that the offer was accepted* " He had one chance remaining; he might " have stopt his execution of the lease; " but this formed no part of the plan, and " the lease was completed by the friendly " assistance of Mr. Sturges Bourne."—— This is unanswerable in any other way than asserting, that the documents and oral testimony of Sir Henry Mildmay are all *forgeries*. The thing admits of no other answer. Nothing more, except in the way of *revival*, need be said about it. And now let Sir Henry and his colleague and their supporters sit down to their *London Dinner* with what appetite they may. Had the Moulsham contract been made public before the last election, corrupted as Hampshire is by the Dock-yard and Barrack establishments, I think Sir Henry must have remained content with his seat at Winchester. *There* the Moulsham contract would have done him no injury at all; but, on the contrary, would have rendered him still dearer to his constituents. The *intended* Dinner in London would certainly never have been thought of, if the contract had been sooner made public. Now, indeed, the appetites being sharpened, it would be difficult to avoid the Dinner; but, it will be a curious scene. It is rumoured, that at this dinner, the answer to the Morning Chronicle is to be given. But, why this delay? Why not oblige the public with it before hand? It will be, I'll warrant, a choice piece of rhetoric and logic. In the county, the only apology I have heard for the contract, is, that Sir Henry has *a large family*; and, though this sort of excuse stand a man in but little at the bar, there is so extensive a sympathy in matters of this sort, there are so many hundreds of thousands who feed upon the taxes, that I should not be much surprized if the excuse of family were to be publicly set up.—— It is probable, that Sir Henry's London Dinner was intended to operate as a balance against Lord Milton's. Sir Henry is *the* country gentleman of the no-popery faction. What a shocking discovery, therefore, is this Moulsham contract! Better the old house, with its "*patent-slate*" covering, had been sunk into the bowels of the earth.——Ever since the Morning Chronicle has given this thrust, the Courier has been comparatively dumb. It is the cruelest blow that ever faction received.

THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.——On Monday, the 22d instant, the parliament assembled agreeably to notification. Mr. Abbott was again chosen SPEAKER, without any opposition; but, the friends of the late ministry gave *particular reasons* for their approbation, one of which was, that Mr. Abbott *voted for the resolution against Lord Melville*. Such marked attention to this subject, amidst the common-place topics so regularly brought forward upon similar occasions, must be considered as a foretaste of that which the *no-popery* faction have to expect from their opponents, who evidently mean to try the force of a cry of *no-peculation*, which force, however, they will find very little, unless the cry be accompanied with suitable actions. If they make the parliament what it is described in the words of my motto; and if, to inquiries they add a compulsion *to disgorge*; if they really bring back money into the Treasury, or *punish* the peculators, or do their *utmost* in order to effect those purposes, then the people will, after all, be satisfied with *them*. But, if they have recourse to shuffling, to dirty compromises, to the sparing of this man because he is a friend, or of that man because he may have a say at court; if, in short, they shew, as I strongly suspect they will, that their no-peculation motions have for object the ousting of their rivals for power and emolument, then the people will not be satisfied, and the no-popery ministry will despise them, however strong their numbers may be.——The first *real business* of "the *Inquiring Parliament*," ought certainly to be the revival of the *Finance Committee*, which committee, as I have frequently observed, must consist, as far as possible, of the very same persons that it before consisted of, or else no-popery will fall into great discredit, and will very soon be upon a level with "our holy religion" of John Bowles, in spite of all the addresses that have been, or that yet may be, hammered out by the *dirty* Dean. The public having fixed their eyes upon this Finance Committee, it may be useful to insert a list of its members, so that men may be ready

against the day of the revival. The members were,

Lord Henry Petty,
Lord Milton,
Lord Marsham,
Sir H. Mildmay,
Messrs. Horner,
Sharp,
Lamb,
H. Thornton,
Bankes,
Brogden,
Fawkes.
Messrs. N. Calvert,
Sturges,
Whitbread,
W. Herbert,
Biddulph,
Giles,
W. Cavendish,
T. Baring,
Western,
Combe.

Now, as all these gentlemen are in the present parliament, with the exception of Messrs. *Horner*, and *Fawkes*, and *Lord Marsham*, there will require only *three* new members to be added to it; and, let us hope that no attempt will be made to make any other alteration. Let us hope, that, in an "*Inquiring Parliament*," the very first step will not tend towards the smothering of all inquiry. This is a capital point; for, if the committee be revived with only the addition of these three members, the no-popery men will be justly regarded as setting inquiry at defiance. It will be a strong argument in their favour, not only for the past but for the future. But, if they have recourse to the old Pitt tricks, the effect will be exactly the contrary, and every man will be convinced, that plunder is to be the order of the day.——The out faction are mustering dreadfully strong. They have, I think, clearly proved that no-popery has been defeated. They assert, that they can bring upwards of 200 members to the very voting; and, if they can, it is more than an even chance, that this parliament will not be much longer-lived than the last. This is quite natural; for with bodies politic as well as with human bodies, the fits always come on in a succession more and more rapid. The intended *opposition dinner* seems to have excited great alarm amongst the no-popery party, who are striving hard to communicate that alarm to the people, but the people have supped of alarms; and no-popery may be assured, that there is nothing which gives the rational part of the people more pleasure than to see, that the two factions are in a fair way of destroying one another, or, at least, of making such exposures as are likely to lead to the destruction of public robbers. A great clamour is set up by the Courier, against the dinner, as being the meeting of "*a senate*," opposed to the lawful senate of the nation. He calls it "a *club*," established to overawe the legislature. Well, and what then? Are not the ministers strong enough? Have they not from sixty to seventy millions a year passing through their hands? No, no: we are not to be inveigled into a fright at the "daring designs of the *aristocracy*," who, we are told, "are attempting to tyrannize over both king and people." There is *aristocracy* enough on the other side, too. There are the *Rendleshams* and the *Teignmouths* and the *Liverpools* and the *Edens* and the *Redesdales* and the Lord knows who No: the cry of "*aristocracy*" will not pass. The people know very well how the House of Commons is chosen; they know very well what the great object sought after, is; they have heard both factions crying *Constitution! constitution!* so long, that they are no longer to be amused with theoretical alarms. They see, that *Lords* are bankers and loan-makers and every thing else that is good; and they are not to be scared out of their senses with a cry about the aristocracy's combining against the king in order to force him to give places to those whom he does not like; for, so long as the places and pensions are bestowed in the manner they now are, the people will care but very little which faction gets them. Nor is it true, that the advertisement for calling together the parliamentary friends of the late ministers indicates a combination of the *aristocracy*. The far greater part of the stewards are commoners, and most of them men very far indeed from being regarded as the tools of the aristocrasy. And, why should they not thus meet to concert measures? "Let them come to "*the House*, and debate there." What, in the presence of the minister's majority? They will do that too; but, I can see no reason why they should not meet at Willis's rooms besides. People have a right to meet where they please; and, if they choose to meet at a place where there are no placemen and pensioners, who has any just pretentions to cavil at their taste? Pretty doctrine, indeed, that nobody should have a right to meet to talk politics but the ministers of the day! No: this cannot be swallowed now. This, after the rejection of no-popery, can never go down; and, therefore, the Courier may as well burn all his hints for paragraphs about "aristocratical combinations." It is curious, too, that John Bowles and his brother Readhead, who have been living, actually feeding and clothing themselves upon out-cries against *democratical* meetings, should now choose to set up a cry against aristocratical meetings. The fact, is, that where a good and true objection against any set of men, opposed to the ministry of the day, is wanting, an objection must be hatched. A cry of some sort there must be; and, it is quite good, it is a perfect

treat to hear these sycophants complaining, to-day, of the Dinner of Sir Francis Burdett's friends, and to-morrow, of the Dinner of the aristocracy, thus objecting to any thing that it is likely to unite either the nobility or the people against the ministry, or, as they would fain make us believe, *against the king* ——A passage in the speech made by *Mr. Yorke*, on Monday last, has been highly extolled by the no popery faction. "He deprecated," say they, "all party "prejudices and interests, the prevalence "of which, in that house, was on every "occasion to be deplored; but the preva "lence of which, *at the present difficult "and dangerous crisis*, was particularly to "be deprecated, as it might, perhaps be "*pregnant with the ruin* of these *once* "flourishing, united, and happy countries." ——And this the no-popery faction say, every good man will read with pleasure. I am far from attributing any bad motive to Mr Yorke, whom I believe to be a very worthy man; but, he must excuse me if I can find no good meaning in this observation. By party prejudices and interests he must mean the efforts of opposition; and, if his wish be adopted, there needs no assembling of the House, except for the mere form of granting money. This call for *unanimity*, on account of the *difficulties of the crisis*, is in the old style of the Addingtons; and by unanimity is meant, if the call has any meaning, a silent submission to the will of those who have, no matter how, succeeded in getting possession of the powers and emoluments of the state "How is it possible," says the sagacious and patriotic hireling who writes in the Morning Post, "How is it possible that "the servants of our beloved sovereign can "conduct the affairs of the nation to advan"tage, if they are harrassed with a vexatious "opposition!" But, it is possible for the servants of our beloved sovereign *to give up their places*. There is no *law* against that: They can leave them even with less difficulty than other servants can their places. They need not, like a farmer's servant, enlist into the army or go on board the fleet, in order to get rid of their places; nor need they, like footmen and grooms, give a month's warning, or loose a month's wages. They may go when they please; and, what is of singular advantage, so good a master do they serve, that there are sure to be others to fill their places long before they are cold. What *embarrassment*, then, can the *affairs of the nation* suffer from an opposition? The embarrassment, alas! arises solely from the desire which the ministers have to keep their places. If they would but resign, their powerful opponents would experience no embarrassment at all. "Go you out," say the opposition. And why should they not say so? Those that are now in said the same to them; and, as to the particular *crisis*, in which we are placed, if it be, as Mr. Yorke seems to think, one of great difficulty, that is an additional reason for displacing those, whom we may regard as incapable. But this is always the logic of those who are in place. "The crisis is difficult; a diffi"cult crisis requires unanimity in support "*of his Majesty's government*; we are his "Majesty's government, and, therefore, "you ought to be unanimous in supporting "us." But, how is it when the king chooses to *turn out his government*? Aye, but then he immediately has another; and so, then we are to support that, and by support we are to understand, a total absence of all serious opposition to its will. A much prettier and more amusing idea of despotism under the names and forms of freedom was, perhaps, never before conceived. No: this will not pass. This also is nearly as despicable as no-popery; and the Morning Post may rest assured, that it will produce no effect favourable to his employers, who, if they fail of success by dint of the solid means so long and so happily used by Pitt, will fail altogether.——It is, too, with peculiar good grace, that the no-popery faction cry out against *a harrassing opposition*; for, was there ever any thing so harrassing as the opposition that they made? Well do I remember the cuckoo calls of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning upon Mr. Windham for his "*plan*;" and, upon a more recent occasion, had they not their *set* of finance resolutions, coming on day after day, until the country was weary of the sound? But, their cry of *no-popery*, their *anxiety* for the *safety of the protestant church*, and their abhorrence of an attempt to *violate* the *conscience* of the king; these afford us a specimen of that candour with which they ought to expect to be treated.—— Whence, too, comes the anticipation of "a harassing opposition"? I thought that no popery, sanctified as she was by the *dirty* Dean, stood in no dread of even the devil himself, much less of the pope and his friends upon earth. Only a few days ago we heard nothing but exultations from the no popery press. The Courier told us, that one of the objects of the dissolution was, to enable his Majesty's government to conduct the affairs of the "nation with *ease and comfort to themselves*." Whence, then, the accents of alarm that we now hear?——Be-

for this sheet can reach the public eye, the first division will, probably, have taken place, and John Bowles will, very likely, have come out with his first essay, which, I am told, is in the press, upon the subject of *aristocratical* combinations. His last, which was in the form of an electioneering speech, was against Jacobinical combinations; so that, under one description or the other, John will have classed every living creature in this kingdom, who shall dare to open its lips in the way of disapprobation of those who fill the offices at Whitehall. The division will discover pretty clearly what effect the dissolution has produced; and, if it has not considerably diminished the strength of the opposition, no-popery will soon find herself in a poor way. The Courier said, that the opposition should never hear the last of that cry; but, I imagine, his employers would now be glad to hear the last of it, which, however, they will not very soon. They miscalculated greatly as to the sense of the nation. They do not seem to have perceived the change which has taken place in the turn of men's minds, as to political matters, since the year 1801, and especially since the affair of Lord Melville. Neither do their opponents seem to have clearly perceived it; but, if they perceive it *now*, if these latter act wisely, and, above all things, cease their self destructive praises of Pitt, they will very soon remove, or, at least, weaken, the strong and just suspicions that exist against them. There is, however, in the language of their chief and very able supporter the Morning Chronicle, an ugly lurking, and a squinting, as it were, after office. The editor writes as if he still felt the roofs of Whitehall over his head. He handles *jobs*, in a most masterly way; but *unfairness in the manner* is the burden of his complaint. He does not appear to be at war with the accursed thing itself; and, I am very much afraid, that his friends partake but too much of his feelings. But, the day of trial is at hand: we shall then see whether they are, or are not, absolutely incorrigible; we shall then see, whether they have, at last, perceived, that there is no security for any public man who relies upon the power of corruption, and sets at nought the complaints and the prayers of the people.——I beg leave to be clearly understood as entertaining no expectation, that the Whig faction will attempt any thing with a view to the public good. In the pursuing of their own selfish views they may, in the way of exposure, do goods but, that they will set about any *real reform of abuses*, that they will make any serious effort to cut up the roots of corruption, I have not the least hope; and my opinion is, that, if they were in power again to-morrow, they would out-lavish and out-job their opponents. Their proceedings at Lord Milton's Dinner clearly discover their intentions. The conduct of their chairman, Mr. Fawkes, who is, I think, the most of a tool of any man I have lately heard of, shews, that they will stick at nothing, however false or impudent, to accomplish their object of again getting into power. Let them assemble; let them cabal; let them profess and promise and swear; but, let no man believe one word that they say, tending to produce a belief of future good behaviour, until they have actually moved for the banishment of placemen and pensioners from the House of Commons.

The Expedition.——"Whither is it going?" is asked as often and with as much earnestness as were the questions relative to the extraordinary nose in Tristram Shandy; and, indeed, it would puzzle a wizzard to guess at its destination. I have endeavoured to come to something like a conjecture upon the subject, but in vain; for, not only cannot I perceive any spot in the map of Europe, where it can possibly be of any service against France, but I am at a loss to discover how it can any where *come at* the enemy; nor can I conceive from what motive it can have been undertaken, except that of contradiction to the late ministers, who, in this respect, at any rate, acted wisely. The no-popery ministry seem to have thought, that the nation wished for the expenditure of three or four millions in this way; or, if they did not think this, what could they have thought? They saw the French without any obstacle to oppose them; they saw, because they could see, no chance whatever of landing efficient aid to either Prussia or Russia; and, yet they resolve to fit out an expedition! Really one would think, that they never reflected. But, there must be *a Plan* of some sort. They must have some *reason* to give for having determined upon this measure; and, it would be curious, if one could come at the fact, to know with whom, in whose head, the idea originated. For the wars of Pitt; for his and Dundas's bustling and dusty expeditions, one could account. Noise and promise *then* served to *amuse*. But, is not the day past for purposes of that kind? We are told, that, in thus condemning before we know what will be the effect of the expedition, we discover a determination to find fault, right or wrong. But is this so? Is a man accused of this species of prejudice if he blames a friend who owes forty

pounds and has but twenty, if he lays that twenty out in a lottery ticket, with the hopes of being thereby enabled to pay off the whole forty? The chances in this case are, in my opinion, still greater against us.——"No "thing venture nothing have," is a saying, which, like almost every other good saying, is frequently abused in the application; for, the chances against success may be so great as to render it madness to venture, or rather, to render it no *venturing* at all, failure being morally certain; and such appears to me to be the prospect of this expedition. I should suppose, now, that this scheme must have originated with some Frenchman: a Frenchman not an enemy to England, but whose hatred against Napoleon, and whose implacable thirst for revenge, have totally got the better of his reason. This description of persons are men of enlarged minds, as to matters belonging to war; they talk with great volubility and eloquence upon the subject; and they frequently succeed in imparting their enthusiasm to others. But, as is usual in such cases, they overlook obstacles and are not very nice as to the facts. When, however, a project has once been proposed or espoused by any part of the cabinet, it gets a footing which it does not easily lose, and from step to step, it proceeds, until reflection, when it comes, if it comes at all, comes too late, though embracing the serious consideration of pecuniary expence, and the more serious consideration of the probable loss of lives. The pecuniary expence of this expedition must be very great. It will be just so much added to the national debt,; it will occasson additional taxes to pay the interest, or it will add to the duration of taxes already imposed; and, of course, it will take from the fruit of the people's labour and the incomes of those whose property enables them to live without labour. So to take for the *service* of the nation is just and necessary, but so to take without a fair prospect of rendering such service is not to be justified, and ought not to be excused upon the assertion, that the ministers have done *what they thought best*; for, in this, as in all similar cases, strict inquiry ought to be made as to the facts and reason upon which the enterprise was determined on. Therefore, if this expedition fail; if it come back without having achieved any thing worthy of the expence and risk, I hope "the parliament of Inquiry" will not be wanting in its duty.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

Sir;—I enclose the Copy of a Letter which seems to me proper for your Register. —Sir, your obedient Servant,—ANTHONY CARLISLE.—*Soho-square, June 22d*, 1807.

"Sir;—I desire to transfer, as my gift, one thousand pounds, Three per Cent. Consols, in trust for ever, that the yearly interest thereof may be paid to the treasurer or treasurers for the time being, of the Westminster Hospital, of which you are Surgeon; that the said yearly interest may be applied to the yearly purposes of the said Hospital; and I desire that the Governors of the said Charity, will be pleased to nominate such persons as trustees for the said transferred sum, who may be willing to undertake such trust, and to whom I make the said transfer, for the purpose above-mentioned. — Sir; your most obedient humble servant,

FRANCIS BURDETT."

Wimbledon, June 19th, 1807.

To Mr. Carlisle.

LORD ERSKINE'S SPEECH.

SIR;—I by accident received from my bookseller here last night, a small pamphlet (published by Phillips) containing Lord Erskine's speech (in the house of lords, April 13th) on the marquis of Stafford's motion relative to the late change of the ministry. Considerable attention is due to this brief and eloquent publication; and as the name of its speaker carries with it great and deserved authority (the greater from his having been but *a looker on* during the contention); as it may be supposed to concentrate the logical and constitutional force both of the question and the party; as the topic will assuredly be soon again revived; and, as I have no where seen a review by any other person of its argument, I hastily send you my own; which, in all other respects, indeed, *must be*, but in one *shall not be*, inferior to the subject of its consideration; I mean in IMPARTIALITY; In which, nevertheless, the speech in question has high merit. The first and principal passage for consideration is the attempt, in p. 13, to extricate the late ministry from the dilemma of having proposed a measure to the king and to the parliament, which, all things considered, nothing but a call of imperious duty should have moved them to propose, and of having afterwards abandoned a measure, suggested by such powerful considerations of duty. And here I must own, I felt a pain of disappointment at the subtle distinctions of the speech, proportioned to the high gratification which I have so often received from the manly, bold, and conclusive reasonings, on other occasions, of the noble speaker. The following are the words, as published:—"It has been asked "in other places, upon what principle the "abandonment could be justified, when the "measure was professedly introduced upon "the principle of expediency and duty.

"My Lords, the answer is easy! There is "a plain difference between even the "strongest expediency and imperious neces- "sity. The first was, all circumstances, "considered, not sufficient to make it such "a point of duty, as to abandon the govern- "ment rather than the measure: but the "second would have rendered that duty in- "dispensable."——Now, for the life of me, and with every deference for the speaker, (and the greater my deference, the greater my disappointment,) I can see in this no- thing but a HYPER-DISTINCTION; an attempt to *discriminate* entirely away the duty and the independance of a MINISTER OF THE COUNTRY; for I object to the SLAVISH style, "HIS MAJESTY'S SERVANTS." I do not know that a "*servant*" can be supposed re- sponsible for his acts (civilly speaking) to any one unless his master. But an Eng- lish minister, that is, the executive officer of an English king, is RESPONSIBLE TO THE COUNTRY, is responsible to the representa- tives of the people, in parliament, both for his acts and his advice! And ought to be so:—for it is our affairs he is administring and it is with our taxes he is paid. But to the argument—Now as either affects the du- ty of a ministery and the clear course he has to pursue, I can distinguish no difference betwixt the "*strongest expediency and im- perious necessity.*" Man is not prescient— and not being able to forsee the consequen- ces of neglect (for "There is a tide in the "affairs of men, &c.,") no minister, no man, if responsibility is more than a sound! can in his sane reason be supposed to agree to make himself responsible for the conse quences of the continuance of a train of measures, which the "STRONGEST EXPE "DIENCY", in his opinion, requires should be altered. For what is responsibility? It is not, that the punishment of an individual can atone to a nation for a gross injury to its interests; or that the individual minister has entered into a recognizance in so many thousand pounds to preserve the welfare of the country: since no individual, either by his funds, or his punishment, can make national reparation. But it consists in the presumption, that no man, of honor or cha- racter, or even of prudence, will allow himself to stand RESPONSIBLE for the course of public affairs, when he is not permitted to direct them. In this consists the true and the only responsibility to the country. And on this strong presumption is grounded the doctrine of the English constitution, that the king can do no wrong. For if the minister could be supposed capable of abandoning, in de- ference to the prejudices or vices of the mo- narch, a course of measures which were, in his conscience, "most strongly expe- dient" for the country; or, which is the same thing, to pursue a course, which was "*most strongly inexpedient,*" a British king *might* do a great deal of wrong, and a weak king certainly would do so. A king would thus under the names of other men, be- come his own minister; which it is the clear doctrine of the English constitution that HE SHALL NOT BECOME. The PRAC- TICE of the British government requires, that the man, whom the king appoints his minis- ter, shall have a weight and a consideration in the country that will acquire him a ma- jority in parliament; and the PRESUMP- TION — *grounded on all but recent expe- rience*—is, that such a man, who stands so high in the country, will not act an ig- noble part—nor allow himself to be imposed upon the nation, as the director of a system, of which he is but the dupe, the instrument, or the slave!

A more factious, or ambitious man, than the late Lord Chatham, never governed Eng- land; but in his character as in his elo- quence was something of the great and the sublime. Power was his idol—but not mere office; and when opposed in the cabinet, on a question, in which the vital, or inter- nal safety of England *was not involved*, viz. on the propriety of immediate hostili- ties against Spain, he constitutionally retir- ed from it; declaring that he would not be responsible, where he ceased to direct.

In the following position then I must con- tend, (in opposition to Lord Erskine,) consists the true ministerial responsibility to the coun- try—*that no measure of the* "STRONGEST EX- PEDIENCY" for the public safety, *in the opi- nion and conscience of the minister, shall be withstood by the king, or omitted,* at the royal instance, by the ministers. But if the king refuse his sanction to such measure, or such influence be attempted, *that the minister of course resigns.* Without this as- surance, the known principles of the man would not form the slightest ground of con- fidence for the country, and an English King, like a Roman Emperor, might, with equal satisfaction to his subjects, make his "horse his minister!" In this distinction probably consists the difference between His MA- JESTY'S SERVANTS, and His MAJESTY'S MINISTERS! I have hitherto considered only the first case the "STRONGEST EXPE- DIENCY;" as endeavoured by Lord Erskine to be discriminated from "IMPERIOUS NE- "CESSITY;" and whilst, for argument sake, I will admit them to be as different as his lordship can desire, I will presume, I have

already shewn, that the difference in *the degree of the emergence* (for it is no more) makes none in the constitutional duty of the minister. And on this second, or extreme case, "the IMPERIOUS NECESSITY," it can scarcely with decency be put even hypothetically, BY A LORD CHANCELLOR, in allusion to his Majesty's difference with his council, that the king in his senses would attempt to over-rule any public measure, which AN "IMPERIOUS NECESSITY" REQUIRED!! And if the king could, under other men's names, continue his own minister until such an IMPERIOUS emergence arrived, or until an indefinite emergence, (which eludes my sight, but which his lordship no doubt sees,) lying somewhere in the region between the "STRONGEST EXPEDIENCY" and "IMPERIOUS NECESSITY," arrived; (but which must nearly equally preclude all disputes,) I repeat, if on every occasion but this, the king or his conscience is to be his own adviser, and any obsequious persons can by the sufferance of an obsequious parliament be obtruded upon the nation as his ministers, there is at once an end of the practice, and of the maxim (which would then be indeed a fiction) of our constitution, "THAT THE KING CAN DO NO WRONG;" for, he would then in fact do all the wrong that was done; except the example of MEANNESS set by his ministers; and that would be their own. With such a (supposed only) parliament, whose majority would follow ANY MINISTERS, as THEY followed the crown, the situation of the country would be complete: or, if a further improvement could be hoped, it would be that of saving the expense both of ministers and parliaments; which, in such a predicament, could be very well dispensed with! Were these my own doctrines, I should esteem them seditious, but they cannot be so when received as the doctrine and direct inferences from the doctrine of a LORD CHANCELLOR; as he is reported in this publication to have altered it in the House of Lords on the 13th of April, 1807.

I however heartily concur with Lord E. in his strictures upon the preposterous nature of the pledge, which the king required from the late ministers. But I do not agree with him in thinking, that such a pledge, if we had had a free and reformed House of Commons, (and that we have not we must impute to the tergiversation of the late ministry) though given, could be so far illegal, as ever to be dangerous to the country; since the conduct of the minister, and, in fact, his appointment, must be agreeable to the sense of the House of Commons, if that House was the organ of the nation, and rigidly held the strings of the public purse. In page 15, Lord E. asks "*what more could they* (the ministry) possibly do, than unanimously to abandon "the whole measure, when the misconception was discovered?" I will answer him. When the ministry found, that the king had misconceived them, they also found, that they had misunderstood the king; and they should then in every constitutional view of a fitness of conduct have withdrawn—not their measure—but themselves; as I have elsewhere observed,—With regard to the king's having been secretly ADVISED to change his ministers (p. 17 and 18), I esteem the argument a sophistry, if any *responsibility* is intended to be annexed to the term, *advice*. The king's ministers are his sole responsible advisers. There is no evidence in this pamphlet, that the late ministers had the smallest intention of advising the king to dismiss themselves. On the contrary, they had no objection for the good of the country, in its very critical situation, to have kept their places.—The king's act, in their dismissal, was consequently his own, and ever must be so, and is so constitutionally, and necessarily. If such change is disagreeable to the country, let the House of Commons shew it in its votes; all I say is, that the king's change of his ministers can never be *an advised*, nor *an unconstitutional measure*. I agree, however, wholly with Lord E. that it is a farce to suppose that the provisions of the bill grazed any part of the royal conscience; indeed, nothing could be so innocent, as the bill; unless that it certainly tended (and was so far good) to give a stimulus to honourable ambition, and to devote the whole man to an adventurous and perilous profession, which now only has a part of the man: for it cannot have HIS MIND. If there could have been a doubt upon the subject of the king's conscience in regard to the bill, your dissertation 3 weeks ago on the Bill of Rights, Act of Settlement, &c. &c. has set it at rest completely, and for ever. Lord E's. remarks to this point, are also very valuable and conclusive.—In p. 25, there is someting sophistical; but arising out of the doctrine of the constitution, for whose entire conguity Lord E. cannot be held responsible. His words are "*when he* (the king) *delivers the seals of* "*office to his officers of state, his con-* "*science, as it regards the state, accompa-* "*nies them.*" He then proceeds—"That "the public has a right in reason to expect "the advantages of the personal virtues and "capacity of the king; that whatever fol-

"lows from them, the fame and honour of "his actions, &c. are his own."—This however, is rather a vision of Blackstone's than a sound constitutional assumption. Courtesy may attribute the good of public measures to the sovereign, and the bad to his ministers; and however erroneous it may be in the first, it is sure to be right in the last. But, really and logically to look at this matter, and conformably to the premises laid down by Lord E. himself, the good and the bad of all public measures must be ascribed to his ministers: always excepting *their change*, which, according to Lord E, MUST BE GOOD, since, whosesoever other measures may be, this is unequivocally the king's own. In p. 28 Lord E. asks one very unfortunate question which *he does not* answer, and I *cannot*—namely, "How are the late ministers distinguishable from their successors?" A query which may well indeed perplex any other man in the kingdom; since his Lordship himself thinks it unanswerable!! I cannot agree (in p. 29) with Lord E.'s temporizing policy towards the Catholics. There is something, in all indirect courses, which I abhor. Plain and downright dealing becomes our national character, and in the long run is ever the wisest, and the best. Lastly I sincerely HOPE, with Lord E that superstitions are on the decline—but I see no evidence of it; and I am so far from thinking that their professors, as he proposes, should ("without "suffering persecution") "*feel inconveniences*," that I am of opinion with Hume, that the way to perpetuate a sect or superstition, is to persecute it—to vex it with inconveniences, even, is to give its adherents a point of honor in the point of suffering, whilst the sure way to abolish it is to forget that it exists. Lastly, with respect to the grand effort of the speech, which is to establish the fact of the Catholic bill having been but the avowed, or the pretext, and not the real cause of the dissolution of the late ministry. I think nothing can be more satisfactorily proved. But in my opinion it required no proof since it was tacitly admitted by the declaration on the part of their successors, that they had not subscribed the pledge; which indeed could not be swallowed unless by canine appetite for office. The true state of the case lies in a nut-shell, and is soon disclosed. The late ministry by the credit they had acquired, and deservedly acquired during a 23 years opposition, were too formidable at the death of Pitt to be neglected any longer—having been divided once before by Pitt; a second division was thought scarcely worth attempting, besides they were in a state of strong political cohesion, and probably indivisible. A better expedient was hit on; which was to hoist the colours of the Whigs, but to ballast with the Grenvilles; which was adroitly and judiciously accomplished by the king's *advisers* (according to the phrase) and most unfortunately and miserably acquiesced in by themselves. By this coalition,—by their subsequent eulogies of Pitt,—and by their silent abandonment of those grand political operations which the country expected from their professions, and would have supported them in accomplishing, they lost their popularity amongst the enthusiastic and patriotic part of the nation, and did not gain the corrupt part, for which there was another set of politicians, who were bidding higher than they could. They were soon after weakened by the death of their great, and (however duped) lamented leader. Their enemies perceived better than themselves how much had been deducted from their ability by this last event, and from their popularity by their own preceding derelictions—and lay in ambush for an occasion, which, infatuated, they furnished themselves. A hypocritical yell was then sounded, their ruin determined on, an impossible pledge demanded, their dismissal given, and under the masque of an appeal to the constituent body of the nation, the change of the ministry was silently and solidly accomplished.——I am, &c.——

J. C. W.—*Southampton, 17th June*, 1807.

Turkey and Russia.—Note delivered by the Turkish Ministry to the foreign Ambassadors at Constantinople prohibiting a Passage through the Channel of the Black Sea.

It is of the greatest importance in the present war between the Sublime Porte and Russia, to take every precaution against the artifices and intrigues of the enemy, and to prevent them from transporting their ammunition or other commodities to the different Russian harbours on the Black Sea: it is requisite to hinder every subject of the Ottoman Empire from going to these places, that no information whatever may be communicated to the enemy, either verbally or in writing; and that every opportunity of communication whatever between Russia and the Ottoman Court should be cut off. It is also very dangerous and contrary to our wished-for security, that ships should proceed from the centre of the Turkish Capital to the country of the enemy, when in a time of war this capital may be one of the most valuable posts in the empire, and the one most vigilantly watched by the enemy; but as long as a free passage through the

Black Sea is allowed to the ships of other nations, there exists no method of averting the dangers thus threatened, and of preserving good order, because the enemy can conceal their artifices and frauds under the flags of Neutral Nations. For all these reasons, the Canal of the Black Sea shall be henceforth and continue to be shut until the termination of the present war, or until (notwithstanding the continuance of the war) circumstances no longer require such a precaution. It is hoped that the vessels of friendly powers, which had formerly permission to pass freely through the Black Sea, will not act contrary to this general prohibition. It is merely a precaution dictated from the circumstances of the moment. The Sublime Porte is convinced that this conduct will be approved of by every Power allied to it; and when it pleases God to restore peace, or even during the continuance of the war, if circumstances permit, the communication of the Black Sea will be immediately opened as formerly. As the commander of the Turkish fleet, as also the commanders of the Castles at the mouths of the Black Sea, have received orders to prevent all ships from passing, the Minister of the Porte thinks it his duty, by the Official Note, to acquaint the resident Ministers of Foreign Powers with the circumstance, in order that they may in their turn communicate it to all whom it may concern. Given on the 8th of the month Zilkade in the year of the Hegira 1221 (January 17, 1807.)

Manifesto of the Porte against Russia.

From the remotest periods, human society has been indebted for the security and tranquillity it has enjoyed to the conscientious observance displayed by nations of their treaties and conventions, and those Powers who have acted contrary to this conscientious adherence, constantly bring disorder and confusion into the harmony of the whole. Every lawful Sovereign is at liberty, when he pleases, to break with another power, but not before he has considered with the utmost attention the steps which ought to be taken in similar circumstances. The Russian court has long usurped a superiority in order to oppress the neighbouring powers, and all her endeavours have been directed to break through her treaties. Her avarice, the perfidy with which she constantly interrupts the peace of nations, and her hostile designs against the Ottoman empire, are universally known.—The Court of St. Petersburgh has always confessed the value of that friendly disposition which the Porte has on all occasions evinced; and yet she has returned this kindness with the basest ingratitude. Among other instances it may be mentioned, that by the Treaty of 1188 of the Hegira, Russia had no jurisdiction over the Crimea, yet as she resorted to every possible artifice to usurp possession of that province, and at length in time of peace, she marched a numerous army, and invested herself with the full sovereignty of the province.—Into the political and civil occurrences in Georgia, which was under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Sceptre, the Russian Court has for a long time obtruded herself by a thousand intrigues, and has at last invested herself with the sovereign authority of that province also, without the smallest pretensions.—The Consuls who were stationed in the Turkish cities, have been in the practice of seducing the subjects of the Porte from their allegiance. By this conduct they have abused the freedom of navigation, which was permitted them for the purpose of trading only, and they have embarked a great number of Turkish subjects in Russian vessels, and sent them off for Russia.—These Consuls also gave patents to the Turkish subjects, and flags to the ships of the Islands in the Archipelago, being cities of the Ottoman Empire; and thus attempted in a most unlawful manner to possess themselves of immense numbers of Turkish vessels and subjects.—It was to be hoped, that as friendship was again restored, by a Treaty of Alliance between Russia and the Sublime Porte, the former would abstain from her perfidious conduct: on the contrary, she contrived, out of this new league, a still more daring method of displaying her malignant designs. With the vain-glorious idea of exciting a general insurrection, in order to spread domestic disturbances, even in the cities of her allies, she seduced the subjects of Servia from their allegiance; and as she furnished them with money and ammunition, she was, in fact, their support and leader.—Upon a single occasion only, the Russians had been permitted to transmit provisions to their troops at Tiflis; the Sublime Porte, out of respect to their Allies, delayed not a moment in issuing the requisite firman. Scarcely had the Russians received this permission, when they embarked upon the Phasis numerous bodies of troops, with cannon, and other implements of war, by means of which they seized upon the Castle of Anacava, and as they have now fortified it, they have shewn plainly their base designs.

To be continued.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*Fifty-second Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Warsaw, Jan. 19.——The 8th corps of the grand army, commanded by Marshal Mortier, has detached the second battalion of light infantry to Wollin; three companies of the same regiment had scarcely arrived there, when before break of day they were attacked by a detachment of 1000 foot and 150 horse, with four pieces of cannon, from Colberg. The French, not appalled by the enemy's great superiority of number, carried a bridge, took four pieces of cannon, and made 100 prisoners. The rest were put to flight, leaving behind a number of slain and wounded in the city of Wollin, the streets of which were covered with them. The city of Brieg, in Silesia, has surrendered after a siege of five days. Poland, rich in grain and provisions, affords us a plentiful supply; Warsaw alone furnishes 100,000 rations per day.—No diseases prevail in the army, nor is it possible to take more care of the health of the soldiers than is done; although the winter season is already so far advanced, no severe frost has hitherto been experienced.—The Emperor is daily on the parade, and reviews the different corps of the army, which, as well as the detachments of conscripts who arrive from France, are supplied with shoes and other necessaries out of the magazines of Warsaw.

Fifty-third Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Warsaw, Jan. 22.——Considerable magazines of provisions were found at Brieg. Prince Jerome continues his campaign in Silesia with activity. Lieut. Gen. Deroi has already surrounded Kosel, and opened the trenches. The siege of Schweidnitz, and that of Neisse, are pushed at the same time. —General Victor, being on the way to Stettin, in a carriage, with his aid-de-camp and a servant, was taken prisoner by a party of 25 chasseurs, who were scouring the country.—The weather has grown cold: it is probable, that, in a few days, the rivers will be frozen; the season, however, is not more severe than it usually is at Paris. The Emperor every day parades, and reviews several regiments.—All the magazines of the French army are in a train of organization; biscuit is made in all the bakehouses. The Emperor has given orders, that large magazines be established, and that a great quantity of clothing should be made in Silesia.—The English, who can no longer gain credit for their reports, that the Russians, the Tartars, and the Calmucks, are about to devour the French army, because it is well known, even in the coffee-houses of London, that these worthy allies cannot endure the sight of our bayonets, are now summoning the dysentery, the plague, and every kind of epidemical disease, to their assistance.—Were these calamities at the disposal of the cabinet of London, not only our army, but also our provinces, and the whole class of manufacturers of the continent, would, doubtless, become their prey. As this is not the case, the English content themselves with circulating, and causing their numerous emissaries to circulate, in every possible shape, the report that the French army is destroyed by disease. By their account, whole battalions are falling like those of the Greeks at the siege of Troy. This would be a very convenient way of getting rid of their enemies; but they must be made to renounce it. The army was never more healthy; the wounded are recovering, and the number of dead is inconsiderable. There are not so many sick as in the last campaign; nay, their number is even inferior to what it would have been in France in time of peace, according to the usual calculations.

Fifty-fourth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Warsaw, Jan. 27.—Eighty-four pieces of cannon, taken from the Russians, are ranged before the Palace of the Republic at Warsaw. They are those which were taken from Generals Kaminski, Benigsen, and Buxhowden, in the battles of Czarnowo, Nasielsk, Pultusk, and Golymin; and are the very same that the Russians drew along the streets of this city with so much ostentation, when lately they marched through them to meet the French. It is easy to conceive the effect which the sight of so grand a triumph must produce upon a people delighted with seeing the humiliation of enemies who have so long and so cruelly oppressed them. —There are several hospitals in the country which the army occupies, containing a great number of sick and wounded Russians. 5000 prisoners have been sent to France, 2000 escaped in the first moments of confusion, and 1500 have entered among the Polish troops.—Thus have the battles with the Russians cost them a great part of their artillery, all their baggage, and from 25,000 to 30,000 men killed, wounded, or prisoners.—Gen. Kaminski, who had been represented as another Suwarrow, has just been disgraced. It is reported that General Buxhowden is in

the same situation: hence it appears, that Gen. Benigsen now commands the army.—Some battalions of light infantry belonging to Marshal Ney's corps had advanced twenty leagues from their cantonments; the Russian army took the alarm, and made a movement on its right. The battalions have returned within the line of their cantonments, without sustaining any loss ——During this period, the Prince of Ponte Corvo took possession of Elbing and the country situated on the borders of the Baltic —The General of Division Drouet entered Christbourg, where he took 300 prisoners from the regiment of Courbieres, including a major and several officers.—Colonel Saint Genez, of the 19th dragoons, charged another of the enemy's regiments, and took 50 prisoners, among whom was the colonel commandant.——A Russian column had gone to Lielstadt, beyond the little river the Passarge, and had carried off half a company of the voltigeurs of the 8th regiment of the line, who were at the advanced posts of the cantonment. The Prince of Ponte Corvo, informed of this movement, left Elbing, collected his troops, advanced with Ruvaud's division towards the enemy, and met them near Mohring.—On the 25th, at noon, the enemy's division appeared, 12000 strong. We soon came to blows. The 8th regiment of the line fell upon the Russians with inexpressible bravery, to repair the loss which one of its posts had experienced. The enemy were completely routed, pursued four leagues, and compelled to repass the Passarge. Dupont's division arrived just as the engagement was concluded, and could take no part in it.—— An old man, 117 years of age, has been presented to the Emperor, who has granted him a pension of 50 Napoleons, and has ordered him a twelvemonth's allowance in advance. —The weather is very fine. It is no colder than it should be for the health of the soldiers, and the amendment of the roads, which are becoming passable.—On the right and centre of the army the enemy are more than 30 leagues from our posts.—The Emperor is gone on horseback to make the tour of the cantonments. He will be absent from Warsaw 8 or 10 days.

Fifty-fifth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Warsaw, Jan. 29, 1807.——The details of the battle of Mohringen are as follow:— The Marshal Prince of Ponte Corvo arrived at Mohringen with the division of Drouet, on the 25th, at 11 in the morning, at the very moment when the General of Brigade Pactod was attacked by the enemy.——The Marshal Prince of Ponte Corvo ordered an immediate attack of the village of Pfarresfeldeben, by a battalion of the 9th of light infantry. This village was defended by 3 Russian battalions, which were supported by 3 others. The Prince of Ponte Corvo caused also two other battalions to march, to support that of the 9th. The action was very sharp. The eagle of the 9th, regiment of light infantry was taken by the enemy; but on the aspect of the affront with which this brave regiment was on the point of being covered for ever, and from which neither victory, nor the glory acquired in an hundred combats, would have purged it; the soldiers, animated with an inconceivable ardour, precipitated themselves on the enemy, whom they routed, and recovered their eagle ——In the mean while the French line, composed of the 8th of the line, of the 27th of light infantry, and of the 94th, were formed, and attacked the Russian line, which had taken its position on a rising ground. The fire of the musquetry was very brisk, and at point blank distance.——At this moment General Dupont appeared on the road, with the 32d and 96th regiments. He turned the right wing of the enemy. A battalion of the 32d rushed upon the enemy with its usual impetuosity, put them to flight, killing several of them. The only prisoners they made were those who were in the houses. The Russians were pursued for two leagues, and were it not for the coming on of night, the pursuit would have been continued. Counts Pahlen and Gallitzin commanded the Russians. They left 1200 dead on the field of battle, and lost 300 prisoners and several howitzers.—Laplanche, General of Brigade, distinguished himself. The 19th dragoons made a fine charge against the Russian infantry. It is not only the good conduct of the soldiers, and the talents of the generals, which are most worthy of remark, but the expedition with which the troops broke up from their cantonments, and performed a march which would be reckoned extraordinary for any other troops, without a man being missing in the field of battle. It is this which eminently distinguishes soldiers who have no other impulse but that of honour.——A Tartar is just arrived from Constantinople, which place he left on the 1st of this month. He has been dispatched to London by the Porte.—On the 30th of Dec. war with Russia had been solemnly proclaimed. The pelisse and the sword had been sent to the Grand Vizier: 28 regiments of Janissaries set out for Constantinople; and several others passed from Asia to Europe. — The ambassador of Russia, his

whole suite, all the Russians in that city, and all the Greeks belonging to them, to the amount of 7 or 800, quitted Constantinople on the 29th.— The Tartar passed through Widdin the 15th of January. He found the roads covered with troops, who marched with alacrity against their eternal enemy; 60,000 men were already at Rodschuk, and 25,000, composing the advanced guard, were between that town and Bucharest. The Russians halted at Bucharest, which they occupied with an advanced guard of 15,000 men.—Prince Suzzo was proclaimed Hospodar of Wallachia. Prince Ypsilanti was proclaimed a traitor, and a price set upon his head.——The thermometer continues at two or three degrees below 0. It is the most favourable season for the army.

Fifty-sixth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Arensdorf, Feb. 3.——After the battle of Mohringen, in which the Russian advanced guard was defeated, the enemy retreated upon Leobstadt; but the corps of General Essen, which was at first destined for Moldavia, and also a number of fresh regiments from different parts of the Russian empire, having joined the Russian army in Poland, the enemy again, so early as the 27th, advanced in great force, with the design of removing the theatre of the war to the Lower Vistula. The Emperor being informed of these events, ordered the Prince of Ponte Corvo to retreat, and also to favour the offensive operations of the enemy, in order to draw them towards the Lower Vistula. His Majesty at the same time ordered the whole army to break up from winter quarters. He also left Warsaw himself, and arrived on the evening of the 31st at Willenberg, whither the Grand Duke of Berg had already collected all the cavalry. On the 1st of Feb. we began to advance. At Passenheim we fell in with the enemy, who constantly assumed the offensive; but here the Grand Duke fell upon them with several columns of cavalry, and entered the town sword in hand. By 3 in the morning the enemy was on the Lower Vistula, which he had determined to pass, but where he now found his left wing surrounded. The Russians, however, formed themselves in order of battle, and now commenced the battle of Bergfried, where the Emperor attacked the enemy with the corps of Ney, Augereau, and Soult, and his life guards as a corps of reserve. The contest was for a long time severe: at last, however, the enemy having been completely defeated on several points, and having lost 4 pieces of cannon and 1700 prisoners, abandoned all his positions, and night put an end to the fight. On the following day the action was resumed; but the enemy had employed the night in retreating, and had left behind only the rear-guard, which was endeavouring to follow, and which was fiercely pursued, fighting all the time, for 6 hours. The difficulty of the ground prevented our cavalry from doing the enemy much injury. On the 5th, the whole French army was again in motion, advancing, and the enemy constantly retreating, except one column, which was still on this side of the little river Alle. The Emperor thereupon ordered Marshals Soult and Davoust, and the Grand Duke, to follow the enemy's main body, and Marshal Ney, joined by a division of dragoons, to attack the cut off column. While, in consequence of these orders, the Grand Duke at Walerdoff, after some attacks, compelled 8000 or 9000 Russian cavalry to retreat; Ney came up with the head of the before-mentioned column, which, finding itself surrounded, for a moment adopted the bold resolution of cutting its way through our corps, but met death and destruction on the points of our bayonets. Defeated and thrown into confusion, the enemy abandoned their cannon, colours, and baggage, and the other part of the column, on learning the fate of the advanced guard, retreated. In all these actions our loss was very little, not more than 80 or 100 killed, and from 3 to 400 wounded. The loss of the enemy consisted of 16 pieces of cannon, several thousand prisoners, and a great number of killed and wounded.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BOOK-BINDER.

It is to be observed, that this sheet, which is the last of Volume XI, should *not be cut open* by the Reader, but should be left to the Book-binder, who will perceive, that the first half sheet, of which this page makes a part, comes at the *end*, and that the other half-sheet containing the Title Page, Advertisement, and Table of Contents, is to be cut off, and placed at the *beginning* of the Volume.—The Binder is desired to observe, that there is an error in the paging after 672; so that page 793, No 18, must follow page 672.

Fifty-seventh Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

This bulletin is dated from Prussian Eylau, Feb. 7. It mentions only some attacks on the rear of the enemy's main body; which, it is stated, were executed on the 6th and 7th with the best success, by the Grand Duke of Berg, notwithstanding that the Russians presented a most formidable resistance.

Fifty-eighth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

This bulletin is also dated from Prussian Eylau, Feb. 8. It mentions, that, on approaching that place, the enemy were found already behind it, waiting for our army, in order to commence a new battle, for which both sides prepared. In the previous affairs which took place, 3 Russian regiments were completely cut off, but at the same time a battalion of the 18th regiment was thrown into disorder by a Russian column of cavalry. The dragoons of Klein, however, observed this affair in sufficient time to relieve our battalion; but in Eylau, where the Russians wished to maintain themselves, but which we wished to possess before the battle commenced, the fighting was most bloody; it was ten at night before they could be driven out of the town. They had thrown, however, some regiments into a church, where they remained, and which they were not compelled to abandon until after great slaughter. The night was passed by the armies under the bare canopy of heaven in each other's presence.——On the following day, by the first dim ray of the morning, the Russians commenced the attack with a brisk cannonade. The Emperor visited the church which the Russians had defended with so much obstinacy on the day before. He made Marshal Augereau's corps advance, and the eminence upon which the church stood was cannonaded by 40 pieces of artillery belonging to his guard. The armies were now within half gun shot of each other. The thunder of the cannon was terrible. After the firing had continued for some time, the troops became impatient of suffering so much without any thing decisive happening. Some manœuvres then commenced on both sides, in order to obtain advantages over each other, and in the mean time a thick fall of snow came on, in consequence of which the troops could not discern one another, at the distance of two paces. In this obscurity some of the corps lost their way, and the columns getting too much to the left wandered in uncertainty. This state of things lasted half an hour. When the weather cleared up, the Grand Duke at the head of the cavalry, supported by Marshal Bessieres at the head of the guards, and the division of St. Hillaire, advanced and attacked the enemy. This bold manœuvre, which covered the cavalry with glory, had become necessary in consequence of the circumstances in which our columns were placed. The enemy's cavalry, who endeavoured to oppose this manœuvre, were completely routed. The slaughter was horrible. Two lines of Russian infantry were penetrated, and the third only maintained itself in consequence of having supported itself upon a wood. Some squadrons of the guards passed twice through the whole of the enemy's army. This brilliant attack, had it not been for the wood, and some other difficulties of the ground, would have decided the victory. General Hautpoult was wounded. General Dahlman perished gloriously in the attack. For the 100 dragoons or cuirassiers of the guard which lay dead on the field, there were found beside them 1000 of their enemies. Marshal Davoust, who had been detached to fall upon the rear of the enemy, but whose progress was much impeded by the weather, was at last enabled to execute his orders, and decided the victory. The enemy, after several vain endeavours to repulse that general, retreated, leaving their wounded and 16 pieces of cannon on the field of battle. The number of killed and wounded in this action was on both sides very considerable, and it could not be otherwise when a constant fire was maintained from about 300 pieces of cannon for more than 12 hours, within a short distance of both armies. Marshal Augereau is wounded. Gen. Desjardins, Heudalet, and Lochet, are also wounded. Gen. Corbineau is killed, as are likewise Colonels Lacué, Lemarais, and Bouvieres. Our whole loss consists of exactly 1000 killed, and 5,700 wounded, including 1090, who are very badly wounded. But we have to set against this loss 7000 Russians, who have been counted dead on the field of battle. — The plan of the enemy, which had for its object to extend themselves towards Thorn, and to turn our left wing, has completely miscarried, and their attempt to carry it into execution has proved exceedingly fatal to them. It has cost them from 12 to 15,000 prisoners, as many in killed and missing, 45 pieces of artillery, and 18 standards. The eagle of one of the battalions is lost, and has probably been taken by the enemy. The Emperor will give that battalion another standard after it shall have taken one from the enemy. Having defeated this enterprize of the enemy, and driven them 100 miles from the Vistula, the army has returned to its cantonments, and is going into winter quarters again.

Fifty-ninth Bulletin of the Grand French Army:

Prussian Eylau, Feb. 14.—The enemy has taken a position behind the Pregel. Our patroles are before Koningsberg, but the Emperor has thought proper to concentrate his army, in winter-quarters, in such manner, that it may be in a condition to cover the line of the Vistula. The number of cannon which have been taken since the battle of Bergfried, is about 60. The Grand Duke of Berg still has his head quarters at Wirtemberg, close upon the Pregel. Gen. Hautpoult has died of his wounds; his loss is generally deplored; but few warriors have terminated their career so gloriously. His division of cuirassiers has distinguished itself in all the battles. The Emperor has given orders for removing his body to Paris. On the 12th, Marshal Lefebvre advanced to Marienwerder, where he found 7 Prussian squadrons; he defeated them, and made 300 prisoners. Those who escaped, fled towards Dantzic.

Sixtieth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Prussian Eylau, Feb. 17.—The conquest of Silesia is prosecuted. The fortress of Schweidnitz has surrendered. The Prussian Governor of Silesia is shut up in Clatz, after having been driven by Gen. Lefebvre out of the positions of Frankenstein and Neurohdo. In these affairs, the Wurtemberg troops behaved remarkably well. The enemy lost about 100 killed, and 00 prisoners. The siege of Cosel is conducted with vigour.—Since the battle of Eylau, the enemy have reassembled behind the Pregel. We hoped to have driven them from that position, had the river remained frozen; but a thaw has commenced, and this river is a boundary, beyond which the French army has no interest to pursue them. About 3000 Russian prisoners, who were at Wellenberg, have been set at liberty by a troop of Cossacks, consisting of 1000 men. The cold has entirely ceased; the snow is every where melted, and the season exhibits a singular phenomenon of the mild weather of the last days of April, in the middle of the month of Feb. The army is entering into cantonments.

Sixty-first Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Landsberg, Feb. 18.—The battle of Eylau was at first considered as a victory by several of the enemy's officers. Such, indeed, was the belief at Koningsberg, during the whole evening of the 9th; but the alarm was great, when the Russian head quarters and the army arrived there. Soon after, our cannon was heard, and the French were seen in the possession of a height which flanked the whole of the Russian troops. The Russian General declared, that he would defend the town, which greatly increased the alarm of the inhabitants, who said, "We shall share the fate of Lubeck." It was fortunate, however, for this town, that it did not come within the plan of the French Generals to drive the Russians from this position. The number of dead in the Russian army, in generals, and other officers, is very remarkable. In consequence of the battle of Eylau, more than 5000 wounded Russians, found on the field of battle, or in the neighbouring hospitals, have fallen into the hands of the victors. It is reckoned that the Russians had 15,000 wounded, besides these 5000 which fell into the hands of the French.—The army has resumed its quarters. The districts of Elbing, Liebstadt, and Osterode, are the finest in this country, and the Emperor has chosen them for the cantonments of his left wing. Marshal Mortier has gone back to Swedish Pomerania. Stralsund is blockaded: and it is to be regretted that the enemy have, without any reason, burnt the fine suburb of Kiuper. The fire presented a horrible spectacle, and more than 2000 persons are, in consequence of it, destitute of any home or shelter.

Proclamation, dated Prussian Eylau, February 16.

"Soldiers;—We had begun to enjoy a little repose in our winter quarters, when the enemy attacked the first corps, and shewed themselves on the Lower Vistula. We broke up and marched against him. We have pursued him, sword in hand, 80 miles. He has fled to his strong holds, and retired beyond the Pregel. In the battles of Bergfried, Deppen, Hof, and Eylau, we have taken from him 65 pieces of cannon, and 16 standards, besides his loss of more than 40,000 men in killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The heroes who, on our side, remain in the bed of honour, have died a glorious death. It is the death of a true soldier. Their relatives will always have a just claim to our care and beneficence.—Having thus defeated all the enterprises of the enemy, we shall return towards the Vistula, and resume our winter quarters. Those who shall dare to disturb these quarters, shall have reason to repent; for, whether beyond the Vistula, or on the other side of the Danube; whether in the middle of winter, or in the beginning of autumn; we still will be found French soldiers, and soldiers of the grand army."

Table of the Number of *Christenings* and *Burials* within the Bills of Mortality, from December, 1806, to May, 1807, inclusive.

Epochs.	Christened.		Buried.												
	Male.	Female	Under 2 Years.	2 to 5.	5 to 10.	10 to 20.	20 to 30.	30 to 40.	40 to 50.	50 to 60.	60 to 70.	70 to 80.	80 to 90.	90 to 100, &c.	Total Buried. Males	Total Buried. Female
December....	835	822	502	196	59	71	123	169	188	155	131	89	34	6	886	837
January.....	1083	1059	406	158	50	40	96	157	154	126	123	95	32	5	758	720
February	798	746	398	139	46	32	91	152	202	192	157	118	36	5	811	777
March	605	666	316	134	43	65	124	177	180	181	182	142	43	4	882	784
April.....	693	690	366	125	56	32	97	153	158	147	160	144	58	9	729	774
May	798	773	382	135	36	40	100	111	156	128	112	99	37	1	682	654
	4812	4756	2370	887	290	300	631	919	1038	929	864	665	260	30	4702	4546

Total Christenings.. 9568 — Total Burials.. 9248

Table of the Prices of *Meat*, *Sugar*, *Salt*, and *Coals*, in London, from December, 1806, to May, 1807, inclusive.

	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	per Stone of 8lb. to sink the Offal.
Beef ..	5 4	5 8	5 4	5 0	5 0	5 0	
Mutton	5 8	4 8	5 6	5 4	5 4	5 6	
Pork ..	5 8	6 0	5 8	5 8	5 0	5 4	
Sugar	38 9	37 0	33 10	34 10	33 8	33 5	Cwt.
Salt ..	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	Bushel
Coals..	50 3	49 6	49 0	50 0	52 6	49 6	Chald.

Table of the Prices of the *Quartern Loaf* in London, from December, 1806, to May, 1807, inclusive.

Dec.		Jan.		Feb.		March		April		May	
Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day	Price.
	s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
6	1. 1¼	4	1. 1¼	1	1. 0⅝	5	1. 0⅝	3	1. 0⅝	7	1. 1
13	1. 1¼	11	1. 1¼	8	1. 0½	12	1. 0⅝	10	1. 0⅝	14	1. 1
20	1. 1	18	1. 1¼	15	1. 0½	19	1. 0½	17	1. 0⅝	21	1. 1
27	1. 1	25	1. 1¼	22	1. 0¼	26	1. 0½	24	1. 1	28	1. 1¼

Table of the Prices of the English *Three per Cent. Consols*, from December, 1806, to May, 1807, inclusive.

Day.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May
1	58⅞	—	—	—	62⅛	63¼
2	59⅛	60¼	61⅞	62⅜	61⅞	63⅜
3	60¼	60¼	61⅛	62⅜	61⅞	—
4	60⅜	60½	61½	62¼	61⅞	63½
5	60½	—	61½	62⅛	—	63⅜
6	60⅝	—	62⅛	62⅛	62⅞	63⅜
7	—	60⅝	62	62⅝	62⅝	63⅜
8	60⅞	60¼	62	—	62⅛	63⅜
9	60⅜	60⅜	61⅞	62⅞	62⅛	63⅜
10	60¼	61¼	—	62¼	62¼	63½
11	60⅜	—	—	62½	62⅞	63¼
12	60¼	61⅞	63	62¼	—	63⅜
13	60⅜	61	62⅞	62⅞	62¼	63⅜
14	—	61	62½	62¼	61⅞	63¼
15	60⅜	60⅜	—	—	62⅛	63½
16	60⅜	60⅜	62⅜	62¼	62⅛	—
17	60¼	60½	62⅛	62⅜	62⅜	—
18	60⅜	—	62¼	62⅜	—	63⅜
19	60⅛	—	62¼	62½	62⅞	63⅜
20	—	60⅜	62¼	62¼	62¼	63⅜
21	—	60⅜	62¼	62¼	62¼	63⅜
22	60⅞	60½	—	—	62⅜	63¼
23	60⅜	60⅞	62¼	62⅛	62½	63⅞
24	60⅜	59⅞	62	61⅞	62⅛	63⅜
25	—	—	—	61¼	62¾	—
26	—	60¼	—	62	—	—
27	60¼	61	—	—	—	—
28	60¼	60¼	62⅛	—	62¾	63⅛
29	60⅞	60¼		62⅛	62⅞	—
30	60⅛	60¼		—	62⅝	—
31	—	62⅜		—	—	—

Table of the Prices of the French *Five per Cent. Consolidés*, from Dec. 1806, to May, 1807, inclusive.

Day.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May
1	—	72.80	73. 0	74. 0	—	75.70
2	—	72.75	—	—	—	—
3	72.25	—	—	—	—	—
4	—	—	73.10	—	—	—
5	—	72.90	—	—	74.10	75.40
6	—	—	—	—	—	—
7	72.30	—	73.10	—	—	—
8	—	—	—	75.20	74.25	75.25
9	—	—	—	—	—	—
10	72.50	—	73.25	—	—	—
11	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	—	—	—	—	74.50	—
14	—	72.75	—	—	—	—
15	—	—	75.50	—	74.50	75. 0
16	—	—	—	73.45	—	—
17	72.60	72.80	73.50	—	—	—
18	—	—	—	—	74.75	74.50
19	72.50	—	—	73.30	—	74.25
20	—	—	73.60	—	—	—
21	72.75	—	73.60	—	75.50	—
22	—	72.75	—	73.30	—	74.30
23	—	—	73.75	—	75.75	—
24	—	—	—	73.20	—	—
25	72.80	72.90	—	—	—	—
26	—	—	—	—	—	—
27	72.75	—	—	—	—	—
28	—	73. 0	—	—	—	—
29	—	—	—	—	—	—
30	—	—	—	—	—	—
31	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table of the Number of *Bankruptcies* in England from Dec. 1806, to May, 1807, inclusive.

Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May
58	42	69	49	64	63

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